

Portraits of the Dalai Lama in Tibet and Beyond

DISSERTATION

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By

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## Abstract

The Dalai Lama is one of the world's most recognizable religious figures. He is known by many as the exiled Buddhist leader of Tibet; others simply understand that he is a man of great wisdom. This new international audience might not realize that Tenzin Gyatso—the man they recognize as the Dalai Lama—is actually the fourteenth in a lineage of spiritual teachers. These teachers were (and are) recognized as incarnations of an enlightened being, Avalokiteśvara. As such, the Dalai Lama's image requires the same reverence given to that of the Buddha.

Although the Dalai Lama recognizes the great power which comes with his title, he often refers to himself as a simple monk. A collection of his speeches from 2010 uses the Dalai Lama's own categorizations of human being, monk, and Dalai Lama in its divisions of lectures.<sup>1</sup> My dissertation similarly uses the same type of division (man, monk, and political leader) in order to clarify different components of the Dalai Lama's role; I propose, however, that these divisions can be found in the visual representations of the Dalai Lama. My research seeks to explore imagery of the Dalai Lamas, evaluating both intended functions of the image as well as audience reception. Further, I explore new avenues of Dalai Lama imagery—specifically those created in the recent past and

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<sup>1</sup> Tenzin Gyatso with Sofia Stril-Rever, *My Spiritual Journey* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010).

especially those found on the internet—to compare and contrast their functions and audiences to those of the earlier portraits.

I begin the dissertation by exploring religious and devotional imagery of the Dalai Lamas. The images I have selected are not an exhaustive overview of all early Dalai Lama portraiture; rather, I have selected imagery that is representative of the common characteristics found in such imagery. This section provides background on the function of “traditional” imagery. I also explore the three roles of the Dalai Lamas—man, monk, and political leader—as they are highlighted in various degrees in such imagery.

I then turn to early documentary photography of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas. I explore the ways in which this new media changed the type of imagery acceptable to Tibetan audiences. What did it mean to the individual practitioner who now had access to an image of an incarnate buddha—an image relic? How did (and does) the practice of consecration factor in to new types of imagery? Could (and can) a photograph be used in the same manner as a *thangka*?

Departure from Tibet in 1959 brought the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to the international stage—a role not held by the previous thirteen title holders. Tenzin Gyatso quickly became a different type of symbol to the global community that embraced him. At first, he was a symbol for the so-called “free world” against Chinese Communism. Later, through his message of non-violence, he became a symbol of peace to the West, but, at the same time, a symbol of dissension to the Communist regime, as exemplified by the 1996 ban on his images. The final chapters in this dissertation explore the “image” of the Dalai Lama as constructed by his own office (official photography, internet

expansion, etc.) as well as the “image” of Tenzin Gyatso portrayed by the Chinese government.

Today, one finds that the role of the institution of the Dalai Lama has changed. The original practice of creating portraits of lineage masters within the Tibetan tradition has given way to today’s multifaceted explosion of imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Different audiences, media, and contexts for his image coincide with the leader’s shifting role in the political, social, and religious spheres. This dissertation evaluates each of these contexts. Which aspects of his imagery showcase the human nature of the man? How are these types of images accepted by his religious audience? His international audience? Much imagery certainly highlights Tenzin Gyatso’s role as a monk. How do these representations affect his role as a political figure? Given that Tenzon Gyatso is the only master teacher of the Geluk sect with worldwide renown, how has his status as international icon (and the responsibilities inherent in that role) changed the manner in which his image—and his teachings—are received by practitioners? This dissertation attempts to elucidate, amidst the proliferation of interest in and images of Tenzin Gyatso, both the similarities and differences between portrayals of him and those of the previous thirteen Dalai Lamas, and to draw what conclusions it can from that evidence.

*For Alfie*

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## Fields of Study

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

At a recent neighborhood picnic, I met another art history enthusiast who happened to be a practicing Buddhist. Though he was raised as a Christian, he was ultimately drawn to the traditions of the Tibetan Buddhist Kagyu sect and converted to the Buddhist faith. The head of this particular Tibetan Buddhist sect is the Karmapa Lama—a fascinating figure, though one who is relatively unknown in the international community. I asked this practitioner about his personal altar. What type of imagery was included? “The image of the Karmapa, naturally,” he replied. Then I asked, “Yes, but do you have an image of the Dalai Lama on your altar?”

“Of course!”

Why is this conversation so telling about the status of the current Dalai Lama? For one thing, I was speaking to a western-born American about his Buddhist altar imagery; such conversations did not occur often prior to the mid-twentieth century (and thus, did not occur with imagery of earlier Dalai Lamas). But even more telling is that this practitioner is of the Kagyu sect. The Dalai Lama is a high incarnation of the Geluk sect. This man’s altar shows the unifying nature of the current Dalai Lama; indeed, Tenzin Gyatso has become far more of a figurehead for Tibetans after his exile than he was prior to 1959. What does all of this mean when it comes to imagery of the man?

How is his image used, and why does it matter to Tibetan Buddhists in exile? Why does his image matter to the international community? Although much of the world recognizes the face of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso, it is only recently that this spiritual and secular figurehead of Tibet has encompassed a global role. This dissertation looks at images of the past and current Dalai Lamas, both in the context of traditional lineage paintings and sculptures and, more recently, in light of new images that are found on the web, billboards, and posters, among many other places. This examination shows the correspondence between new types of imagery with the new roles that the Dalai Lama has come to play on the world scene.

In the past half century since the Fourteenth Dalai Lama left Tibet to escape the Chinese Communist regime, the field of Tibetan Buddhist studies has burgeoned. Exiled monks have established monastic institutions on virtually every continent, and Tibetan lay communities have settled in places ranging from Switzerland to New Jersey. Scholars of Buddhism have had the opportunity to study Tibetan Buddhist texts brought out with the monastic diaspora and to observe rituals and practices in the transplanted Buddhist communities. As art historians steadily report upon newfound imagery and Tibetan cultural traditions, a unique opportunity exists for those wishing to pursue contemporary issues within the field. The relatively nascent emergence of contemporary Tibetan art history, including the study of both art in Tibet itself and abroad, demands particular study because it both reflects the more ancient traditions and issues pertaining to the adjustments Tibetan culture has had to make as it stands under the glare of the world's eye. It is within this arena that I situate my research of imagery related to the

current and previous Dalai Lamas of Tibet. The goal of this dissertation is to evaluate how the “image” of the Dalai Lama (here, meaning the constructed persona) is shaped by literal imagery. The constructed persona is never an unbiased one; each photograph, advertisement, and magazine cover is chosen to represent Tenzin Gyatso in a very specific manner. These images have ultimately shaped the world’s view of the man. How does this compare to the persona of the Dalai Lama as developed by the Chinese government? In 1996, the government instituted a ban on all imagery of Tenzin Gyatso—how does this absence (or appearance of an absence) of imagery shape the Dalai Lama’s persona in the People’s Republic of China, including in the Tibetan Autonomous Region?

I begin the dissertation by evaluating ways in which images of the Dalai Lama were used in the past and how that function has changed as a result of a variety of factors, including the advent of photography and, more recently, digital media. I suggest that change is not only due to technology, however, but is associated with the evolving role of the institution of the Dalai Lama in light of the recent history of Tibet and the personality and beliefs of the current Dalai Lama. These changes will be explored for both the exiled Tibetan Buddhist community and the international audience more familiar with the Dalai Lama’s role as peacekeeper than as a religious incarnation.

My analysis of religious and devotional Tibetan portraiture uses three divisions to present different characteristics of imagery that shape the “image”: man, monk, and political leader. As “man,” I explore the physical characteristics that are sometimes present in early painting and more often present in early sculpture. These physical

characteristics (sometimes) differentiate the specific Dalai Lama and occasionally become part of the iconography (as in the ever-present mustaches of the Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas). It is under this category that I also look at biographical features of the specific lama; in some cases, life stories are depicted within the background of the portraits. I again reference this role of the Dalai Lama with the later imagery of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth incarnations. As the only two representations to be photographed, these two men are well known as individuals—they were and are highly recognizable to the audiences of the imagery. This fact has necessarily created a shift from a more institution-focused lineage to a spotlight on the individual man holding the title. I address how this shift is apparent within the imagery, how the “man” functions in the image, and how the audience reception to the image changes.

As “monk,” I describe the ubiquitous Buddhist iconography present in early imagery: hand gestures, seated positions, and various religious attributes are all elements which reinforce the connection to the historical Buddha, thus providing an emphasis on the monastic character of the figure. I also discuss the connections to Avalokiteśvara. The Dalai Lamas are viewed as incarnations of this buddha of compassion; this connection is of extreme importance today as the specific emanation known as Śadakśari Avalokiteśvara has become a surrogate image of Tenzin Gyatso within the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Thus, the identification of human with Buddha has been inverted. The Dalai Lama, always viewed as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, has now become the unseen figure in Tibet. The transcendent figure, (Śadakśari Avalokiteśvara), ubiquitous in Tibet, serves as a substitute for Tenzin Gyatso. Though this latter use of

imagery delves into the political realm, the earlier associations of the Dalai Lamas with Avalokiteśvara were religious in nature and further emphasized his role of “monk.”

My third category is “political leader.” In the early portraits, the lineage of the Dalai Lamas is often stressed. Though this is certainly related to the Tibetan Buddhist practice of reincarnation, there also seems to be an attempt to legitimize the depicted ruler. Because various sects of Buddhism were vying for political power in Tibet during the reigns of the earlier Dalai Lamas, it was essential to show the Geluk leader as the true incarnation of previous rulers. For the later imagery of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas, the political role expands to the international level. This section and the three divisions within it create a framework for the other types of imagery of the Dalai Lamas. I establish these three components of traditional imagery in order to highlight the different functions inherent within the institution. I hope to show how these three components are utilized at different times for different purposes.

Chapter 2 specifically discusses imagery of the Third, Fifth, and Seventh Dalai Lamas as the pre-modern incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, of whom the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas are the most recent embodiments. After viewing collections at the Basel Museum der Kulturen and the Rubin Museum of Art in New York City, I have chosen specific paintings to serve as representative of Dalai Lama portraiture as they possess characteristics common in much of pre-modern Dalai Lama imagery. This dissertation does not claim to address all aspects of early Dalai Lama portraiture; my goal is simply to use it to highlight recent changes in the function of the imagery as it is used in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As such, this chapter continues with imagery



of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas as used in religious and devotional contexts. I later address the image of Tenzin Gyatso as the central figure on many altars, both private and within community temples. Because his image is so easily obtained, the personal altar becomes a study in types of relic. Whereas many years earlier only monasteries would hold relics of the Buddha or lamas, today any practitioner can have the “image relic” without needing formal consecration. The reasons for this will also be discussed.

Chapter 3 evaluates early documentary photography of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas. A major change occurred during the twentieth century when photographic representations of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama began to be created. The use of photography, which allows for the creation of unlimited copies and therefore widespread availability to large numbers of people, allowed for a new type of “instant relic.” This type of image-relic was (and is now) available to the individual practitioner and thus changed the visual culture of the personal altar. This, in turn, paved the way for the explosion of images of the current Dalai Lama, facilitated by digital technology and dissemination tools such as the internet. I explore the influence of British photography in Tibet and the resulting acceptance of more casual and physically representative imagery of the Dalai Lamas. Formal portraits certainly were still created and used, but the photographic medium changed the nature of the image, while, at the same time, enabling the images to be more broadly disseminated than were the individually created paintings and sculptures of earlier times. One such image of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama from the Pitt Rivers Collection serves as a transitional image, showcasing both the painted and

iconographic qualities of earlier imagery (the photograph is painted over with traditional colors, the iconography is more conventional), but also a newer manner of depiction (he is informally posed, or candidly photographed, and his facial features are easily recognizable). This chapter also discusses the “life moments” that were captured by photographers. Again, a more human quality is gleaned from these informal glances into the life of the Dalai Lama. As such, the images serve as a biographical framework for the particular Dalai Lama, and an example of how the individual is showcased over the institution. Thus, the “man,” “monk,” and “political leader” are all clearly present in the image from the Pitt Rivers Collection.

Chapter 4 explores international imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama following his 1959 exile from Tibet. I discuss the evolving role of the Dalai Lama and how he has come to represent the Tibetan voice in the exile community. I also address how the major events in the life of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama since 1959, including his Nobel Peace Prize and the Congressional Medal of Honor, may have altered his role and, correspondingly, images of him. I discuss the political stance of the Dalai Lama through his years in exile, and how his support for true autonomy rather than independence has affected the exile community. I include several unpublished images from the Rikon Institute in Switzerland (the largest Tibetan exile community in Europe). These photographs again show the different characteristics discussed in relation to earlier portraiture: the man, monk, and political leader are all present within the imagery, though one role may be highlighted over another. Since these were some of the first images ever

taken of the Dalai Lama during his first travels outside of Asia, they are an important part of my evaluation of the types of images being created for this new international role.

In addition, Chapter 4 views the role of the contemporary artist in shaping the Dalai Lama's image (here, constructed persona) for the international community. Movies, documentaries, billboards, and advertisements are used as examples of the international visual representations that feature Tenzin Gyatso. To this community, the images are a means to fuel peace and environmentalist efforts around the globe and have no intentional religious context—a novel role for a Dalai Lama. Part of the overwhelming appeal of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's image remains grounded in the man's personal profile. The Dalai Lama has become popular on the international stage because he appeals not only to Buddhist practitioners around the world, but also to many who agree with his non-violent approach and his quest for religious freedom for his people. He is favored by these groups for living simply, continuing his work and practice as a monk, and constantly reminding his followers of his human status.

Chapter 5 explores images as political protest. I begin by discussing the events that led to the ban of the image of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama within the Tibetan Autonomous Region. In 1996, the Chinese government imposed a ban with extreme punishment to offenders on the possession or display of images of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Images of Tenzin Gyatso were then and are still viewed as a threat to the Chinese Communist government's desire to incorporate Tibet into its borders. Despite the penalties, my research suggests that this ban has been unsuccessful. Ironically, even though the Dalai Lama's followers may not use images of him, his image has been

used—and demonized—within China as part of its internal propaganda campaign to tamp down protests within the Tibetan population. Following a discussion of the situation within China, the chapter then turns to the image as political protest in the exile communities. I witnessed many political protests during the summer of 2008 in Dharamsala; every protest included imagery of Tenzin Gyatso, often in large photographs carried through processions in the street. Interestingly, the Dalai Lama has been quite open about his opposition to a “Free Tibet,” preferring to push for true autonomy for the region instead. How does his image, used as a symbol of the Free Tibet movement, affect the exile community? How do practitioners justify an allegiance to the Geluk leader as well as their community’s desires for a separate home country?

Chapter 6 explores the types of representation set forth by the Dalai Lama himself or by the Office of the Dalai Lama in India. In 2001, photographer Manuel Bauer was given permission to travel with the Dalai Lama, photographing his daily life for preservation in both an online archive and in print form.<sup>2</sup> In the introduction to the website, Bauer describes the reasons underlying the project: “The archive aims to preserve a comprehensive body of photographic work of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, with the goal of strengthening and building the identity of the Tibetan people as well as of men around the world and of future generations.”<sup>3</sup> Bauer’s project continued for several years and showcased a variety of types of imagery of Tenzin Gyatso. One finds more formal

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<sup>2</sup>[www.dalailama-archives.org](http://www.dalailama-archives.org) and Matthieu Ricard and Christian Schmidt, text, Manuel Bauer, photographs, *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo, date unlisted).

<sup>3</sup>[www.dalailama-archives.org](http://www.dalailama-archives.org)

portraiture alongside everyday moments. Like the earlier traditional imagery of the first twelve Dalai Lamas, these photographs highlight the man, the monk, and the political leader in various capacities.

Additionally, Chapter 6 explores how the internet has promoted the use of the Dalai Lama's image. Tenzin Gyatso's face is found on thousands of websites. His office runs an official site out of Dharamsala, complete with photographs, videos, and histories of earlier Dalai Lamas. The site also links to Facebook and Twitter, where the Dalai Lama (via his office) posts several quotes that reach hundreds of thousands of people. These sites, along with Wikipedia, YouTube, and numerous other internet sources, provide both the devotee and the casual explorer with a wealth of information and imagery of the Dalai Lama. These sites also provide space for extensive debate and conversation, allowing his followers to "speak" with each other in a way that was virtually impossible only a few years ago. Perhaps more importantly, the Dalai Lama has used his Twitter account to reach a Chinese audience on two separate occasions. This chapter thus also looks at how he was able to directly connect with the Chinese people (at least, before the authorities firewalled the site) in an attempt at reaching an understanding and stating his message in a manner unfiltered by the Chinese government. Clearly, the internet, more so than any other contemporary media, is allowing the Dalai Lama to get his message heard by an interested community.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation and includes recent events that are shaping the future of the Dalai Lama institution. Beijing's hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games created both anger and hope in those following the Dalai Lama's actions. Some were

upset at the lack of recognition by the Olympic committee of the violation of human rights in Tibet. Others hoped the international attention on China would force changes in regulation. The Dalai Lama, contrary to Chinese government reports, favored the Chinese Olympics and hoped it would open a dialogue between the exiled Tibetan government and the Chinese authorities. Sadly, rioting months before the games prevented any further goodwill between the two factions. The Dalai Lama pleaded for an end to the violence; the Chinese government insisted he was to blame for inciting his followers.

Several months after the Olympics, the Dalai Lama began to discuss new alternatives for his people in exile. Internet news stories relay the current exchanges at a rate of several articles per day.<sup>4</sup> This is clearly an important issue to discuss and understand fully. The Dalai Lama's image is currently being used by both sides; on the one hand as a symbol of continuing hope for the Tibetans and, at the same time, a symbol of separatism and dissension by the Chinese government. This dissertation will contribute to this essential dialogue by analyzing the visual component of the Dalai Lama's presence.

### Literature Review

Although few sources exist that are specifically related to my topic of Dalai Lama imagery, there are several books and articles detailing many related aspects that serve as a foundation for my dissertation. These can be divided into categories, beginning with

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<sup>4</sup> One major source of these articles is [www.phayul.com](http://www.phayul.com), though several mainstream news sources also document these daily occurrences.

the works detailing a broader view of Tibetan religious and political history. These accounts are essential for understanding the framework into which my research fits. Also critical are sources evaluating Tibetan art history. I use several exhibition catalogues that are helpful for their collected images and object information. Internet news sources provide the most current information available regarding the Dalai Lama's activities, and correspondingly, the uses of his image in a contemporary context. The Dalai Lama's own webpages, including the official webpage, his Twitter account, and his Facebook account, provide valuable insight into the goals of the Dalai Lama, enabling a worldwide audience to hear the direct words of the Dalai Lama and discuss current issues. The final section of literature review looks at scholars who have documented the usefulness and far-reaching implications of the internet.

Among the broader historical and more general outlines of Tibetan political and/or religious history, John Powers' *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism* and Robert Thurman's *Essential Tibetan Buddhism* are basic and thorough explorations of the role of religion in shaping Tibetan culture.<sup>5</sup> By understanding the religious system in Tibet, both its development and current practice, the roles of the Dalai Lama are clarified and contextualized. I specifically rely on Tsering Shakya's thorough account of 20<sup>th</sup> century political actions detailed in *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947*.<sup>6</sup> John Power's *History as Propaganda: Tibetan Exiles versus the People's Republic of China* also discusses the issues surrounding the current debate regarding

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<sup>5</sup> John Powers, *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*, (Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca, New York: 1995) and Robert Thurman, *Essential Tibetan Buddhism*, (Edison, New Jersey: Castle Books, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947* (New York: Penguin Compass, 1999).

political legitimacy.<sup>7</sup> Both of these sources rely heavily on primary documents; they are also useful in contextualizing the current political situation in Tibet (which in turn, relies heavily on the actions of the Dalai Lama). Thomas Laird's *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama* gives an historical account of Tibet as narrated by Tenzin Gyatso, an interesting insight into the mind of the Dalai Lama.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Glen Mullin's *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* more specifically addresses the history of the Dalai Lama institution.<sup>9</sup>

Other sources detail the current social climate within the Tibetan Autonomous Region as well as the community in exile. Donald Lopez's *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* is useful in its evaluation of the state of Tibetology in the west; it serves as a reminder to scholars of the limitations of studying the exile culture and its possible misrepresentations of Tibet itself.<sup>10</sup> These types of resources have furthered my evaluation of the Dalai Lama's image in exile communities as a separate unit of study; the Dalai Lama's image within the TAR (especially because of its current illegality) is different in nature.

Other sources detail more specific aspects that I used in order to properly contextualize the image of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Included in this category is the more recent *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La from the Himalayas to Hollywood*

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<sup>7</sup> John Powers, *History as Propaganda: Tibetan Exiles versus the People's Republic of China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama*. New York: Grove Press, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Glen Mullin, *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Donald Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).



by Orville Schell.<sup>11</sup> Again, the study of Tibetan imagery is evaluated from a western perspective. Schell's detailed research regarding the films created pertaining to and including imagery of the Dalai Lama certainly provides valuable information for the latter part of the dissertation detailing new types of images such as film, internet, and billboards. Continuing this evaluation of issues within the global community is Meg McLagan's "Spectacle of Difference: Cultural Activism and the Mass Mediation of Tibet" in *Media Worlds*.<sup>12</sup> McLagan specifically addresses the "Year of Tibet" (1991) in New York City and the resulting public relations campaigns that promoted the vision of Tibet to a western audience. The most thorough work detailing the current events in exile Tibetan communities is the collection of essays *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*.<sup>13</sup> These essays cover topics ranging from the political structure of the Tibetan government in exile to monastic institutions around the globe.

Diana Eck's *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India* is the definitive source describing the practice within South Asian religions of "seeing" and "being seen" by the deity or person of high stature.<sup>14</sup> Although this practice is modified somewhat in a Buddhist context, there is certainly an element of *darśan* underlying the importance of the Dalai Lama's image to his practitioners. Along these same lines, one must

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<sup>11</sup> Orville Schell, *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La from the Himalayas to Hollywood* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Meg McLagan, "Spectacles of Difference: Cultural Activism and the Mass Mediation of Tibet," in *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*. Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin, editors. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 90-111.

<sup>13</sup> Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus von Welck, editors. *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora* (New Delhi: Orient Longmen Ltd. 2002).

<sup>14</sup> Diana Eck, *Darśan: Seeing the Divine in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

understand fully the concept of the relic in order to appreciate Dalai Lama imagery. For this type of background, I turn to John Strong's *Relics of the Buddha*.<sup>15</sup>

John Strong's comprehensive book detailing many aspects of the historical Buddha's relics employs the theory throughout that these relics were, in fact, "expressions and extensions of the Buddha's biographical process."<sup>16</sup> By using this framework, Strong is able to fully explore the issues arising from various textual histories (though he does not refer to works of art). His argument concerning the importance of the relic echoes statements made earlier by Susan Huntington with regard to Buddhist imagery and the "aniconic" theory in "Early Buddhist Art and the Theory of Aniconism," as well as "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems: Another Look."<sup>17</sup> Huntington's primary sources are the works of art themselves and her research underscores the importance of the relic in Buddhist communities. The image of the Dalai Lama, as I show, similarly functions as relic and partakes of its underlying "logic."

Other sources provide images of previous and current Dalai Lamas. The masterwork of this type of documentation is Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*.<sup>18</sup> Although the book itself does not describe the history of the Dalai Lama's visual representation, it is quite useful in that it has gathered the majority of existing Dalai Lama painted and sculpted imagery into one volume. The appendix of this volume

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<sup>15</sup> John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Strong, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Susan Huntington, "Early Buddhist Art and the Theory of Aniconism," *Art Journal*, vol. 49, no. 4, 1990, and "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems: Another Look," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 22, 1992.

<sup>18</sup> Martin Brauen, *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005).

by Michael Hennis, “The Iconography of the Dalai Lamas,”<sup>19</sup> is more useful as the author addresses the issue of the image itself. He shows some iconographic distinctions between Dalai Lamas, though he concludes that these categorizations may not hold true for every image. Among other more general sources on early Tibetan painting, Jane Casey Singer’s article, “Early Portrait Painting in Tibet” serves as a more detailed evaluation of the types of portraiture present prior to imagery of the Dalai Lamas. Singer proposes that there are standard types of imagery shown in the more “life-like” versions of lama portraiture, and that these are not physical representations of the figures. Clare Harris’s writings serve an invaluable role in documenting the information available on the images. Harris’s *In the Image of Tibet: Tibetan Painting after 1959* details the lives of the artists under the Dalai Lama in Tibet and, after the 1950’s, in the Tibetan exile communities.<sup>20</sup> Her look at contemporary imagery provides information helpful for understanding current depictions of the Dalai Lama. Harris’ most recent work, *The Museum on the Roof of the World*, explores several photographs from the early period of British presence in Tibet.<sup>21</sup> This work also describes the methods of categorizing Tibetan “traditional” and “contemporary” works and the resulting issues of such labels, specifically in Tibet, India, and the west. I further explore other issues at the core of this book in Chapter 3. Michael Hennis’ “From Tradition to Truth: Images of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama,” although a brief article, is invaluable in describing the ways the imagery of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Hennis, “The Iconography of the Dalai Lamas,” *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, 262-277.

<sup>20</sup> Clare Harris, *In the Image of Tibet: Tibetan Painting after 1959* (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd., 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Clare Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World: Art, Politics, and the Representation of Tibet* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press), 2012.

departed from the more traditional types of representation.<sup>22</sup> David Jackson's recent book, *Mirror of the Buddha*, categorizes Tibetan portraiture into six distinct types: gender, monastic ordination, ethnic origins, scholarly attainment, status as ascetic, yogi, or adept, and royalty (although, he does not evaluate any Dalai Lama imagery).<sup>23</sup>

In recent years, there have been a handful of exhibitions showcasing contemporary Tibetan artists and/or artistic themes related to Tibetan issues. One such show, "Waves on the Turquoise Lake: Contemporary Expressions of Tibetan Art" included the artist Losang Gyatso.<sup>24</sup> The Colorado-based artist was also asked to depict the Dalai Lama for inclusion in the exhibition "The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama."<sup>25</sup> His painting is of the leader's feet; he wanted to depict the true Tibetan experience of meeting the Dalai Lama with head bowed. These sources serve as indicators of the future of Dalai Lama imagery itself and, correspondingly, of the ways in which such imagery can be studied. Although traditional *thangka* painters still exist—and certainly are the norm in the exile community of Dharamsala—there are new ways of depicting the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. It is within this framework that I hope to place my research of the current Dalai Lama's image and, in particular, its use within the exile Tibetan communities around the world.

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<sup>22</sup> Michael Henss, "From Tradition to Truth: Images of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama" *Orientalism*, v. 36 issue 6 (2005) 61-68.

<sup>23</sup> David P. Jackson, *Mirror of the Buddha: Early Portraits from Tibet*, (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2011), 35.

<sup>24</sup> *Waves on the Turquoise Lake: Contemporary Expressions of Tibetan Art*, CU Art Museum, Lisa Tamiris Becker and Tamar Victoria Scoggin, curators, 2006.

<sup>25</sup> *Missing Piece: Artists and the Dalai Lama*, various locations, Randy Jayne Rosenberg, curator. Catalog: (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware Editions, 2006).

Finally, the internet provides extensive information on the Dalai Lamas to most of the world. Devotees and detractors alike search Tenzin Gyatso's name for information on the man and his ideas. Several authors have written about the power of the internet, internet marketing, and social media, though none have specifically addressed the Dalai Lama in relation to these media. For background information, I cite several sources that clarify the relatively new source of visual material. Erik Qualman's *Social Media: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business* provides a foundation for my investigation of how the Dalai Lama is using the internet to convey his message.<sup>26</sup> One chapter specifically details the success of Barack Obama via social media and the internet. Because he was able to promote his message directly to the people, Obama's rise to the top was incredibly quick. Although Tenzin Gyatso is not running for office, the internet does allow him to reach a larger audience than any previous Dalai Lama.

Dan Zarella's *The Social Media Marketing Book* looks at the importance of one specific area within internet marketing: social network marketing.<sup>27</sup> Tenzin Gyatso currently has both a Facebook and Twitter account. His official website links to these sites (as well as YouTube), and those who "fan" the Dalai Lama or follow his tweets are able to directly see the thoughts and opinions of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Zarella's book provides insight on why businesses would (and should) choose to represent themselves in this manner. I use Zarella's points to argue that the Office of the Dalai Lama is shaping a clear and specific image for the international community. Other

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<sup>26</sup> Erik Qualman, *Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2009).

<sup>27</sup> Dan Zarella, *The Social Media Marketing Book*, (Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media, 2010).

resources for this section include Joel Comm's *Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time*,<sup>28</sup> Thomas Meyer's *Media Democracy: How the Media Colonize Politics*,<sup>29</sup> and Dean Alger's *The Media and Politics*.<sup>30</sup>

### Terminology and Translations

Throughout the dissertation, I use art historical terminology as well as pop culture jargon. Some important concepts of the dissertation are conveyed by the terms “life-like” and “generalized.” Although “life-like” does not refer to a photorealistic representation of the facial features (or otherwise) of each Dalai Lama, it does indicate a representation more descriptively detailed than a generalized image. For example, the particular facial hair patterns of a Dalai Lama might be described as life-like, whereas the body of the same lama is created in a more generalized fashion. I also use the term “idealized” in my descriptions of the figures. “Idealized” here means conforming to a previously held notion of what a Dalai Lama should look like, or how he was traditionally represented in imagery. Associated with these idealized forms is the iconography of the Dalai Lamas. Iconography refers to the specific features that the Dalai Lamas are given—attributes, other figures, hand gestures—that help to identify each figure (or, as I will discuss, cause more confusion in identifying the often identical figures).

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<sup>28</sup> Joe Comm, *Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2009).

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Meyer with Lew Hinchman, *Media Democracy: How the Media Colonize Politics* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

<sup>30</sup> Dean E. Alger, *The Media and Politics* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1996).

As for pop culture jargon, many of the terms used in the chapter regarding the Dalai Lama and the internet are quite new, and, like the internet itself, ever-changing. I use the term media culture to include any type of widely available visual representation of the Dalai Lama, including photographs, movies, documentaries, and advertisements. I use the term social media to refer to any internet-based platform that allows the user to interface with other users. I specifically look at Twitter and Facebook as the two largest social media sites. These sites also have specific terminology (“friending,” “tweets”) that will be defined within the chapter.

As for translation, I am following in the path of the Tibetan scholars (such as David Jackson) who choose to provide the most direct transcriptions of Tibetan words. This means that the words are given in the Romanized transliteration rather than Wylie in order to make them more accessible to the reader (thus, the Tibetan name is rendered as Tenzin Gyatso rather than bstan ‘dzin rgya mtsho). The exception to this usage is apparent in quoted sources wherein I have left the author’s choice of transcription. For the Sanskrit transliterations, I have chosen to include the diacritical marks for the terms most familiar with readers (thus, Avalokiteśvara rather than Avalokiteshvara). For Chinese terms and names, I use the Pinyin system, eliminating apostrophes and spaces (thus, Qing rather than Ch’ ing).

## Chapter 2: Traditional Portraits from the Sixteenth Century to the 1950's: Painting and Sculpture

### Introduction

In Tibetan Buddhism, the teacher, or lama, is essential to the devotee's practice. The lama is viewed by the practitioner as a fully enlightened being dedicated to teaching the student the *dharma*, or teachings, of the Buddha. In fact, the role of the teacher is so important in Tibetan Buddhism that lamas are often depicted as the central figure in painted imagery. Like the portrayals of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other key figures that pervade Buddhist art, Tibetan teachers are generally prominently displayed in painting; they are often centrally positioned as the main subject of the painting, larger than surrounding figures, and display *mudras* (hand positions) and *asanas* (seated positions) that reflect their status and characterize their practice. Not surprisingly, these characteristics are shared with representations of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other highly ranked individuals in Tibetan Buddhist art.

In Tibetan Buddhism, the authority of the teachings is established in part by the specific route by which the teachings are transmitted from master to disciple. In Tibetan paintings, lamas are often shown surrounded by their predecessors within the individual sect. One purpose of lineage paintings is to show the practitioner the authority of his or



her teacher by establishing a connection to earlier, highly regarded lamas, and ultimately, to Śākyamūni Buddha.

Before turning to the painted and sculpted images of the Tibetan Buddhist teachers, the concept of *ngadrama* must be addressed. Very few images can be accurately dated within one century, thus it is difficult to ascertain which images, if any, were created during the lifetime of the figure depicted. Although we know that images today can be created during the lifetime of a lama (including the current Dalai Lama,), we do not know if this practice is relatively new or a continuation of previous traditions. David Jackson believes that the majority of images we have today were not created during the lifetime of the figure, but were based on earlier drawings or portraits that were created either during the teacher's lifetime or shortly after death.<sup>31</sup> Some scholars suggest that the term *ngadrama*, literally translated to “something like me,” is meant to refer to those images created during the subject's lifetime.

*Ngadrama* is referenced in texts dating to the twelfth century, according to the extensive research on the subject by Heather Stoddard.<sup>32</sup> Stoddard categorizes portraiture into *ngadrama*, self-portraits, portraits made just after the person dies, those made long

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<sup>31</sup> David P. Jackson, *Mirror of the Buddha: Early Portraits from Tibet*, (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2011), 17.

<sup>32</sup> Heather Stoddard, “Fourteen Centuries of Tibetan Portraiture,” in *Portraits of the Masters: Bronze Sculptures of the Tibetan Buddhist Lineages*, Donald Dinwiddie, editor. (Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc., 2003), 18. Stoddard cites the *terma*, *Five Classes of Exposition*, in her discussion of a *ngadrama* Padmasambhava image, saying that when Padmasambhava consecrated it, “the earth trembled and filled with five-coloured rays of light, while the gods rained down flowers. It was as the manifest body of the Master, the oral instructions emitted from the essence of the pitaka, the secret unsurpassable ‘heart-drop’ of the Great Perfection (Dzogchen).” The resulting image was supposedly given to Trisong Detson as a substitute for the master teacher.

after death, modern portraiture, magic manifestations, and lay portraiture.<sup>33</sup> The first group, *ngadrama*, includes (according to Stoddard) those images created during the lifetime of the subject. She believes these were consecrated with the approval of the subject. The term itself is used by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his writings regarding his own imagery: “I composed the inscription for a statue of me that the supervisor of sacrificial offerings had commissioned in gilded copper.”<sup>34</sup> Even though these *ngadrama* may have been created during the lifetimes of the subjects, it does not appear that the overall representation was any different than those created posthumously. Michael Henss states “the fact that a particular image was created during the lifetime of a Dalai Lama does not mean greater portrait faithfulness.”<sup>35</sup> Stoddard states that most *ngadrama* images were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. If this is true, it supports David Jackson’s belief that the vast majority of images we have today were created after the death of the teacher depicted.

Portraiture played an important role in Tibetan Buddhist imagery from an early date. Although the earliest paintings depicting Buddhist lineages have likely been lost over time, we do have paintings dating from the thirteenth century (possibly earlier) that reflect the influential nature of the lineage teachers. Jane Casey Singer’s work on the subject, specifically her article “Early Portrait Painting in Tibet,” discusses the social,

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<sup>33</sup> Stoddard, 31.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Henss discusses the Fifth Dalai Lama’s imagery and how these figures appear to be more “lifelike” in many ways than the other Dalai Lama representations except for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. . Michael Henss, “The Iconography of the Dalai Lamas” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, Martin Brauen, editor (Zurich: Serindia Publications, 2005, 262-277), 262-263.

<sup>35</sup> Henss, 262.

political, and religious purposes of portraiture in early Tibetan history.<sup>36</sup> Her work is foundational in its discussion of the physiognomic characteristics that may or may not be life-like attributes of the early scholars. My goal in this chapter is to explore the religious and devotional function of Dalai Lama portraiture through the three personas of the institution: man, monk, and political leader. I begin with the history of the institution.

### History of the Dalai Lama Institution

One of the most renowned lineages in Tibet is that of the Dalai Lama. To date, there have been fourteen holders of the Dalai Lama title, including Tenzin Gyatso (b. 1935), the current Dalai Lama. Many of the individuals who have held this position came to have both tremendous spiritual and political authority within Tibet. Since the 1959 diaspora from Tibet, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama has become a major figure on the world's religious and political stage. In order to understand the artistic representations of the Dalai Lama, it is important to understand just who these individuals were and what roles they have played in Tibetan history.

First, the Dalai Lama is what Tibetans consider a reincarnated lama, or *tulku*. The belief in reincarnation is fundamental to the practice of Buddhism, and, for most practitioners the immediate goal is to accrue enough good karma in one's current lifetime to ensure a better rebirth in the next life. In Buddhism, beings who have attained a high level of rebirth are often believed to have the ability to remember their past lives and predict their future ones. A *tulku* is one such being. By the time of Gendun Drup

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<sup>36</sup> Jane Casey Singer, "Early Portrait Painting in Tibet" in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, K.R. van Kooij and H. van der Veere, editors. Gonda Indological Series, vol. 2. (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1995).

(recognized posthumously as the First Dalai Lama), the recognition of reincarnated lamas was a ubiquitous phenomenon in all sects of Tibetan Buddhism.

Whereas rebirth refers to the general process of *samsara* in which living beings die and are reborn, reincarnation refers to the human who has lived previous lives as a human. The term emanation refers to the notion that a human can be the earthly manifestation of a bodhisattva or buddha. Incarnation is used with both ideas; one can be an incarnation of a previously living human as well as an incarnation of a bodhisattva. Scholar Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp cites an early reference to reincarnation in writer Advayavajra's use of the phrase *jetsungyi trulpeku* (reincarnation of the holy lord) in the latter's eleventh-century commentary on Saraha's verses. Tibetan tradition maintains that the first official reincarnated *tulku* was Karma Pakshi (1206-1283), the Second Karmapa Lama.<sup>37</sup> Karma Pakshi was believed to be the incarnation of Dusum Khyenpa, the First Karmapa Lama. Scholars largely agree that the Kagyu School was the first Tibetan school to promote reincarnation as a foundation of leadership (though lamas who were identified as reincarnations certainly existed prior to Karma Pakshi). During the twelfth century, recognition of *tulkus* by Kadam masters (the lineage that would become the Geluk lineage) became far more common. This concept became foundational to the Geluk sect and the institution of the Dalai Lama as each subsequent Dalai Lama was viewed as a reincarnation of the previous individual. Further, the Dalai Lama was known to be an incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Avalokiteśvara was linked to

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<sup>37</sup> Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, "The Dalai Lamas and the Origins of Reincarnate Lamas," in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, edited by Martin Brauen, (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005) 28.

many early Indian Buddhist adepts. These figures (sometimes depicted in lineage paintings) are thus directly connected to the Dalai Lama. Since these figures are also linked to Śakyamūni Buddha, an absolute connection is made between the Dalai Lama, Avalokiteśvara, and the historic Buddha. To this day, the Dalai Lama is viewed as both a man and as Avalokiteśvara, two aspects of his persona that define his teachings and daily life.

Avalokiteśvara was (and is) viewed as the protector figure of Tibet. Atiśa identified the Tibetan teacher Dromton (1005-1064) as the physical embodiment of Avalokiteśvara and the importance of this aspect of the lineage grew with the emergence of the Geluk institution. Dromton was also believed to have been linked to King Songtsen Gampo, himself believed to be an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.<sup>38</sup> This belief was later used to support the view that the Dalai Lama and the Geluk lineage were the legitimate rulers of Tibet and the legitimate heirs to the first Buddhist king, Songtsen Gampo.

However, the scarcity of evidence connecting the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo to Avalokiteśvara has caused some scholars to question whether the connection to Avalokiteśvara was made during his lifetime or was a later interpretation. Eva Dargyay notes that this putative connection between ruler and Avalokiteśvara is viewed by many

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<sup>38</sup> Van der Kuijp, 24. Van der Kuijp cites the *Accounts of Rebirths* of Dromton and makes a connection to the early importance of the historical Buddha's *jataka* tales. Later Tibetan texts further linked earlier kings with bodhisattvas: Songtsen Gampo was considered an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, Trisong Detsen was connected to Mañjuśrī, and Ralpachen was known to be an incarnation of Vajrapani. Van der Kuijp states that Kadam, Sakya, and Kagyu writings attest to these linkages.

western scholars as a later addition to the traditional history.<sup>39</sup> She cites Giuseppe Tucci's assertion that Tibetans did not identify the connection until Tibet regained political independence from Mongolian rule in the thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Dargyay also notes the vague language used in the writings of the time of the Dharma kings (the Yarlung Dynasty), which included Songtsen Gampo, and observes that the wording is not specific enough to link the ruler to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara:

This is the dharma which descended from the heavens: The lords over men, the sons of god(s). the (sic) best kings, Srong-btsan sgam-po, the king divinely manifested, and the mighty (bstan po) Khri-srong lde-btsan, they learned the dharma of the Perfection of Wisdom, the one [taught] by the Sugata....and worked the weal of all beings living in this world, in Tibet the land of men.<sup>41</sup>

However, Dargyay provides evidence that does, in fact, link Songtsen Gampo to Avalokiteśvara during the reign of Trisong Detsen. A letter, written by the Indian teacher Buddhaguhya to Trisong Detsen (roughly 100 years following Songtsen Gampo's death), praises the ruler as the "heir of a family of bodhisattvas, and his forefather Srong-btsan sgam-po, as an embodiment of Avalokitesvara."<sup>42</sup> Dargyay argues that the personal events of Buddhaguhya's life would have pressured him to make such connections. Regardless, it is certainly agreed among scholars that the connection between the ruler and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was in place long before the advent of the Dalai Lama

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<sup>39</sup> Eva K. Dargyay, "Srong-btsan Sgam-po of Tibet," *The History of Tibet* (volume one), Alex McKay, editor. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003) 365.

<sup>40</sup> Giuseppe Tucci cited in Dargyay, 366.

<sup>41</sup> Dunhuang document edited by Hugh Richardson and cited by Dargyay, "Srong-btsan Sgam-po of Tibet," 366.

<sup>42</sup> Dargyay, "Srong-btsan Sgam-po of Tibet", 367.

institution. The biography of the First Dalai Lama lists the connection between the teacher and Avalokiteśvara, implying that this embodiment was understood at least by the time of Gendun Drup.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, the work describes the First Dalai Lama as the incarnation of Songtsen Gampo, again reinforcing a strong political lineage.

The regent (or *desi*) Sanggye Gyatso wrote of the Avalokiteśvara connection during the rule of the Fifth Dalai Lama (r. 1642-1682).<sup>44</sup> His discussion begins with the 36 reincarnations of Avalokiteśvara, including the historical Buddha and previous incarnations that appeared “nine hundred and ninety-one aeons ago.”<sup>45</sup> The seventeenth-century regent continues by discussing the “Introduction of the Compassion of the Holy Avalokiteśvara into Tibet, the Land of Snows.”<sup>46</sup> He cites a translation of the *Pundarika Sutra* which, in turn, cites the Buddha’s discussion with the bodhisattva Sarvanivarana Vishkambin:

Son of (good) family, in the kingdom of snows which is a barbarian country full of many demons, like a country which has never been converted (to Buddhism) by and of the Buddhas for the three times—(in that country), in future, the holy religion will rise like the sun. it (sic) will spread and become extensive. The living beings (there) will be set on the path of Enlightenment (which leads to) salvation....The Holy Avalokiteśvara will be the spiritual guide who will convert that barbarian country.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ishihama Yumiko, “On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,” *The History of Tibet* (volume two), edited by Alex McKay, (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003) 543. The biography cited is *The First Dalai Lama’s Biography*, Yeshe Tsemo, 1494.

<sup>44</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. *Drin can rtsa ba’i bla ma nag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho’i thun mong phyi’i rnam thar du ku la’i gos bzang glegs bam gsum pa’i ‘phros bzhi pa* (*Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama, vol. IV part I.*) Translated by Zahiruddin Ahmad, (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1999), 43.

<sup>45</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 43.

<sup>46</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 127.

<sup>47</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 127.

Sanggye Gyatso also cites the *Guyhasamaja Tantra* as an early source indicating the connection of Avalokiteśvara with Tibet: “That Land of Snows, O Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara mTha’-Yas Rigs-mChog, will be the land which will be converted by you. In that country, the teaching of the Three Baskets and the highest Vajrayana religion will be fully clarified by you.”<sup>48</sup> Following these chapters, the Fifth Dalai Lama’s regent describes the next eight reincarnations of Avalokiteśvara, further ensuring a direct connection to the earlier Indian masters. This is followed by a section on the Dalai Lamas of Tibet, by then seen as clear inheritors to the Avalokiteśvara lineage. The prophecy of the First Dalai Lama is explained:

At the end of nine periods of wars,  
One with the name of bSod-Nams mChog  
Will revive the corpse of the Teaching.  
Although his explanations will be like an ocean (rGya-mTsho),  
His laws will be somewhat slack.  
“One with an uncloven hoof” and a lion  
Will protect those who break the laws and go astray.<sup>49</sup>

Ishihama Yumiko’s article, “On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama” discusses the biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama and how he reinforced his connection to Avalokiteśvara, citing the Fifth’s efforts as the most successful in solidifying the incarnation status.<sup>50</sup> The political authority held by the earlier kings as

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<sup>48</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 128.

<sup>49</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 197

<sup>50</sup> Yumiko, 551. Yumiko describes *terma* (or hidden texts) that, although dating prior to the establishment of the Geluk sect, clearly identify Tibet as an entity to be saved by Avalokiteśvara. He continues to note the connection made between the first Tibetan king and Songtsen Gampo as manifestations of



manifestations of the bodhisattva would ultimately be given to the Geluk incarnations; although the Dalai Lama began as a spiritual teacher only, he eventually held the dual role of political and sacred leader of Tibet. This chapter will explore the separate roles of the Dalai Lamas as visually interpreted in portraiture.

This section focuses on earlier imagery in order to establish the traditional idioms in place prior to the arrival of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas. This chapter is certainly not exhaustive in its evaluation of early Tibetan portraiture; rather, I hope to use these images as case studies for the three divisions of man, monk, and political leader.

The first group of images showcase the Third Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso, the man who was first to be recognized in the position. Four paintings are compared, one each from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Although these paintings span four hundred years (the earliest possibly dated to the lifetime of the man depicted), some traditional characteristics of Tibetan portraiture remain consistent. The artists consistently use Buddhist iconography—*mudras*, *asanas*, and attributes—to connect the monk (Dalai Lama) depicted to Avalokiteśvara and the historical Buddha. The physical likeness of Sonam Gyatso is never firmly established; I propose that this shifts the focus of these particular images to the institution itself, rather than the man.

The second set of images discussed depicts the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, a figure renowned for his political savvy. Again, four images were chosen for their difference in date and geography. The styles of these four paintings also vary greatly. The Fifth Dalai

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Avalokiteśvara, thus again solidifying the lineage which would ultimately validate the Dalai Lama institution.

Lama is depicted with a mustache and patch of hair on his chin. These physical attributes are a rarity in early Dalai Lama imagery; in fact, the Fifth Dalai Lama can be recognized by this mustache even with his other features appearing more generalized. This visual cue points to the individuality of the man. It is likely that the biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama was stressed more often in imagery due to the higher status of the ruler in Tibetan history (discussed in this chapter). Even so, certain Buddhological features remain, showcasing the “monk” nature of the Dalai Lama.

Finally, the Seventh Dalai Lama is depicted in a group of images showcasing his interesting biography. Once again, the “man” and “monk” are highlighted in the image. The first two paintings discussed are more generalized in appearance, thus again focusing on the institution of the Dalai Lama (the political component is emphasized). The last two portraits discussed, however, are quite distinct in style. In fact, the last of the images evaluated hardly looks like a Dalai Lama—it is an image showcasing the tantric nature of Kelsang Gyatso. Although these tantric features certainly reference individual characteristics and biography, this painting still show the Dalai Lama as the most important figure through central placement and hierarchic scale.

The images of the early Dalai Lamas discussed in this chapter date from the earliest, sixteenth-century imagery of the Dalai Lamas to the nineteenth century paintings. The paintings are not necessarily created during the life of the Dalai Lama depicted, and thus I am following a chronological sequence with each set of Dalai Lama paintings rather than the direct sequence of the teachers themselves. This chapter does

not claim to address the dating or recognition of the paintings. I defer to the scholars of these specific types of works for these attributions.

This chapter also details several works from the twentieth century depicting the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas in a more traditional manner. Like the earlier images, each of these paintings can be viewed with the various roles of the Dalai Lama in mind. The “man” is evident in the individualism of the photorealistic features of many of these images, the “monk” is found in the traditional postures, attributes, and settings of the figures, and the “political leader” is emphasized strongly in order to further promote the idea of the Dalai Lama as a leader of a sovereign nation.

A brief section on sculpture provides some evidence for the varied approaches within other forms of media, though the lack of any contextual information for these images prevents a more detailed account. A complete set of Dalai Lama images in the Tibet House, New Delhi, is used as an example of how the paintings may have been originally intended to be displayed; that is, as a part of a larger group of images likely showcasing the earlier Dalai Lamas. This chapter provides a foundation for the later types of images of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas discussed later.

## The Third Dalai Lama: Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588)<sup>51</sup>

Sonam Gyatso was born in 1543 in the Kyisho region of central Tibet. In 1546, at the age of three, he was recognized as the incarnation of Gendun Gyatso. A lama received a vision that the child was Avalokiteśvara, and he was subsequently brought to Drepung, taking his novice vows from Panchen Sonam Dragpa who gave him the name Sonam Gyatso Pelzangpo Tanpe Nyima Chok Tamche Lenampar Gyalwa. At 22, Sonam Gyatso took the full Gelong (or monastic) vows from Gelek Palsang and gave his first teaching at Tashilunpo in 1564.

Sonam Gyatso is perhaps best known for his excellent relationship with the Mongolian Khan. Altan Khan and Sonam Gyatso epitomized the “patron-priest” relationship (*yon mchod*) that would strengthen Tibetan and Mongolian relations for many years.<sup>52</sup> Both parties benefitted from the relationship: the Tibetans were the spiritual advisors to their Mongol neighbors, thus able to further the cause of Buddhism. The Mongolians were able to continue the relationships of their ancestors, legitimizing their rule. It was this relationship that led Altan Khan to give the title of “Dalai Lama” (“ocean teacher”) to Sonam Gyatso. The full title was *ghaikhamsigh vcir-a dar-a say-in cogh-tu buyan-tu dalai*, meaning “wonderful Vajradhara, good, brilliant, commendable ocean.”

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<sup>51</sup> Sources for the biographies of the Dalai Lamas discussed include the official website of the current Dalai Lama: [www.dalailama.com/biography/the-dalai-lamas](http://www.dalailama.com/biography/the-dalai-lamas) and the *Treasury of Lives: Biographies of Himalayan Buddhist Masters*: [www.tibetanlineages.org](http://www.tibetanlineages.org)

<sup>52</sup> This relationship built upon that of Pakpa and Kubilai centuries earlier. Pakpa became a personal spiritual advisor to the Mongolian ruler Kubilai Khan.

Possibly one of the earliest extant images of the Third Dalai Lama is a *thangka* from Guge now in a private collection (Figure 1). Michael Henss writes that a ruler in the western Tibetan region may have commissioned the painting after Sonam Gyatso's 1572 visit to Guge (yet still during the teacher's lifetime).<sup>53</sup> If this was created during the lifetime of Sonam Gyatso, one might expect a more naturalistic or "life-like" representation of the figure. However, as Michael Henss discusses in his essay regarding Dalai Lama iconography, "the fact that a particular image was created during the lifetime of a Dalai Lama does not mean greater portrait faithfulness."<sup>54</sup>

Sonam Gyatso, the first Dalai Lama recognized in his lifetime, sits in a frontal position facing the viewer directly. He is much larger than the surrounding landscape and architectural features; the use of hierarchic scale denotes the importance of the figure. The surrounding scenes showcase images from Sonam Gyatso's visions and travels, identified by inscriptions on the painting.<sup>55</sup> The surrounding buildings, although rendered in a realistic fashion, are clearly much smaller than the central figure and smaller than the accompanying figures in each of the tableaux. This scale serves a Buddhological function; although the scenes help the viewer understand moments in the life of the teacher, it is the teacher himself who is the central area of focus. The rounded face and gentle smile of the figure could certainly be referring to the physiognomy of Sonam Gyatso in detail, or, perhaps these are more generalized features not meant to

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<sup>53</sup> Henss, "Iconography of the Dalai Lamas," 262. Marilyn Rhie corroborates the probability of this date in *Wisdom and Compassion*.

<sup>54</sup> Henss, 262.

<sup>55</sup> Rhie, Marilyn M. Rhie and Robert A.F. Thurman, *Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet* (New York: Harry N. Abrams) 1991, 271. Rhie describes each of the scenes and the corresponding biographical event.

display any life-like physicality (Figure 2-Figure 3). These facial features will be compared to later images of Sonam Gyatso in order to further show the selective nature of physical representation.

As with other sect paintings, this image was created for a purpose beyond simple artistic representation: it represents the highest exemplar of the Geluk sect. The image shows biographical events that helped to shape Sonam Gyatso's life and, in doing so, highlights the Third Dalai Lama as a man and monk. The scenes from the life of the Third Dalai Lama surround the central figure who reaches down in *bhumisparsa mudra* as he sits in what appears to be *vajrasana* under his clothing. He holds the long-life vase (*bumpa*) in his left hand. These are features and attributes that would have been used in Sonam Gyatso's practice, so it is not surprising to see them here. These attributes also connect the Dalai Lama to Buddha imagery—through these Buddhist symbols, the artist legitimizes the connection of the Dalai Lama to earlier incarnations, and thus, also serves a political function.

A seventeenth-century *thangka* in the Collection of the Hahn Cultural Foundation shows the central figure of the Third Dalai Lama surrounded by handprints, footprints, and other figures rather than biographical events (Figure 4-Figure 5).<sup>56</sup> The hand and footprints, used to consecrate the image, again point to the importance of the man depicted.<sup>57</sup> This consecration process, though Buddhist in nature, would likewise validate the image in a political sense. Because numerous groups were vying for political

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<sup>56</sup> Himalayan Art Resources (HAR), image 98854. The image has been identified by both the Hahn Cultural Foundation and the Himalayan Art Resources as Sonam Gyatso.

<sup>57</sup> Dalai Lama paintings were often consecrated. Many (but not all) photographs of the current Dalai Lama are also consecrated. I discuss this practice more fully in later chapters.

power throughout the reigns of all Dalai Lamas (as well as other sectarian figures), the consecration reaffirms the true nature of the depicted figure—that is, the incarnate buddha/bodhisattva. The notion of consecration is further discussed with later imagery, as this is a continuing practice that remains essential to practitioners. Hierarchic scale and central placement highlight the Third Dalai Lama over the surrounding figures. A comparison with the earlier *thangka* shows the same sweetly smiling face of the Dalai Lama, though the figure in the later image has a slightly more pronounced chin (Figure 6). The later figure’s facial features are not spaced evenly as in the earlier image; rather, the eyes and eyebrows tilt towards each other and are closer together. The mouth is outlined rather than filled in with red, as in the earlier figure. These changes might reflect the skill level of the artists working on each image or a stylistically different approach. Again, the physical features in both paintings may refer to actual “life-like” features of the man; regardless, the image is still not codified in terms of facial features or iconography.

The iconography of the figure in the seventeenth-century *thangka* shows the figure holding a bell (*ghanta*) in his left hand and a *vajra* in his right hand as he makes a gesture commonly portrayed in rituals. Although this again shows another aspect of Sonam Gyatso’s role as an exemplar, it differs from the earlier figure holding the vase of long-life in one hand and performing the *bhumisparsa mudra* with the other. The yellow hat of the Geluk sect remains similarly presented, as does the drapery found on the earlier image. All of these visual cues are again Buddhological components that connect the monk to earlier religious figures. This is religious imagery with a political component.

Again, by showcasing the validity of the lineage, the artist has reinforced the validity of the political rule of the figure.

The next examples are *thangkas* from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and differ in that the central figure is located to the viewer's left side of the image in three-quarter view. These may have been *thangkas* that were part of a set including earlier and later Dalai Lama incarnations.<sup>58</sup> In an eighteenth-century image of Sonam Gyatso, the figure is not centered in the image (again, due to the painting's possible inclusion in a set), but he is still the most prominent figure of the painting (Figure 7-Figure 8).<sup>59</sup> His size is much larger than the background of hills and accompanying architectural structures. Stylistically, this painting showcases the Chinese influence of a blue and green landscape setting. This is in contrast to the paintings that show a background absent of a clear landscape in favor of emphasizing the Buddhological figures surrounding the central teacher.

The physical characteristics of the Dalai Lama again seem somewhat generalized; however, a direct comparison with the sixteenth-century *thangka* face of Sonam Gyatso shows the inclusion on both images of fuller, brightly colored lips (Figure 9). The artist of the later image has depicted the nose and chin of Sonam Gyatso in a more protruding fashion (although this is possibly a difference due to the three-quarter view of the representation). The eyes on the later painting are much more open and differently

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<sup>58</sup> The nineteenth-century *thangka* is listed as part of a set, specifically the ninth image of a series which includes an image of Avalokiteśvara. <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/327.html>

<sup>59</sup> As shown with the set described later in this chapter, some paintings that depict the central figures as off center or in three-quarter view may have originally been part of a set (and thus, facing in toward a central *thangka* with a forward-facing figure).



shaped than the eyes on the earlier painting. The faces are certainly not similar enough to indicate the same person if viewed without an inscription. Either one of these images (or both) may have been alluding to a physical likeness of Sonam Gyatso, but neither one shows the teacher in a strictly lifelike fashion. Once again, the image displays a selective realism.

The figure is shown as a prominent teacher through the use of iconographic attributes, again referencing the monk status of the figure. Like the seventeenth-century version, this Sonam Gyatso holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left—a reference to actual ritual practice and a sign of an advanced adept. Again, this differs from the *bhumisparsa mudra* and vase attributes shown in the sixteenth-century *thangka*. Sonam Gyatso also wears the yellow hat of the Geluk sect, again referencing the importance of this figure as a highly attained teacher. His positioning and iconography is quite similar to the final image of Sonam Gyatso discussed, a nineteenth-century *thangka* in the Rubin Museum of Art.

In a nineteenth-century image (Figure 10-Figure 12), the Third Dalai Lama again sits toward the viewer's left of the image in three-quarter view. He is surrounded by landscape elements (a blue sky and green hills), though these elements are only part of the selective realism of the image. Rather than placing Sonam Gyatso in the scenery, he dominates the image and is clearly much larger than he would be in a more naturalistic rendering. Sonam Gyatso's facial features reveal some distinctions between the physicality of this version of Sonam Gyatso and earlier versions (Figure 12). The lips, although still smiling, are not as intensely colored as in the sixteenth and eighteenth-

century versions. There is much more shading employed in the face, and although this may just be a stylistic feature, it again fits the composite approach Tibetan artists used for centuries. Other physical features in the nineteenth-century *thangka* support this conclusion. The eyes in the nineteenth-century image are wide open with no hint of the bow-shaped eyes found in the eighteenth-century version or the meditating eyes of the sixteenth-century version. The nose is just as long as the nose in the eighteenth-century *thangka*, but the bridge of the nose is straight rather than curved. Certainly, if the exact likeness of the features was to be maintained through the years, a curved nose could have easily been added. However, the artists do not emphasize one specific feature over another. Sonam Gyatso does still wear the yellow hat of the Geluk sect and again holds a *vajra* and bell. The Buddhist iconography is still firmly in place, connecting this man to his role as a monk and, ultimately, to a more politically charged figure. The first Dalai Lama to fully embrace the political component of his role during his lifetime was the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso.

#### The Fifth Dalai Lama: Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (1617-1682)<sup>60</sup>

The Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, was born in 1617 to Nyingma practitioners in Lhoka Chingwar Taktse, south of Lhasa in the Yarlung Valley. The Fifth Dalai Lama was discovered by an attendant of the Fourth Dalai Lama and took his novice vows at Drepung Monastery. He was fully ordained in 1638, but not before

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<sup>60</sup> Sources for the biographies of the Dalai Lamas discussed include the official website of the current Dalai Lama: [www.dalailama.com/biography/the-dalai-lamas](http://www.dalailama.com/biography/the-dalai-lamas) and the *Treasury of Lives: Biographies of Himalayan Buddhist Masters*: [www.tibetanlineages.org](http://www.tibetanlineages.org)

meeting with Mongolian leader Gushri Khan in 1637. They agreed to continue the same priest/patron relation that had served both parties—Tibet and Mongolia—so well in previous years. The Fifth Dalai Lama bestowed a title upon Gushri Khan: Tenzin Chogyal, “holder of the teaching, king of dharma.”

In 1645, the Dalai Lama began construction of the Potala Palace (so named as reference to the abode of Avalokiteśvara) built on the Red Hill, the site of the red fort of Songtsen Gampo (the early king of Tibet). The building took 43 years to complete and, until recently, served as the winter home of all subsequent Dalai Lamas. Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso spoke of himself as the emanation of Avalokiteśvara, furthering connections to the bodhisattva of compassion.

The Fifth Dalai Lama managed to consolidate much of the power of central Tibet. Although open to many different spiritual teachings for personal growth, the Fifth Dalai Lama banned the study of *shentong* and converted the Tagten Phuntsok Choling Monastery. He did remain a supporter of the Nyingma, ensuring the foundation of a Dzogchen monastery in the 1680’s and producing texts of *terma*, or revealed scripture (popular in the Nyingma tradition).

The Fifth Dalai Lama was the first Dalai Lama to fully embrace the role of spiritual and secular leader of Tibet. Through force and clever alliances, he managed to unite central Tibet and assert Geluk dominance. A revival of sorts was seen in Lhasa. The arts flourished and an administrative infrastructure strengthened the economy. The Fifth Dalai Lama wrote many religious commentaries, demonstrating his spiritual as well

as secular proficiency. After the Dalai Lama's death in 1682, the Regent Sanggye Gyatso hid this fact in an attempt to remain in charge of the newly united area. Fifteen years passed with Tibetans believing the Dalai Lama to be in meditation. The Regent ruled during this time before finally identifying the Sixth Dalai Lama.

In a seventeenth-century *thangka* in the Musée National des Arts (Figure 13- Figure 14), the Fifth Dalai Lama dominates the painting as the central and largest figure, again showing the importance of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso. Like the seventeenth-century image of the Third Dalai Lama, this painting is complete with the hand and foot prints of consecration. Again, this consecration points to the importance of the image and legitimizes the religious nature of the figure by validating the man's connection to earlier incarnations. This, in turn, validates the man as political ruler. The central figure is much larger than the surrounding figures, including the five Buddhological figures at the top and fierce deities in the lower corners of the painting. Directly in front of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso is a group of monks, again rendered in a much smaller scale than the central teacher.

The iconographic elements in this image do not necessarily match those of other paintings of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Like the seventeenth-century painting of the Third Dalai Lama, this Dalai Lama holds the *vajra* in his right hand and the *ghanta* in his left hand. With both incarnations having the same iconographic features, it is clear that the figures are not distinguished through attributes. The facial features of the Fifth Dalai Lama are very difficult to see in the image, possibly due to the age of the painting. In Figure 15, one can see that the eyes appear very narrow and tilted in towards each other.

His lips may have been initially brightly colored, and he wears the yellow hat of the Geluk sect. These features could easily be misconstrued as those of the Third Dalai Lama, as I have shown with previous examples. A direct comparison with the Third Dalai Lama *thangka* from the seventeenth century (Figure 16) shows the viewer that regardless of the different techniques and stylistic choices of the artist, the placement and centrality of the figure and a selective use of physicality of the man remain important tenets.

Another painting that is quite different in style but remains consistent with the characteristics discussed above is a seventeenth-century red and gold *thangka* of the Fifth Dalai Lama in the Rubin Museum of Art (Figure 17-Figure 18). Inscriptions of identifications are found beneath each figure on the front of the image.<sup>61</sup> The central figure of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso is larger than the surrounding figures that include images of the previous Dalai Lamas, Avalokiteśvara, and Dromton. The viewer is directly confronted with the previous incarnation of Dromton and the buddha/bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, thus one finds the Buddhological components again central to the imagery. The seat and throne of the Dalai Lama are rendered in a very large fashion and occupy much of the image. The remaining background is colored in red. The accompanying figures are drawn in red but otherwise entirely gold in the same manner as the central figure. There is a floral motif winding behind the uppermost figures. These components again show the selective realism in play by the artist. There is no sense of a “realistic” or naturalistic background for the images, but there are differences in the

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<sup>61</sup> Watt, HAR, 2-2000, updated 11-2006, image 506.

physiognomies that reference specific people. The central figure, as the main Dalai Lama of the image, shows some physical features that may represent some likeness of the man himself (Figure 19). However, the face is still rendered in a more generalized fashion, and without the accompanying inscription, could be easily misconstrued as another Dalai Lama.

A closer look at the facial features of the Fifth Dalai Lama show the bow-shaped eyes and evenly spaced features seen in the earlier and previous Dalai Lama images. These general features are also found in Buddha imagery—the connection is deliberate. The institution is highlighted here over the individual nature of the man. There does seem to be some hair appearing under the sides of the hat, but again the hat covers any specific hairline that might be specific to Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso. The nose is just one line (much like other portraits discussed) and the lips seem to be in a slight upturn, perhaps indicating a small smile. The major physical characteristic here is the indication of facial hair. There is a small patch of hair on the chin of the Dalai Lama and a slight, downturned mustache. Later images (as I will show) will include this facial hair, making the Fifth Dalai Lama easier to recognize. However, the remainder of the face is not codified; the other renderings show the more generalized characteristics that could be those of any other Dalai Lama. The artist has depicted a specific lifelike quality, but has not attempted a completely lifelike image. This again points to the composite approach of the Tibetan artist—by creating the image in such a way, the artist is able to communicate multiple aspects of the figure, namely the man and the monk.

In the image, the Fifth Dalai Lama displays the *vitarka mudra* with his right hand (also holding a lotus) and holds a long-life vase with his left hand. Again, these attributes are not codified to refer to only one specific person, but rather show different moments or teachings of the figures.<sup>62</sup> In one explanation for the attribute, Jeff Watt states that the inclusion of the long-life vase indicates that this image was created during the lifetime of the Fifth Dalai Lama, though he does not expand on this assertion.<sup>63</sup> However, there is an appliqué *thangka* in the Museum der Kulturen in Basel in which the Fifth Dalai Lama is holding a long-life vase; this was created in the eighteenth-century *after* the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Figure 20).<sup>64</sup> This work is identified as the Fifth Dalai Lama and dated in *Die Götter des Himalaya* as well as by the museum curator, Stephanie Lovasz. I did not see any inscriptions when viewing this work in person, (there may have been some inaccessible inscriptions under the silk backing), but Lovasz points to the slight mustache as indicative of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso. In any case, this example serves as an exception to Jeff Watt's argument that the inclusion of the long-life vase indicates a work created during the lifetime of the figure.

An eighteenth-century *thangka* in the Rubin Museum of Art shows the Fifth Dalai Lama in the same central and large position indicating his importance (Figure 21-Figure 22). Martin Brauen's book shows a detail of the inscriptions of some of the figures.<sup>65</sup> He is surrounded by much smaller architectural structures. These buildings are set against

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<sup>62</sup> Later images of the Dalai Lamas do tend to hold specific attributes, however, these are not apparent in every image and still do not guarantee the representation of one specific figure.

<sup>63</sup> Jeff Watt, <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/506.html>.

<sup>64</sup> Roger Goepfer, *Die Götter des Himalaya: Buddhistische Kunst Tibets*, (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1989).

<sup>65</sup> Brauen, plate 46.

the Chinese-influenced blue and green landscape. Each smaller building is the backdrop for a biographical scene. Each scene is identified by an inscription under the vignette.<sup>66</sup> These scenes are meant to reinforce the authority of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso as the highest exemplar of Buddhist faith, though they also inherently highlight the human nature of the man. The image again functions as a tool for the practitioner to emulate the example set forth by the Dalai Lama.

A closer look at the face of the Fifth Dalai Lama shows similarities to the earlier red and gold depiction (comparison in Figure 23). Again, he has a rounded face and bow-shaped eyes. His mouth seems to be depicted in a slight smile (again, reinforcing a connection to the ubiquitous imagery of the historic Buddha and his subtle smile). The facial hair is also apparent, although much less prominent than on the earlier image. The face is generalized enough that without an inscription, this figure would not be recognizable enough to discern the Fifth Dalai Lama. The attributes, while showing the teaching level of the Dalai Lama, again do not reflect a specific correlating identity. The Fifth Dalai Lama holds the *vajra* and *ghanta* (much like the concurrent image of the Third Dalai Lama) (Figure 7). The similarities between this image and the previous red and gold painting of the Fifth Dalai Lama do not indicate an artistic trajectory that gradually becomes codified. Rather, as the next painting clearly shows, artists continued to create imagery of the Dalai Lamas with a composite approach.

A nineteenth-century *thangka* from Eastern Tibet again highlights several aspects of the Dalai Lama's persona (Figure 24-Figure 25). This painting was created in the

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<sup>66</sup> <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/65275.html>



eastern regions of Tibet, and although stylistically different, continues to show the importance of the central figure, iconographic choices that highlight the Buddhist connection, and teaching gestures showcasing the monk nature of the man.

The Dalai Lama sits at the center of the image and, again, is the largest image surrounded by other figures in the landscape setting. The naturalistic hills and green grass are juxtaposed with the Buddhological figures surrounding the central Dalai Lama. A closer look at the face of the Fifth Dalai Lama shows a quite different type of rendering than those seen previously (Figure 26). The facial features almost seem like a caricature of the man; there are some recognizable features (such as the presence of the facial hair), but the facial features are much more exaggerated. In a comparison to the other facial depictions of the Fifth Dalai Lama, this figure seems like a completely different person (Figure 27). The eyes are rounded and slope down on the outer edges; they do not have the bow-shape of the earlier images. The mouth, while still red in color, is pursed rather than slightly smiling. There are wrinkles between the eyes, indicating some type of frowning or serious nature. The mustache appears as two small commas rather than the elongated, downward turning mustache of the red and gold painting. The patch of hair on the Dalai Lama's chin could easily be mistaken for another wrinkle. The facial hair has been incorporated as a reference to the physicality of the Dalai Lama, but none of the other features are rendered in the same manner as the earlier images. As for attributes, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso now holds a wheel in his left hand and displays the *vitarka mudra* while holding a lotus with his right hand. This differs from the *vajra* and *ghanta* of the eighteenth-century *thangka*; it also differs from the long-life vase held in the first

image discussed. Clearly, the artists were not confined to a specific set of rules dictating a lifelike physicality to the image or a codified iconography. This is especially interesting when considering the rigid rules in place for codified imagery of the historic Buddha (guideline and gridlines are in place to ensure an accurate depiction—these rules transcend time and space and are still in use today). Rather, a composite approach—here, meaning the acceptable iconographic changes—to portraiture continued in imagery of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

### The Seventh Dalai Lama: Kelsang Gyatso (1708-1757)<sup>67</sup>

Kelsang Gyatso was born in 1708 in Lithang. He was recognized by oracles as the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso. He took his novice vows in 1720 at the Potala Palace from the Panchen Lama Lobsang Yeshe. His studies included tantric teachings, a subject which is referenced in some imagery of the figure. These biographical references reinforce the “man” nature of the Dalai Lama, even while simultaneously highlighting a very Buddhist idiom—tantrism.

In 1727, after a turbulent period for a newly installed Tibetan oligarchy, a coup, and a subsequent recognition of Pholhane as a unifying ruler, the Seventh Dalai Lama was exiled to the east. A new monastery was built for Kelsang Gyatso in Garthar, east of Kham in Sichuan. Kelsang Gyatso immersed himself in his studies there for eight years, emerging as a tantric master. In 1735, he went back to Lhasa under the conditions of

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<sup>67</sup> Sources for the biographies of the Dalai Lamas discussed include the official website of the current Dalai Lama: [www.dalailama.com/biography/the-dalai-lamas](http://www.dalailama.com/biography/the-dalai-lamas) and the *Treasury of Lives: Biographies of Himalayan Buddhist Masters*: [www.tibetanlineages.org](http://www.tibetanlineages.org)

Pholhane that the Dalai Lama only attend religious and ceremonial functions. After the death of Pholhane in 1747, chaos ensued. The Qinglong Emperor sent ambassadors into Tibet to rule (in some faction) alongside the Dalai Lama. Kelsang Gyatso was responsible for organizing the Tibetan governing system, known as the Kashag, in 1751. This cabinet of rulers still runs today in the exiled Tibetan community of Dharamsala in India.

An eighteenth-century *thangka* in the Rubin Museum of Art shows Kelsang Gyatso as the central and largest figure, again reinforcing his importance within the image (Figure 28-Figure 29). Further attention is given to the central figure by the presence of the flowing gold robes Kelsang Gyatso wears. There are elaborate foliate motifs and the garments in the image are flowing and detailed. Kelsang Gyatso is surrounded by various Buddhological figures and architectural forms that are much smaller; further, the facial features and iconographic choices do not distinguish this Dalai Lama from the previously discussed figures.

A closer look at the face of Kelsang Gyatso shows that the eyes are not fully opened, yet they are not rendered in the bow-shape seen in some of the paintings of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Figure 30). The nose is depicted as one simple line (much like other figures discussed), though it does come to a sharper triangular point in the center. The mouth is somewhat pursed and slightly smiling, much like several of the Fifth Dalai Lama images. The face is very rounded and the traditional Geluk hat covers the hairline, though there is some indication of hair on the sides of the face (again, rendered very much in the manner of the earlier Dalai Lamas). The Seventh Dalai Lama holds a text in

his left hand and displays *vitarka mudra* while holding a lotus stem in his right hand. These are not consistent attributes with all imagery of Kelsang Gyatso. Like with the other Dalai Lamas discussed, the attributes differ in many of the depictions. These attributes refer to the high attainment of Buddhist teachings possessed by the Dalai Lamas. They are not meant to indicate one individual (at least, at this point in time); rather, they serve the larger function of the image as a representation of an exemplary figure in the Geluk sect.

Likewise, a mid-eighteenth century *thangka* of the Seventh Dalai Lama also depicts Kelsang Gyatso in a more generalized form, focusing on the teaching and attainment of the figure rather than individual physical attributes (Figure 31). He is identified as Kelsang Gyatso by the inscription.<sup>68</sup> He has a rounded face and almond shaped eyes. He has the slight smile and red lips seen with the previously discussed Dalai Lamas, thus again not specific to any one individual. His eyebrows are thin and high on his forehead. It is difficult to discern the nose in the image, but it appears as though the artist has used the same singular line to render the nose, much like those of the other Dalai Lamas. In this image, the Dalai Lama holds the wheel in his left hand, rather than the text shown in the left hand of the other eighteenth-century Kelsang Gyatso *thangka*. Kelsang Gyatso is still the largest and most central figure on the image, relaying his importance to the viewer. The background consists of green grass and blue sky, though these more naturalistic components are juxtaposed with the Buddhological figures and small-scale architecture surrounding Kelsang Gyatso. Again, without the

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<sup>68</sup> Brauen, plate 72.

inscription, this figure could easily be mistaken for any other Dalai Lama figure. The various functions of the image—showing the Dalai Lama as the highest exemplary figure for practitioners to emulate, reinforcing the validity of the Dalai Lama as political leader through the associations with earlier incarnations—remain central to the image.

The images discussed above are only a few of the surviving images depicting the earlier Dalai Lamas. However, these selected images are representative of the vast majority of images in that they showcase certain features that highlight the man, monk, and political leader in various ways. These depictions are inherently Buddhist in nature—the figure is a depiction of a teacher to emulate. Iconographic features serve as reminders of the teaching abilities of the figures, not as distinctive traits pertaining to only one individual. I now turn to two images that focus much more intently on the “man;” these paintings showcase biographical events in the life of the Seventh Dalai Lama.

The Museum der Kulturen in Basel houses two nineteenth-century *thangkas* of the Seventh Dalai Lama. As mentioned earlier, Kelsang Gyatso is believed to have received tantric initiations from various traditions.<sup>69</sup> This aspect of his persona is clearly seen in Figure 32. At first, the viewer does not recognize the central figure as that of a Dalai Lama or teacher; indeed, it looks more like a tantric figure, even a female *dakini*. The artist has not included the rounded face, yellow Geluk hat, and monk’s robes on the Dalai Lama. Rather, he is shown with a small garment around his waist and large earrings. He is also red in color. Clearly, these features are not meant to portray Kelsang

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<sup>69</sup> Goepper, 122.

Gyatso in a realistic fashion. In that way, this depiction does fit in to the overall category of selective realism. Other features fit the three characteristics of Tibetan portraiture as well. Kelsang Gyatso is still the central and largest figure, thus showing his importance. He is surrounded by other figures on a more naturalistic green landscape. Although this image focuses on the tantric teachings of Kelsang Gyatso, it does still relay the exemplary nature of the teacher to the audience. The audience recognizes Kelsang Gyatso as a tantric master.

The surrounding imagery on this *thangka* is from the *Secret Biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama*.<sup>70</sup> Although there are no inscriptions on the front or back of the image, curator Stephanie Lovasz states that a similar *thangka* in Munich (which does have inscriptions) serves as the basis for the identification of this image, specifically the claim that this work is, in fact, based on the *Secret Biography*. Although I have been unable to obtain an image of the Munich *thangka*, one can use the iconography in the Basel image to connect it to the Dalai Lama's tantric biographical events.<sup>71</sup> The central image depicts the Dalai Lama as a tantric yogin dressed in tiger skins and bone jewelry. Seven other scenes show Kelsang Gyatso doing several yogic practices including one showing sexual union with a *dakini*. The bottom right shows the Dalai Lama as a hermit meditating in a cave. The viewer would easily read these as tantric scenes, and connect those scenes to the accomplishments of the master teacher at the center. And so,

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<sup>70</sup> Curator Stephanie Lovasz of the Museum der Kulturen in Basel noted the connections between the biography and the scenes depicted. (July, 2009).

<sup>71</sup> According to curator Stephanie Lovasz, the similar painting is located in the Gallery for Tibetan Art, Joachim Baadaer, Munich. Martin Brauen published another similar image in *The Dalai Lamas* making the same connection to the Basel image (plate 77, note on page 290 in *The Dalai Lamas*).

although this painting deviates from the more generalized representations of Dalai Lamas, it does promote the man as an individual and specifically refers to the biographical events Kelsang Gyatso.

Another *thangka* showing scenes from Kelsang Gyatso's life is dated by curator Stephanie Lovasz to the early nineteenth century (Figure 33-Figure 34). Unlike the previous image, this *thangka* has handprints on the back indicating a consecration process, though the creator of the handprints is unknown. The presence of the consecration points to the importance of the image. This consecration validates the image in both a religious and political sense (and, since these spheres were certainly intertwined by this point in Tibetan history, the consecration was a necessary event.) Curators at the Museum der Kulturen in Basel used another similar *thangka* (from the Ethnographic Museum in Zurich, Figure 35) to ascribe this *thangka* as a depiction of the *Secret Biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama*.<sup>72</sup> However, the Dalai Lama's tantric identity is not as apparent in this image due to his more traditional robes and posture (though he lacks the yellow hat seen in previous imagery).

The Dalai Lama's face is rounded, much like other Dalai Lama representations. Here, his hairline is clearly visible. His eyes are almond shaped and his eyebrows arch up toward the outer edges. His lips are red and smiling, much like those found in other Dalai Lama depictions. He holds no attributes, but has his hands in a meditative position. These facial features and attributes do not show exactitude of likeness. Kelsang Gyatso

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<sup>72</sup> Conversation with Stephanie Lovasz, curator at the Museum der Kulturen in Basel, Switzerland (July, 2009).

meditates before an altar table with ritual devices near a rock covered with tiger skin and again, food offerings for the *dakinis*. Eight surrounding scenes show Kelsang Gyatso as a yogin. Kelsang Gyatso is again the largest and central figure on the painting, showing his importance. The surrounding images—though tantric in subject—still support the notion that this image shows a master teacher. Both the “man” and the “monk” are clearly evident here.

#### The Thirteenth Dalai Lama: Thubten Gyatso (1876-1933)

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama was born on May 27, 1876. He was recognized as the incarnation of the Twelfth Dalai Lama and brought to Lhasa in 1878. He was given his novice vows in 1879 and his full ordination vows in 1895. He assumed his full political role that year at the age of twenty.<sup>73</sup> In 1899, Thubten Gyatso became the first Dalai Lama to obtain the degree of *geshe lharampa*.

I have not found any *thangka* paintings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (and Michael Henss states that no known *thangkas* of him exist), thus preventing a continuation of my discussion of the man, monk, and political leader roles as they are found in *thangka* imagery.<sup>74</sup> However, I believe that the imagery largely continued in a traditional manner up until the turn of the twentieth century. Some traditional elements remain firmly intact today, and will be discussed in later chapters. Admittedly, there may be problems with turning to a mural painting of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in order to

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<sup>73</sup> Prior to any Dalai Lama assuming political power in Tibet, a regent serves as the authority figure in the interim. This prevents any gap in rule between the death of a Dalai Lama and the next Dalai Lama's rule at an appropriate age.

<sup>74</sup> Michael Henss, “From Tradition to Truth: Images of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama,” *Orientalism*, v. 36 issue 6 (2005) 65.



discuss the relevant points previously noted in *thangka* paintings, such as a difference in location of the image (whereas a *thangka* could be transported to different rooms or even monasteries, the murals remained on site.) I believe, for the scope of this dissertation, that the images chosen (mural and sculpture) can serve as representational imagery that showcases the three roles of the Dalai Lamas.

The audience hall at the Potala palace houses a mural of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama that largely follows the traditional style of Dalai Lama portraiture (Figure 36).<sup>75</sup> Because photography is not allowed at the Potala, I am using a published image from Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (photograph taken by Michael Henss, Brauen, Plate 91). Unfortunately, this image does not provide much detail of the figure of Thubten Gyatso, but rather is a snapshot which may have been taken rather quickly. However, I was able to see the portrait *in situ* (although at a distance, due to the restrictions in place for tourists at the Potala) in 2006, and the snapshot reinforces my notes from the brief viewing of the image. I chose this image because it may have been created prior to the Dalai Lama's exile in 1910 (although no date is given in Brauen or discussed elsewhere that I have found). The Thirteenth Dalai Lama sits atop a throne towards the top of the composition. He is much larger than the surrounding figures, who appear to be monks, government officials, and other attending figures. Like the *thangka* paintings of earlier Dalai Lamas, the hierarchic scale and dominance of the figure (here, the topmost figure instead of the central figure of a *thangka*), exemplify this characteristic

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<sup>75</sup> Martin Brauen, *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (photograph taken by Michael Henss, Brauen, Plate 91).

of Tibetan portraiture: that the man depicted is of great importance. The background of the image is largely comprised of a green grass and a mountain landscape, with some indications of clouds and sky toward the very top of the image.

The Dalai Lama is clothed in monk's robes with additional silk fabric. In front of his seat is a table with a variety of objects, including a wheel and vases (Figure 37). He displays the *vitarka mudra* and holds a lotus with his proper right hand; his left hand appears to hold a vase, though it is difficult to distinguish. He wears the traditional yellow hat of the Geluk sect. The facial features of the Dalai Lama are also difficult to distinguish, but it appears as though he has a slightly upturned mustache and small patch of hair under his mouth, and like the other Dalai Lamas, a rounded face with little other distinction (Figure 38). The indication of this upturned mustache sometimes distinguishes the Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas, although as discussed earlier, even the presence of a mustache does not conclude with certainty that the figure is a specific Dalai Lama. It is the inscription that reveals the Dalai Lama's identity in this image.<sup>76</sup> Photographic imagery likely emerged shortly after this painting was created (if, in fact, the painting dates prior to 1910). The next chapter discusses the photographs and photographers that were instrumental in creating a new aesthetic for Dalai Lama imagery.

Photography introduced new ideas regarding the depiction of (and reception to) imagery of the Dalai Lamas, specifically the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas.

The next chapter will explore the earliest photography of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth

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<sup>76</sup> I was unable to read or photograph the inscription at the Potala, and the photograph by Michael Henss does not provide a close enough view of the writing to decipher. Henss identifies the image based on the inscription as the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, and its inclusion in Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas* as the Thirteenth Dalai Lama further establishes its veracity. The image has not been dated.

Dalai Lamas and the influence photography had on the audience reception to Dalai Lama portraiture. I now briefly turn to a contemporary image of Thubten Gyatso that employs photorealism; many traditional elements remained intact even in imagery created after the influx of photographic representation.

Figure 39 shows the Thirteenth Dalai Lama with a very traditionally rendered body and a photorealistic face. This figure is one in a series of all fourteen Dalai Lamas created at the Norbulingka near Dharamsala in India during the 1990's. The robes and throne of the figure are quite simplified with black outlines and large areas of single colors. Thubten Gyatso holds a wheel in his left hand and displays *vitarka mudra* with his right hand. He wears the yellow hat of the Geluk sect. However, the face of the figure is quite different than previously discussed imagery of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. The artist has chosen to depict the facial features in photorealistic fashion. It appears as though the artist may have been directly viewing a photograph when creating the face, though it is not clear which photograph was used. It is also interesting to note that, with the exception of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas, the other Dalai Lamas are all depicted with more traditional facial features. Obviously, photography did not exist during the times these leaders lived, but the artist has still made the choice to depict the last two Dalai Lamas in a radically different manner. There is no codified approach to the depiction, even with the newer inclusion of photorealistic representation. One last image from the 1980's furthers this point.

The painting depicting the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Figure 40 was clearly influenced by a very specific photograph (comparison in Figure 41). The artist replicates

the image exactly, rather than using a more generalized body with a photorealistic face. The Dalai Lama does not show a specific *mudra*, but sits with his hands in a more casual depiction. He also does not wear the traditional yellow hat of the Geluk sect. It is an image which combines some traditional element—the iconography of the surroundings, the seated pose of the Dalai Lama, and the formal robes—with the casual nature of the photograph—the resting hands, lack of formal hat, and lack of attributes. The artist’s depiction, although much different than those discussed in earlier chapters, still shows some elements of the Buddhist monk and other elements of the individual man. The image does show Thubten Gyatso as the largest and most central figure, thus showing importance. The figure likely functions in the same manner as other imagery; that is, the artist has shown the Dalai Lama as an exemplar in the sect. There is no background or surrounding imagery which juxtaposes some realistic elements with Buddhological figures. Rather, the entire composition is directly created from an actual photograph. This practice emerged several decades earlier during the period of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. I will return to photographic representation of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the next chapter.

#### The Fourteenth Dalai Lama: Tenzin Gyatso (1935- )

It is likely that many of the traditional paintings of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama created in Tibet prior to 1959 were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and later, during the ban of the Dalai Lama’s image within the Tibetan Autonomous Region, instituted in 1996 and discussed later in this dissertation. Many might also have

been destroyed during the events leading up to the Dalai Lama's departure from Tibet in 1959. Few known depictions remain, and so a broad overview of the type of paintings that were created is now impossible inside of Tibet, and a limited number may have been dispersed with the Tibetan diaspora in 1959. This section presents a few paintings that do remain intact in Tibet, including murals at the Norbulingka, Sera, and Samye monasteries. Despite the scarcity of painted imagery available, some conclusions can be made regarding pre-1959 imagery of the Dalai Lama. Like the images of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, portrayals of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama continued some of the earlier established tenets of Tibetan portraiture to varying degrees; they also showcase the man, monk, and political leader in the image by highlighting various features. In addition, all three of the murals discussed showcase a photorealistic representation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's face. At the same time, because the majority of elements in the paintings, including the body of the Dalai Lama and surrounding elements remain within the parameters of traditional Tibetan painting conventions, these works also display a tremendous continuity with the past.

Tenzin Gyatso was born as Lhamo Dhondup on July 6, 1935 in the northeastern Tibetan region of Amdo. He was recognized as the incarnation of Thubten Gyatso (who had died eighteen months prior) in 1937 and, following twenty months at Kumbum monastery, traveled to Lhasa to begin his life as the Dalai Lama. He was officially

enthroned and named Jampel Ngawang Lobsang Yeshe Tenzin Gyatso on February 22, 1940.<sup>77</sup> In 1942, at seven years old, Tenzin Gyatso took his first vows as a monk.

Tenzin Gyatso was born during a very tumultuous period in Tibetan history. Neighboring China was in the midst of a civil war between the Nationalist and Communist factions. The United States and Great Britain feared the incursion of Communism into more regions of Asia, and the situation between China and Tibet was closely monitored by both countries. The major powers did not, however, want to support Tibet outright as an independent country. Small measures of clandestine support eroded as the United States gradually decided to remove itself from the situation, regardless of the recently enacted Truman Doctrine.<sup>78</sup> When Mao Zedong finally won China for the Communist Party in 1949, he quickly went about a process of incorporating Tibet into the People's Republic of China's (PRC) boundaries, arguing that the region had always been a part of China. This conflict garnered little world attention, and during the course of the next ten years, China fully invaded and took over Tibetan rule. Under duress, the Dalai Lama left Tibet in 1959, which is why I have chosen this date as a breakpoint in Tibetan history. The political turmoil in Tibet during the 1950's may have changed the environment in which Tibetan artists were creating imagery of the Dalai Lama. I examine the photorealistic changes in paintings of Tenzin Gyatso with this political atmosphere in mind. I argue that a new development in the continuum of

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<sup>77</sup> Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama*, (New York: Grove Press, 2006), 272.

<sup>78</sup> The Truman Doctrine, enacted on March 12, 1947, stated that the U.S. would support any free people who were subjugated by a totalitarian regime.

portrait painting—photorealism within the painting itself—was not only a continuation of the composite approach to Tibetan portraiture, but also reflected a new environment of political turmoil. I argue that it became essential to represent the Dalai Lama as an individual in order to further establish his legitimacy as ruler of an independent nation. A more generalized figure (similar to those discussed in the earlier *thangka* images) would not have made the same impression of a modern ruler as did the photorealistic image of Tenzin Gyatso.

#### Sera Monastery

An image of Tenzin Gyatso includes many traditional elements seen in the earlier *thangkas*, such as a variety of Buddhological figures against a blue and green background (Figure 42). The body of the Dalai Lama himself also sits in the traditional teaching manner complete with *mudra* and *asana* (Figure 43). These features highlight the man as a monk and his connection to the historic Buddha and previous Dalai Lama incarnations. What is quite different, however, is the treatment of the facial features. The face is clearly recognizable as that of Tenzin Gyatso. Unlike the surrounding figures, the face of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama is represented in a photorealistic manner. The painting shows Tenzin Gyatso as one of the subsidiary figures in a composition in which Śakyamūni is the central figure. Although my focus in previous chapters has not been on imagery of the Dalai Lamas in subsidiary roles, this image does fit several categories of Tibetan portraiture while simultaneously including the new type of representation using photorealistic features.

In this example, there are no photorealistic figures other than the Dalai Lama, though several figures do surround the central Buddha. The central Buddha is depicted in a traditional fashion. He holds his right arm in *bhumisparsa mudra* and holds a begging bowl in his left hand. He sits on a lotus base and is encircled by a round aura around his body and round halo around his head. These are further circled by flowers and cloud-like foliage. The background of the image consists of a green field which extends toward the top of the mural. This background points to the selective realism employed by the artist (the more realistic setting of the landscape with the inclusion of a variety of Buddhological figures). At the very top, an indication of blue sky is shown flanking the top central Dalai Lama figure.

The surrounding figures are depicted in a traditional manner. The figures, including Tsongkhapa and Nagarjuna, are rendered with classical Buddhist *asanas* and *mudras*. The Dalai Lama is also seated in the traditional *vajrasana*. The Dalai Lama holds a lotus and displays the *vitarka mudra* with his proper right hand as his left hand holds the wheel symbolizing the teachings. Tenzin Gyatso's hands are represented in a photorealistic manner. He is on a throne with accoutrements and elaborate decorations. He wears the traditional robes and Geluk yellow hat of the sect. Like the other murals to be discussed in this chapter, the notable difference in this image from earlier painted imagery of Dalai Lamas is the photorealistic quality employed in the face and hands of Tenzin Gyatso. This depiction almost serves as a transitional piece between earlier *thangka* imagery which included figures with generalized features and the Norbulingka mural (discussed later) that displays numerous photorealistic figures. The artist of the



Sera image is unknown; however, the image of Tenzin Gyatso is quite similar to the one in the Norbulingka. The image is undated; it may indeed be a transitional image (thus earlier in date) or, it may be created using Jampa Tsetan's Dalai Lama figure as inspiration (Figure 48). In either case, the image uses a composite approach in its depiction of the Dalai Lama, thus following the trends established in earlier Tibetan portraiture, but also including influence from the new medium of photography (discussed in the next chapter).

### Samye

A composition showing Tenzin Gyatso in a mural painted at Samye monastery was likely created during the 1950's after his enthronement but before his exile in 1959 (Figure 44-Figure 45). It is unclear when the prior thirteen Dalai Lamas were painted, though it is possible that they were painted during the same period (Figure 46-Figure 47). In the photographs taken during a 2006 trip to Tibet by an Ohio State University team, a similar style of painting along the lines of the Norbulingka and Sera Monastery murals appears. The background and additional figures are painted in a very traditional manner.

In Figure 46, one can see three of the previous incarnations of the Dalai Lama appear in traditional *vajrasana* with various *mudras* and attributes. They sit on thrones against a background of green hills and blue skies. The Dalai Lamas all wear the traditional robes and yellow hats of the Geluk sect. They are larger than the surrounding Buddhological figures in the upper corners of each figure, thus showing the traditional hierarchic scale. The Dalai Lamas all have rounded faces, and the features on each face (with the exception of the mustaches on the Fifth Dalai Lama and Thirteenth Dalai Lama)

almost look interchangeable. In fact, all thirteen previous Dalai Lamas are shown in a generalized fashion, and are thus indistinguishable based on appearance alone (each has an inscription underneath his throne).

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama's throne is the most elaborate, with extensive flowers and brightly colored, detailed textiles behind the figure (Figure 44). The front of his throne shows the *visvavajra* and swastika combination. Tenzin Gyatso holds the wheel with his left hand and displays *vitarka mudra* and holds a lotus with his right hand. Four attending monk figures, much smaller in scale than the Dalai Lama, flank the base of the throne (again showing hierarchic scale). Several accoutrements rest on the table in front of the central figure. Tenzin Gyatso wears his traditional robes, though he does not wear the yellow hat that appears on the figures at Samye. Instead, Tenzin Gyatso wears a red, turban-like hat with a *visvavajra* on the center. The red hat is traditionally associated with the Nyingma sect. Samye was one of the first monasteries in Tibet and was created as a "Nyingma" school (the term of "old school" was applied retroactively to the movement). It is possible that Tenzin Gyatso is shown in a red hat to reflect this connection. The red hat is sometimes symbolic of the other three schools of Buddhism—not just Nyingma—so the inclusion of a red hat unites all four sects of Tibetan Buddhism.

Another feature that clearly distinguishes Tenzin Gyatso from the other figures is the use of photorealism in the depiction of his face. Tenzin Gyatso is clearly recognizable in this mural. The use of shadowing and the precise rendering of his features are far different from the rounded faces and evenly spaced features of the surrounding figures (Figure 47). What's more, whereas the Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai

Lamas who flank Tenzin Gyatso are depicted with their characteristic mustaches, the mustaches are done merely as lines drawn on the face rather than intricately detailed facial hair. This contrasts sharply with the details of the face of Tenzin Gyatso.

Even within the depiction of Tenzin Gyatso, there are various styles of representation combining to form his image. Although the face of the Dalai Lama is rendered in a photorealistic fashion, the hand of the figure is not created with the same realism (this realism is more evident in the hands in the murals at Sera and Norbulingka). In any case, the total effect of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's image in the context of the other Dalai Lamas is quite dramatic. The juxtaposition of such a different style in the midst of other traditional representations (and in the context of the oldest monastery in Tibet) clearly points to an emerging trend. Although many murals were destroyed and thus it is not possible to calibrate this style with other examples, the remaining murals point to this new, combined form of imagery. Again, although the photorealistic face is a new feature of Tibetan portraiture, the varied approach to the image follows the earlier established precedents in imagery of the Dalai Lamas.

One interesting question may be asked when viewing this set of imagery. Why is the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's face not depicted in the photorealistic fashion? Photographs of Thubten Gyatso existed and were sometimes combined with paint (as shown in the next chapter). Perhaps the influence of the realistic nature of photography was not fully incorporated into the Tibetan artist's range of choices until the 1950's (the decade during which the three photorealistic murals are discussed). Perhaps at that point, the artist's decision was to keep the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's painted representation in a more

traditional manner, while at the same time incorporating photographic realism for the contemporary Dalai Lama. I believe, however, that this was done as a political choice. As I have suggested earlier, the political turmoil of the region may have influenced the artist's choice of representation. By showing the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in a photorealistic fashion, Tenzin Gyatso stands out from the rest of the incarnations. Perhaps this shows his position as the current political leader of a nation hoping to establish its independence (and also represents the hopes of the country that were manifest in the image of one man). The man is now separate from the institution. Regardless of the reason for these selections, the resulting imagery fits perfectly into the established production of Tibetan portraiture. Different aspects of the figure—man, monk, and political leader—are showcased within the imagery.

### Norbulingka

A painting of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's day of enthronement by Jampa Tsetan (an artist also known as Amdo Jampa, 1911-2002) is located in the reception hall of the Norbulingka (Figure 48).<sup>79</sup> The painting is published in Brauen's book as a composite of several photographs.<sup>80</sup> My view of this image during a visit to the Norbulingka was obstructed by the restrictive measures currently in place at the site. Brauen dates the painting to 1955/6, though he does not explain how this date was determined. This

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<sup>79</sup> Because the Norbulingka did not allow me to photograph the murals, I am relying on images taken by other scholars (one image is a montage of several photographs, again due to the unavailability of the murals).

<sup>80</sup> Photomontage by Andreas Brodbeck; photographers include Michael Henss, Corneille Jest, and Martin Brauen (Brauen, 291). Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas* dates the image to 1955/6, though it is unclear how this date was determined.

painting is remarkable in a number of ways, namely that it not only incorporates the photorealistic painting for the Dalai Lama's image but also for the surrounding figures. It is a complex composition that follows many of the traditional characteristics of Tibetan portraiture while including elements not seen before in Tibetan mural painting. It is likely that the heightened awareness of political events of the 1950's and the historicity of the moment led the artist to include photorealistic portraiture of a variety of figures.<sup>81</sup>

The mural is meant to depict the important date on which Tenzin Gyatso took over full responsibility of the political actions of Tibet. This was a massive responsibility for a fifteen-year old, but the threats of the Chinese incursion made it imperative that the Dalai Lama quickly assume position and unite the Tibetan people. Tenzin Gyatso spoke of this moment: "Somehow in the autumn (of 1950), the state oracle and others said that the Dalai Lama should take full responsibility hurriedly....that winter I came into power (November 17) after (the Chinese) invaded Eastern Tibet."<sup>82</sup> It is unclear how Brauen dates this image specifically to 1955/6, but it was clearly created after the 1950 event and before the 1959 exile of the Dalai Lama.

In the image, some traditional elements remain intact. The mural is colorful and rich with Buddhist symbolism. The large central throne echoes examples of the Dalai Lamas' thrones in earlier *thangkas*. It is covered with silks and symbols, including the swastika, and framed with swirls of clouds and flowers. The bottom portion of this throne is decorated with a large *visvavajra*, though this is largely obscured by the figure

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<sup>81</sup> This image is similar in some ways to the *darbar* scenes of Mughal India. These scenes showcased the various Mughal rulers in a central position surrounded by other court members.

<sup>82</sup> Tenzin Gyatso in Laird, 303.

standing—much smaller in scale than Tenzin Gyatso—in front of the throne. Multiple deity figures surround the central throne, again echoing earlier imagery that reinforced connections to these Buddhist figures. The Dalai Lama here is clearly in a setting referencing his monk status. His teaching is also emphasized. The Dalai Lama holds the golden wheel in his left hand and displays the *vitarka mudra* with his right hand (Figure 49). The Dalai Lama is the central and largest figure, echoing the hierarchic scale used in earlier Dalai Lama imagery. The first major difference between this image and previously depicted figures of Dalai Lamas is the photorealism used in the Dalai Lama figure as well as the surrounding figures. The photorealistic rendering of Tenzin Gyatso does not stop with just his face, as did the image at Samye monastery. Rather, the photorealism extends to his hands, which are posed in a traditional *mudra*. These realistic features clearly show an individual. In this way, the man is distinguished from the institution. Man and monk are evident in the painting styles and iconographic choices of the artist; the political leader is also emphasized through the use of surrounding photorealistic imagery.

The depiction of many historical figures surrounding the Dalai Lama in photorealistic fashion, as well as the depiction of the Dalai Lama's face in photorealistic style, is completely new. Prior to this painting, images of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama incorporated photographic influence by combining actual photographs with overpainting (as discussed in the next chapter dealing with photographic imagery). There are no known examples from that period where the artists *Painted* in a photorealistic manner. The mural at the Norbulingka utilized a new form of combining photographic and

traditional elements. I propose two reasons for this type of depiction: first, this was a result of the varied nature of Tibetan portraiture, and the ability of artists to incorporate photography and the realism found in photography. Photography's influence continued in a natural progression until painting sometimes reflected the life-like qualities seen in photographs. Second, the role of the Dalai Lama during the tumultuous 1950's was constantly challenged by the Chinese authorities. By placing the Dalai Lama among other recognizable Tibetan governmental officials, the artist has shown the place of the Dalai Lama as the true leader of the country of Tibet, rather than a pawn of the Chinese government.

Unlike earlier *thangka* imagery, which sometimes includes the earlier incarnations of the Dalai Lama, other important historical figures such as Tsongkhapa, and protector deity figures, this mural showcases many of the Dalai Lama's ministers, the abbot of the Dalai Lama's monks, finance officials, representatives of various countries, Muslim traders, and several family members of Tenzin Gyatso.<sup>83</sup> Some of the figures depicted were not alive at the time of the painting, which follows the trend of the earlier *thangka* paintings. This also proves that the image was not meant as a direct reflection of the actual persons present at the event. The sheer number of political figures included clearly

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<sup>83</sup> These figures are identified in Brauen's catalog, page 290 as the following: central figure in front of Tenzin Gyatso: Thupten Phala; top row, right to left: Tenpa Jamyang, Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, Lehu Shar, Thubten Tharpa, Surkhang Wangchen Delel, Gadrang; second row: Shezur Gyurme Topgye, unknown, Samdrup Phodrang?, Rakhashar Phuntshok Rapgye, Rampa Thubten Kunkhen, Zimpon Khenpo; below left: Namseling, Shukhupa, Tsokopa; below are representatives of Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan, Great Britain, two Muslim traders; upper right row: family members Sonam Tshomo, Thupten Jikme Norbu, Gyalo Thundrup; below: three monk officials; center foreground Lopsang Samten; lower level right: monk officials; far upper left: Taktra Rinpoche; far upper right: Reting Rinpoche; below left: Ling Rinpoche; below right: Trijang Rinpoche.

points to an effort to highlight the political aspects of the Dalai Lama. It is not clear which of these individuals were present at the actual enthronement ceremony of Tenzin Gyatso in 1950. The inclusion of the already deceased former regents Taktra Rinpoche in the far upper left and Reting Rinpoche in the far upper right indicates that the artist has taken license with the presence of certain figures at the ceremony. The artist's inclusion of these figures (and so many other recognized individuals) points to the desire to represent the event as pivotal in Tibetan history. The enthronement of the Dalai Lama was another manner in which Tibet could reify its status as an independent country, and the visual representation of this only furthered its legitimacy. By showing all of these leaders in a unified image, the mural reifies the power and central authority of the Dalai Lama's office, something that had been questioned by the Chinese officials.

Certainly, at this period in history, the Tibetan government was struggling to not only fend off further Chinese incursion, but also to alert the international community to Tibet's status as an independent nation. This mural, located in the audience hall at the Norbulingka, would have been visible to any international visitors of the Dalai Lama. Because the faces are so easily recognizable (list of figures in footnote), the political figures depicted are "legitimized" in a sense; they are forever documented as the rulers of Tibet. The list of figures also includes representatives from Bhutan, Nepal, and Great Britain, again a way the enthronement of the Dalai Lama appears as a recognized event in the international community. It seems as though the inclusion of all of these figures in a photorealistic manner was meant to reinforce this leader of Tibet as the legitimate ruler of the region. Regardless of whether this was the intention of the mural, the lifelike



physicality of the faces is quite distinct from earlier more generalized imagery. It is likely that Jampa Tsetan had access to photographs of these officials, family members, and Tenzin Gyatso (and perhaps immediate access to the subjects, as well).

Some of the features of the image are similar to features found in works of Socialist Realism. The artist who created the image, Jampa Tsetan, was exposed to Chinese Socialist Realism paintings through his studies in Beijing, though Clare Harris points out that the goals of Jampa Tsetan are very different than those of the Socialist Realist painters, and that the realism employed in his imagery is not necessarily a reflection of the Socialist Realist style.<sup>84</sup> I agree with Harris' conclusion that the work is not derived from a Socialist Realist influence. I propose that the realism in Jampa Tsetan's work is directly influenced from photography. For example, whereas paintings in the tradition of Socialist Realism are created for propagandistic purposes, the photorealistic imagery of the Dalai Lama serves the same function as earlier Dalai Lama imagery: to showcase the man and political leader. Although the works might look similar due to the style of Socialist Realism (large central figure, realistic features), I have already shown that the central and large placement of the Dalai Lama image fits into the characteristics of Tibetan portraiture used for centuries. The realistic features are derived from the photographic influence. In addition, the placement of the figures toward the bottom of the composition have far more in common with photography—they are crowded and overlapping, unlike the quite separated figures toward the top of the image.

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<sup>84</sup> During Jampa Tsetan's later life in Dharamsala, his painting of the "Three Kings" was rejected by the exile community because of its resemblance to Socialist Realist work, regardless of the fact that the artist did not subscribe to the premises of such a style. Clare Harris discusses this painting in *In the Image of Tibet*, 52-55.

Jampa Tsetan's image at the Norbulingka presents the audience, for the first time, with photorealistic representations of the Dalai Lama surrounded by other recognizable figures, also done in a photorealistic manner.

Although these portrait murals all contain photorealism in their depictions, two other murals of Tenzin Gyatso in Tibet do not incorporate the same style (Figure 50- Figure 51). Rather, these murals of historical events depict the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in a much more generalized fashion. One might wonder if the historical nature of the imagery prevented a need for photorealism; however, the mural at the Norbulingka in which the Dalai Lama is shown on the day of enthronement was referring to an historical event in addition to serving as a portrait. In any case, the depiction of the Dalai Lama with more generalized features was clearly still an acceptable form of representation. As seen in all eras of Dalai Lama imagery, a varied approach rather than a codified set of imagery allowed for numerous interpretations of the Dalai Lama. These murals are no different.

A mural in the Norbulingka in Lhasa depicts the scene of the young Fourteenth Dalai Lama choosing objects during the search for the reincarnation of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (Figure 50). The image is not dated, and it is unclear if the painting was done concurrently with the event depicted or at a later date. In any case, the figure of the Dalai Lama as a child is shown as a small version of an adult. This is important because, prior to the photographs of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as a child, there are no representations of *any* Dalai Lama as a child (only as a smaller adult figure). He has no

facial features that distinctly belong to Tenzin Gyatso, though the style of the facial features is quite different from those discussed earlier with Dalai Lama *thangka* paintings. There is a line down the center of the face through the nose of the Dalai Lama (as well as the two figures on the viewer's left). The face does not seem to have the same serenity and simplicity of the *thangka* faces. In the latter, the features seem to conform to those of Buddha images; that is, evenly spaced features and a common head shape are used in each Dalai Lama depiction. In this mural, there seems to be an attempt at a more realistic head shape, though the features are still simplified to the point of generalization; the figure is not distinguishable as the Fourteenth Dalai Lama when only viewing the physical features.

The future Dalai Lama's hair and facial features are rendered as though he were an adult (although at a smaller scale), again an important feature to mention since the Dalai Lamas were never shown as children prior to the introduction of photography. His face is in three-quarter view and he has the balding hairline of a much older adult. His body also does not seem to have the rounded quality of a toddler (here he is meant to be two years old), but rather, he seems to just be a smaller version of his adult self. Two figures sit to the viewer's left of the standing Dalai Lama. Three figures stand to the viewer's right of the Dalai Lama, holding their hands out as if in anticipation of the young figure's choice of objects. A design of gold lines in a drapery-like pattern is painted over a blank blue background. Yellow curtains and the roof of the scene below frame the right and bottom side of the image. This is undoubtedly part of a larger image or scene, though Laird's photographs and accompanying caption do not give further

details. This is an image which details a specific life event of a specific Dalai Lama, although no individual characteristics are noted in the style of the painting. The style does not seem as advanced as those employed in the earlier *thangka* paintings of previous Dalai Lamas. It also does not appear as elegant as the paintings done contemporaneously by the artists using photorealism. The heavy black outline is seen in many murals from early Tibet, India, and China, and certainly could have been incorporated here as a stylistic feature. Or, the outline could show the lack of skill of the artist in his portrait depiction. Regardless of the reason, this image is clearly done in a narrative style. The viewer is meant to understand the image as the historic event when the young Tenzin Gyatso recognized his accoutrements from a previous life. This type of representation—distinct from both *thangka* imagery and photorealism—again shows the openness on the part of Tibetan artists and audiences to depict the image of the Dalai Lama in a variety of ways.

A similar style of image is found in the Norbulingka mural of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama meeting Mao Zedong. Figure 51 is interesting for several reasons. The image is not dated; however, the meeting depicted in the image took place during Tenzin Gyatso's trip with the Tenth Panchen Lama to Beijing in 1955. The painting was likely done between 1955 and Tenzin Gyatso's exile in 1959. This is important because the portrait image of Tenzin Gyatso in the Norbulingka (Figure 48) from 1955 is distinctly photorealistic in style, whereas this one is not. At the same time, the faces of Mao Zedong and the Dalai Lama are clearly recognizable. This shows the presence of a variety of styles during the same time period.

In the photograph showing Tenzin Gyatso with Mao Zedong during the infamous meeting, the figure on the viewer's right of Mao Zedong is the Fourteenth Dalai Lama (Figure 52). In the painting, the figures flanking Mao almost look interchangeable (it is the Tenth Panchen Lama on Mao's proper right). In fact, it has been suggested that the figure on the viewer's left in the painting is the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>85</sup> It is unclear why the artist would have made such a change from the photograph to the painted depiction. It is interesting to note, however, that no attempt at photorealism is used. Rather, the artist is again using simplified black lines and a style not found in *thangka* paintings. It is again a narrative style, and again may be a result of the artist's lack of a more intricate and detailed type of rendering. The facial features, though not overly simplified, are still lacking any specific individual characteristics (neither of the figures flanking Mao wears the glasses of the Dalai Lama). A clear black outline—much like that of the previously discussed mural—is visible throughout the scene around the figures and the architectural features. The scene is clearly recognizable as a biographical event in the life of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as it was directly taken from a photograph of the same scene. In addition to the biographical nature of the scene (the “man” aspect), there is obviously a political component to the painting (the “leader”). I propose that the painting was created in order to highlight the nature of the meeting; that is, the political “rulers” gathered to discuss Sino-Tibetan relations. By highlighting this moment in time, the artist is providing visual evidence for an independent Tibet. Surely, Mao Zedong would have little need to meet with an ordinary monk. The “political leader” is evident

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<sup>85</sup> Susan Huntington, personal correspondence.

in the historical event, and thus evident in the image. I will return to the photograph of this scene in the following chapter. First, I briefly turn to imagery of the Dalai Lamas in sculpted form.

### Sculpture

Like the painted images discussed previously, my goal in this section is not to reaffirm the dating or attribution of the image; rather, my aim is to highlight the features of the imagery that reinforce the man, monk, and political leader characteristics of the Dalai Lamas. These features (and resulting functions) will ultimately be compared to the new types of imagery (magazines, web-images, advertisements) of the current Dalai Lama.

The Third Dalai Lama in a seventeenth-century bronze (Figure 53) was certainly created as an important figure in the Geluk sect. This sculpture is inscribed on the reverse with the name of Sonam Gyatso.<sup>86</sup> The lack of original context gives us no insight into the possible hierarchic scale or central placement one sees employed in the paintings of Sonam Gyatso. It is also more difficult to discuss the function of the image, since the lack of additional Dalai Lama figures does not suggest any lineage connection. However, the Dalai Lama still serves as an exemplary figure to practitioners with his meditative gesture and proper monk's clothing.

Sonam Gyatso sits in *vajrasana* with his hands in a meditative position. The paintings discussed depicted Sonam Gyatso with either *bhumisparsa mudra* or holding a

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<sup>86</sup> Brauen, plate 32.

*vajra* and *ghanta*. This variety again points to the willingness of the artist to showcase various aspects of the lama's teachings rather than codify each Dalai Lama with one specific iconographic set. These teaching gestures also further connect the image to the historical Buddha, thus reifying an important association for both religious and political purposes. Sonam Gyatso is dressed in traditional monk's clothing, though he does not wear the yellow hat of the Geluk sect seen in the paintings. Because of this, one can see clearly the hairline of the individual. However, the hat may have been created separately out of cloth and attached to the sculpture, and is now lost. The Third Dalai Lama has a very round and full face, somewhat like that of the sixteenth-century *thangka* I have shown (Figure 54). Although it is difficult to make direct comparisons because of the difference in medium, it seems that the sculpted figure does not display the same smile as those of the painted teacher. The eyes are almond-shaped and closer in style to those of the nineteenth-century painting. These more individualized physical characteristics highlight the man over the institution. At the same time, the robes, seated position, and hand gestures all continue the traditional iconographies of the Buddhist figure and reinforce his position of authority in the Geluk sect.

The Fifth Dalai Lama is likewise shown with certain features that emphasize the man and the monk. A seventeenth-century image in Figure 55 is closer in date to the life of the Fifth Dalai Lama than the next two sculptures discussed. The inscription on the reverse reads "Homage to the great completely omniscient one Lobzang Gyatso."<sup>87</sup> It is very interesting to note that this figure does not have the mustache associated with so

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<sup>87</sup> HAR image 65647.

many images of the Fifth Dalai Lama. One could argue that the earlier images were *not* more life-like for just this reason. The artist has selected to show some individualized physical features while generalizing others. The image of the Fifth Dalai Lama, like the sculpture of the Third Dalai Lama, does not wear the Geluk hat and therefore shows the hairline of the figure. He also has a rounded face, though not as full as that of Sonam Gyatso's image. His eyes are fully open and almond shaped, and he has a sweetly smiling countenance. He displays the *vitarka mudra* in his right hand and holds the vase in his left hand—a combination not found in the discussed paintings, again showing the artist's decision to include a variety of teaching gestures rather than a single gesture or attribute for each Dalai Lama. A comparison with the face of the Third Dalai Lama (Figure 56) appears to show two distinct individuals and, in this case, they are. However, a comparison with the portrait paintings of Ngawang Gyatso (Figure 57) also seems to show different individuals, yet these are all depictions of the same man. There are some similarities—the smile of the sculpted form matches that of the seventeenth-century painting, the round face matches all three painted faces, and the eyebrows have the same arch in the sculpture and the earlier two paintings; however, the differences are clearly present and could easily cause the viewer to assume two (or three, or four) different lamas are being represented. The eyes in the sculpture do not match any of the painted eyes and, as mentioned, there is no mustache.



In an eighteenth-century metal image of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Figure 58), one sees several features and iconographic elements not found in the earlier image. The inscription of the figure is again found on the reverse of the sculpture.<sup>88</sup> The most prominent difference is that this figure is wearing the traditional hat of the Geluk sect. This was a feature found in all of the *thangka* paintings of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, but not the other sculpture of the same man. He is wearing traditional garments and is seated in a *vajrasana* position, both aspects found in the earlier sculpture. However, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso now has his left hand in a meditative gesture and his right hand in extended forward in a *bhumisparsa mudra* (or, the calling the earth to witness gesture) that doesn't quite reach the earth. The sculpted face is very heavy and almost square-shaped rather than the round shape of the earlier image. This later sculpture may have been painted much like the earlier figure, but the paint is now lost (some evidence of gilding remains, especially on the figure's hat). The chin of the figure is more prominent and it is difficult to see if the figure is rendered with a mustache. A comparison between the two sculpted faces (Figure 59) shows the viewer two very different looking individuals. Each does have some aspects of a specific physicality, but not the *same* physicality. Of course, this is to be somewhat expected when looking at works done by two separate artists. However, the paintings created during the same time period by different artists tend to look much more generalized and similar—especially in the facial depictions.

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<sup>88</sup> HAR, image 75063.

A final example of Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso is an eighteenth-century sculpture from Tibet (Figure 60). This appears to be the most individualized sculpture in terms of physical likeness. Interestingly, it gives the impression of being closer in individual physical representation than does the earlier sculpture created closer to the date of the actual man. However, like the sculpture of the Third Dalai Lama, this sculpture, when compared to the paintings of the figure, show great differences. A closer look at this figure shows further distinctions between this image and other sculptures. There is no standard method of depicting Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, as reiterated by the iconographic choices made in this image.

The figure again lacks the traditional Geluk hat, though this element may have been added in cloth to the finished sculpture. The previous image did have a hat as part of the figure, again showing that the artists did not have to adhere to one specific type of display. The hairline seems to be further back than the hairline depicted in the seventeenth-century sculpture. The Dalai Lama is displaying *vitarka mudra* with his right hand and has his left hand in the meditative gesture. He wears traditional robes and sits in *vajrasana*. A closer look at his face reveals a quite realistically rendered individual. Some of his features do not match the features of the other sculptures, and therefore could again be considered one artist's attempt at some life-like features. Figure 61 compares some of these individual features with those of the previously discussed sculptures. The head of the image is rounder than the seventeenth-century figure but not as squared as the other eighteenth-century sculpture. The ears of the figure are prominent, and the lobes are more defined than those of the seventeenth-century image

(the ears in the other eighteenth-century figure are not shown). The eyes of the figure are open and almond-shaped, and somewhat resemble the eyes of the other two figures (although it is too difficult to see if the pupils were painted in as they are in the earliest image). The figure also wears a mustache, unlike the other two sculptures but in line with most of the other paintings discussed. Clearly, there is an attempt by the artists of all of these images to include some “life-like” features, but there is no iconographic standard by which all of the images are created.

In an eighteenth-century image of the Seventh Dalai Lama (Figure 62), we find the same *mudras* as the previously discussed image of the Fifth Dalai Lama (the *vitarka* and *dhyana*). The artists are showing these various *mudras* and attributes in order to show the different teaching moments of the men represented. These images were created to show the exemplary figures of the Geluk sect, much like the painted images. This specific sculpture does show some physical resemblance to two of the *thangkas* discussed earlier (details compared in Figure 63). The metal image wears the traditional Geluk hat and robes and is seated in *vajrasana*. His eyes are meditative and bow-shaped, somewhat similar to those in the eighteenth-century painting in the Rubin Collection. Kelsang Gyatso’s mouth appears to be slightly upturned in the sculpture, much like the mouths depicted in both paintings shown in Figure 64. In fact, the three figures do have similar physicalities, and could be recognized as the same individual. A comparison with the other two *thangkas* of Kelsang Gyatso discussed herein shows a much different manner of representation.

The sculptures of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama continue many of the trends found in the earlier sculptures of previous incarnations. The three sculptures in Figure 65-Figure 69 reiterate the artistic preferences seen in sculptures of the earlier Dalai Lamas. These likely date from the turn of the twentieth century, though no direct inscription is given for these images (the first two are in private collections). As with the other sculptures, it is impossible to discuss the notion of hierarchic scale since these images are no longer in their original context. However, we can look at the depiction of facial features as an indication of the artist's desire to highlight the individuality of the man.

In a stucco image in the private collection of Enrico Bonfante (Figure 65), the Dalai Lama sits in *vajrasana* with his right hand displaying *vitarka mudra* and his left hand holding a text. Although the *vitarka mudra* was also seen in the mural, the attribute of the text differs from what may be the vase in the painting. Again, these differences in iconography likely showed the various rituals and positions that would be used by a teacher, rather than an attempt at codifying a specific individual with consistent attributes. A *vishvavajra* surrounded by four swastikas is displayed at the front of the throne. The Dalai Lama does not wear the yellow hat of the Geluk sect here, again another artistic decision perhaps meant to indicate different roles of the teacher. He does, however, still have the slightly upturned mustache and more rounded head seen in the mural at the Potala. If every sculpture of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama contained these specific features, one might be able to suggest a codified set of imagery. However, like all portraiture in the Tibetan tradition discussed, this is one of several different versions of a likeness of Thubten Gyatso.

A gilded bronze image of Thubten Gyatso, also in a private collection (Figure 66) retains some of the features of the first sculpture: he does not wear the Geluk hat, he displays a *vitarka mudra*, and he has the familiar mustache.<sup>89</sup> The Dalai Lama's attribute in his left hand now appears to be the wish-fulfilling gem. This figure's throne front lacks the *vishvavajra* and swastikas of the first image discussed. Also, his physiognomy is much thinner than that of the previous image, though this may be an indication that the sculpture is meant to show the man at a younger age. In the comparison shown in Figure 67, the viewer sees the thin body of the latter image combined with the very heavy body and clothing of the earlier figure. Again, the facial features do appear similar, although they are still not individual enough to suggest that these are meant to be exact likenesses of the man. To further prove this point, I compare two Dalai Lama sculptures in Figure 68. Both have similar features (rounded face, heavy body, similar attributes, and mustache), yet they depict two different men: the Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas. Again, the artist has used a composite approach to representation similar to the earlier paintings discussed.

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama is depicted in a partially gilded silver sculpture in Figure 69. Thubten Gyatso does wear the Geluk hat in this image, yet his hands show a more casual configuration. The left hand may be in a *dhyani mudra* (without any attributes, unlike the previous depictions), but the right hand is not in a formal mudra. It is close to the *bhumisparsa*, earth-witnessing gesture, but much more casual as it rests on his leg. This depiction does not appear to have many similarities with the previous two

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<sup>89</sup> Brauen, 148.

images. The face is not rounded and the eyes appear narrower than those in the other sculptures. Even the mustache has a different quality about it; it seems more “lifelike” in its rendering (it appears as actual hair) as compared to the two lines indicating mustaches in the previous images. Although all three images were created in the early twentieth century, they do not present the viewer with a codified set of imagery meant to show the exact likeness of Thubten Gyatso. Rather, the sculptures, like the paintings discussed earlier, show a composite type of image that features the Dalai Lama as both man and monk.

In 2005, artist Rajesh Awale created a sculpture of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama that is now housed at the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich (Figure 70). I am discussing this image in this section in order to show the continuity in some aspects of sculptural rendering (the traditional body and posturing) as well as the newer rendering of the photorealistic face. I further discuss other contemporary images in later chapters dealing with the international art scene.

The gilded bronze sculpture is similar in many ways to earlier sculptural representations of the Dalai Lamas. Tenzin Gyatso is shown in a seated *vajrasana* wearing monk’s robes. He does not wear the hat of the Geluk sect (as with the earlier sculptures, some were represented with the traditional hat and some were not). He is seated upon cushions that do appear more contemporary than the usual thrones or lotus bases found in earlier portraiture. His face is rendered in a completely photorealistic fashion—there is no doubt as to which Dalai Lama is represented. The body and posture could be interchangeable with any other monk or teacher. The Dalai Lama is shown with

a *vitarkamudra* and lotus in his right hand and the wheel in his left hand. Like the earlier Dalai Lamas with attributes, these point to the teaching abilities of the monk and his role as the spreader of the *dharma*.

### Lineage sets

Many of the *thangkas* discussed may have been a part of a lineage set. Because so many *thangkas* are now distributed around the world, it is difficult to ascertain which paintings were originally included in sets, and which were painted to be displayed or used individually. This confusion prevents me from researching any painting in detail as a definite part of a set. Rather, I have chosen one complete set in order to discuss the possible manner in which other paintings (perhaps those discussed in this chapter) may have been displayed. This particular set showcases the Seventh Dalai Lama as the central image, and so comparisons can be made between this image and those discussed earlier. These paintings have been identified by both the Tibet House New Delhi and Himalayan Arts Resources, though no inscriptions are listed by either source.

Sets of lineage paintings likely began around the seventeenth century, with woodblock print versions appear a century later.<sup>90</sup> The set currently in the Tibet House Museum of New Delhi dates to the nineteenth century.<sup>91</sup> The images (Figure 71-Figure 83) show six important figures within Tibetan Buddhism in addition to the seven Dalai Lamas. There is no codified set of earlier incarnations or specific figures which always

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<sup>90</sup> Per K. Sorenson, "The Ninth Dalai Lama's Set of Seven Lineage Thangkas," in Martin Brauen, *The Dalai Lamas*, 242.

<sup>91</sup> <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setid=686&page=2>

appear in Dalai Lama sets, as I will discuss. First, one should note the placement of each figure within his own framework of the individual *thangkas*, and also his position within the set. As listed in the figures, the images would alternate from outer left to outer right, moving in toward the central figure of the Seventh Dalai Lama (Figure 83). This easily explains the three-quarter view of each of the surrounding figures as they look toward the central image of Kelsang Gyatso. Although I do not discuss each of these figures in detail, one can easily recognize their importance due to the centrality and hierarchic scale employed in each image.

The central placement of Kelsang Gyatso within the set shows his importance as the latest incarnation of the Dalai Lamas. The large central figures sit against backgrounds of hills, grass, and smaller architectural forms. Some are surrounded by smaller Buddhological figures. The artist has used selected various attributes and *mudras* for each incarnation, again showing the lack of codified iconography and the different teaching abilities of each lama. These variations further show the audience the exemplary nature of the figures. The greatest use of variation is in the artist's choice of accompanying figures to the Seventh Dalai Lama. There is no standard set of figures that must accompany Dalai Lama imagery in these types of sets. Rather, a variety of lineages can be shown. Per K. Sorenson discusses these variations in his essay regarding another set of Dalai Lama images: "Because universality was the principle underlying the concept of rebirth, there was basically no hierarchy and thus in theory no primacy among



lineages or individual incarnates—each incarnation was unique and equally important.”<sup>92</sup> Sorenson may be correct that there is no inherent hierarchy between the figures, but it seems that the central image of any set is meant to be the most important figure. This may be to showcase a certain teaching of that figure or certain aspect of that man’s biography. It was not problematic that one set might show a certain lineage (perhaps including one king or Indian adept) and another set would have a completely different lineage. This lineage in particular highlights six figures other than the Dalai Lamas: Avalokiteśvara flanks the set on the left-hand side; the Indian Prince Konchog Bang (a figure who would later incarnate as Songtsen Gampo) flanks the set on the right-hand side; the next image in on the left is, in fact, Songtsen Gampo (certainly viewed as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, as well); the right-side counterpart is Dromton, the early teacher who preceded the Dalai Lamas; the innermost images before the Dalai Lamas include Sachen Kunga Nyingpo and Pakpa. These last two figures, though prominent in the Sakya sect of Tibetan Buddhist, are often referenced in Geluk traditions as well due to their genial relationships with the Mongolians and importance as teachers spreading the Buddhist doctrine. Regardless of original context, the images still use hierarchic scale to highlight the importance of the image. The artists do not use codified iconographies; rather, each individual is shown with a variety of attributes or *mudras*.

This chapter has attempted to provide a framework of traditional Dalai Lama portraiture. Each of these images contains references to the three major roles of the Dalai Lama: man, monk, and political leader. One image might highlight the individuality of

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<sup>92</sup> Sorenson, 243.

the man through the biographical scenes or physical likeness of the image. Another image might promote the monastic nature of the Geluk teacher through proper hand gestures and seated positions. Yet other images showcase the political nature of the Dalai Lama's office through validation of lineage or, in more recent images, photorealism of facial features. I propose that photorealism (and the reception of photorealistic imagery) was a result of the influence of photography during the early twentieth century. These images are explored in Chapter 3.

### Chapter 3: Early Documentary Photography: British and Tibetan Imagery

During the late nineteenth and first part of the twentieth centuries, the portrait tradition visible throughout Tibetan art was exposed to external forces that dramatically changed the trajectory of the artistic tradition. To a great extent, this was due to the fact that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (1876-1933), became more interested and involved in the international community beyond Asia than previous Dalai Lamas. With this new international interest and during the early twentieth century came the influence of western style portraiture, such as the central figure seated on a chair rather than throne, as well as the introduction of photography. With photography came a new documentary style of imagery that showcased a less formal Dalai Lama. I argue that, with photographs of the Dalai Lama, the audience was now exposed to imagery that was not necessarily highlighting the “monk” of the image (meaning, the importance of the figure as teaching or religious exemplar, though this is still inherent in the image); rather, the focus shifts to both the “man” (first, through the depiction of an individual rather than an institutional exemplar, second, through biographical events documented in photography), and the “political leader” (shown through the same historical events that reference political moments in history). Once again, the “image” of the Dalai Lama, here meaning constructed persona, shifts according to audience. We begin to see activities

other than teaching and meditation. This chapter, attempts to do three things: describe traditional imagery that continued the earlier proposed characteristics ascribed to Dalai Lama portraiture in Chapter 2, discuss the key events that led to changes in types of imagery (namely, the Russian expedition of 1905 and the Dalai Lama's exile in India in 1910) and describe later photographs of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas and how these images continue to highlight various aspects of the Dalai Lama (man, monk, leader), for different purposes and new audiences. I will show the influence of photography in this development in the later sections of this chapter. However, it is worthwhile to spend some time discussing another outside artistic influence on the Tibetan portraitists. The drawings of a Russian explorer in the presence of Tibetan artists may have influenced the manner in which the artists would depict the Dalai Lamas in the future. I include these images here as a slight tangent to my argument regarding the influence of photography; however, they are the first images created by westerners of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the leader's presence and are thus an important inclusion.

#### Russian drawings from the Kozlov Expedition

The earliest known "outsider" images of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama created in the leader's presence are two drawings by Russian artist N. Kozhevnikov (Figure 84-Figure 85) created five years before the earliest photograph of Thubten Gyatso.<sup>93</sup> These images are important as they give us insight into an historical event, especially since the Dalai

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<sup>93</sup> Gennady Leonov, "Two Portraits of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama," *Arts of Asia*. July/August 1991, 108-127. The Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich has a French journal cover from November 20, 1904 that depicts the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, though it is unclear if Tibetan artists/audiences had access to this image. The two Russian drawings discussed in this chapter were viewed by the Tibetan artists in Thubten Gyatso's entourage, as proved in Leonov's article.

Lama was in exile at the time in the Mongolian region of Urga. They are valuable for this study in that their creation may have influenced more relaxed, or at least, unposed, imagery of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. These drawings were created during a meeting with the Dalai Lama in which no photographs were allowed.<sup>94</sup> This may have been the beginning of a more relaxed attitude toward imagery of Thubten Gyatso: shortly after these drawings were created, the Dalai Lama did begin to allow westerners to take photographs (as discussed in this chapter). Scholar Gennady Leonov has shown in his “Two Portraits of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama” that these drawings were indeed created in the midst of a Tibetan audience, and therefore could have influenced later representation. Although I am not suggesting that these two images were solely responsible for the shift in imagery, I do believe that they were the first in a series of outsider images (as discussed later with British photography) that showed the Dalai Lama in less formal settings and poses, thus allowing for the later acceptance of Thubten Gyatso in more casual photographic imagery (and here, I argue that this casual nature highlights the “man” rather than the “monk”—the function of the image has shifted). I begin with an analysis of the drawings before turning to the diaries of the Russian explorers, which provide interesting accounts of imagery created in the presence of the Dalai Lama.

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<sup>94</sup> Prior to the introduction of photography via the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s exile in India, Tibetans may have been wary of photographic representations. Tibetans previously used more realistic renderings of individuals rather than the generalized features of the lamas depicted in lineage paintings during *bardo* ceremonies as an indicator that the incarnation was ready to move to the next body. Clare Harris, “The Photograph Reincarnate: The Dynamics of Tibetan Relationships with Photography,” in *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, editors. (New York: Routledge, 2004) 142.

Russian artist N. Kozhevnikov completed the two drawings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as a member of the 1905 Kozlov expedition to Urga in Mongolia where the Dalai Lama was temporarily residing. Kozhevnikov drew two separate views of the Tibetan lama. In the first drawing, Thubten Gyatso is shown in his Geluk regalia (Figure 84). He is almost in three-quarter view, and his facial features indicate some aspects of the individuality of the man (his mustache, extended nose, small mouth). His hands are clasped in front of his body in a relaxed pose. The image itself appears to have been drawn during or after direct visits to the Dalai Lama (more evidence for this is discussed below). The hands of the figure are not drawn to scale (they seem much too small for the body), and there is a blocky quality to the figure. Even so, the facial features are far more detailed than the simplified features of the Tibetan imagery. The background of the image remains blank, save for an indication of the throne upon which the figure sits. His legs are covered by drapery, below which rests a *visvavajra* image flanked by swastikas. There is no indication of hierarchic scale since the central figure is not surrounded by other Buddhological figures. It is really more of a quick depiction of the ruler rather than an exemplary image showcasing the lineage and authority of the Dalai Lama. Thus, the purpose of the image is different than the internal imagery created by Tibetan artists. The artist does not appear to be representing a Buddhist exemplar for devotional purposes, but rather drawing the man as he appears for documentary reasons. The second drawing also shows a western approach with its own internal principles that are different from the ones in use by Tibetan artists.

The second drawing is similar in its depiction of the Dalai Lama, although in this image, Thubten Gyatso is shown in monk's clothing and is viewed in a frontal position (Figure 85). The figure holds *mala* beads in his left hand, and both hands are relaxed on his lap. A small dog appears at Thubten Gyatso's proper right side. Like the first drawing, this image shows a fairly realistic depiction of the man's face (at least, he is somewhat more identifiable due to the representation of the facial features) with small hands and body. He sits on a throne before a table which appears to hold a vase or other object. The background is blank. The inscriptions on both images detail the importance of the man depicted (likely due to the fact that these inscriptions were written in Tibetan by Tibetans):

This is a portrait of the master of the Whole Victorious Teaching, the All Knowing Vajradhara, the Holder of the White Lotus, the Shakya Ascetic, the most Fearless and Mighty One in all parts of the World, the Thirteenth in the Chain of Reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas – Agvan Lobsang Thubtan Jamtso.<sup>95</sup>

These inscriptions were written in Tibetan (see footnote of translation), and Gennady Leonov shows in his article that there were Tibetans in the Dalai Lama's entourage responsible for the inscriptions. The signature of the artist is also found with the date (1905) on the bottom right corner of both portraits.

Leonov's article is also useful in that he provides translations of the Russian diaries from the expedition. These diaries had not previously been translated into

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<sup>95</sup> Leonov, section 5. The reproduction of the drawings in this article do not show the full textual inscriptions, therefore I have used Leonov's translations of the Tibetan text.

English, and their content is invaluable for shedding light on the role of Tibetan artists as they accompanied the Dalai Lama:

November 15<sup>th</sup>. I learnt (sic) that the Dalai Lama has a special team of Zurachins (icon painters) with him....He also has a team of scribes who fulfil (sic) different duties (copy manuscripts, business papers and so on). The Zurachins fulfil (sic) private orders as well but their main duty, as far as I could learn, consists of making drawings of all the stops of the Dalai Lama's travelling court during all his way from Lhasa. They undertake these drawings to illustrate *The Life of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, which is now being prepared. Thorough notes of all the most important events of the Dalai Lama's trip have been taken by his attendants and later they would be presented for inspection (together with the drawings) to the Dalai Lama himself. All this material is now at the disposal of the Dalai Lama and I do not know who will put it in order. Whether it would be the industrious Dalai Lama himself or somebody else. But in any case this work, as I have been told, is not intended for publication during the lifetime of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>96</sup>

This diary entry is useful for several reasons. If accurate, this account shows that the Tibetan artists followed Thubten Gyatso into exile and were in the presence of the Russian expedition. It also shows that these artists were composing a biographical account of the Dalai Lama's life through text and image. It is unclear whether earlier Dalai Lamas had a similar type of entourage accompanying their journeys. The Russian diarist does not know the result of this particular gathering process. In fact, this material related to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama remains unpublished, and the whereabouts of the images unknown. Certainly, if found, this account would provide evidence as to whether the Dalai Lama's artists were continuing with the traditional stylistic representations as

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<sup>96</sup> From the diary of Baradyin, a Russian traveler on the 1905 expedition. Translated by Leonov, section 15.



discussed in the previous chapters, or if they were incorporating more individualized elements.

Leonov translates another diary which discusses the artist and his drawings, though it is somewhat unclear if the drawings were done from life or after meeting the Dalai Lama: "...The ruler of Tibet kindly allowed my companion N.Ya. Kozhevnikov to draw several portraits of him....But the Dalai Lama did not allow me to take a photograph of himself."<sup>97</sup> Leonov continues in his article to show that the Tibetan artists did, in fact, see these Russian images (including the Tibetans who inscribed the images). Leonov's article concludes that these two images (now in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg) were originally accompanied by a third which may have been given to Thubten Gyatso as a gift.<sup>98</sup> In any case, these two drawings show the distinct individuality of the Dalai Lama. He is clearly recognizable. I suggest that these early images, along with the later introduction of photographic representation, influenced the Tibetan creation and reception and altered the function of the Dalai Lama image.

#### Photography in exile (1910)

In 1910, threats from the Qing dynasty in China forced the Thirteenth Dalai Lama into exile in Sikkim. While there, he met Sir Charles Bell, the British political officer for Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet between 1904 and 1921.<sup>99</sup> This meeting turned into a

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<sup>97</sup> Piotr Kozlov as translated by Leonov, section 15.

<sup>98</sup> Leonov, section 15.

<sup>99</sup> Bell became fascinated with the Tibetan culture as he viewed it from his post in Darjeeling; he wrote *A Manual of Colloquial Tibetan* in 1905. <http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/>

friendship that underscores Bell's book, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*.<sup>100</sup> In 1920, Bell was allowed to visit Lhasa and meet with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama under informal circumstances—a rare opportunity that clearly indicated the familiarity between the two men.

The photographs of Thubten Gyatso by Charles Bell during the former man's exile in 1910 serve as transitional images for the purposes of this dissertation, and are chosen because they are the earliest known photographs of any Dalai Lama. The photographs, on the heels of the more realistic renderings of the Russian drawings, both continued some traditional elements of Tibetan rendering and incorporated a new manner of depiction—the Dalai Lama shown in a manner other than a teaching or meditative gesture. I propose that these photographs, with their widespread acceptance among Tibetans, served as another major influence in the reception of a new type of Dalai Lama imagery. Before discussing these photographs in particular, I would like to briefly mention the recent writings of Clare Harris regarding these early images.<sup>101</sup> Harris discusses the passivity of the Tibetans in the creation of these types of images (and, the resulting misinformation transmitted via ethnographic presentations and specifically culled photographs for a particular western audience). I agree with Harris that many of these early photographs are not representative of the Tibetan culture by any means. My argument is not that these images correctly documented Tibetan culture; rather, that these photographs would have influenced the function of the image as well as the audience

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<sup>100</sup> Sir Charles Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, (London: Collins, 1946).

<sup>101</sup> Clare Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World: Art, Politics, and the Representation of Tibet*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

reception to the image. Though many photographs were brought back to the western world, others would have undoubtedly been given to the Tibetan participants; at the very least, the photographers often had Tibetan assistants arranging and sometimes photographing the selected scenes. This implies more agency on the part of the Tibetans than Harris suggests. Regardless of the misinformation that might be inherent in the selection of imagery documented by western photographers, the resulting images themselves highlight various features of the Dalai Lama that shifts the function of the imagery.

The photograph by Sir Charles Bell in Figure 86 has become the most recognizable image of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Thubten Gyatso sits atop a throne decorated with the *visvavajra*. A vase or other object rests at the Dalai Lama's proper right. A canopy over the throne—slightly cut off in the image—seems to depict traditional decorative motifs. One finds the Dalai Lama in a different posture than compared with the earlier *thangka* paintings. The hands of the lama are not in a *mudra*, but rather, rest on the Dalai Lama's lap. The Dalai Lama is not in a specific meditative or teaching gesture; his role as exemplar is not necessarily as prominent as his depiction as leader of Tibet. Thus begins an era in Tibetan portraiture where photography not only highlights the individual, but draws attention to the major political rulers in a proactive attempt at separating Tibetan from Chinese issues.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> It is not surprising that the British would be instrumental in these types of photographs and their political overtones; though the British were unsuccessful in their earlier attempts at (possibly) colonizing Tibet (at least, that is what the 1904 incursion suggests), they certainly were aware of and wanted to inhibit the possibility of a Chinese incursion.

The importance of this particular photograph is that it was reproduced and distributed to monasteries and lay followers upon the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet, (and thus, this image certainly influenced Tibetan audiences). Some of the photos were consecrated by the Dalai Lama himself. He inscribed: "In accordance with the Precepts of the Lord-Buddha the Great Dalai Lama, Unchangeable, Holder of the Thunderbolt, the Thirteenth in the line of Victory and Power" and stamped the red seal of his office on the photograph.<sup>103</sup> The impact of this photograph was great in Tibet. The Tibetan audience apparently welcomed the new type of depiction, and the function clearly shifted. Whereas earlier thangkas and sculptures of the Dalai Lamas were only held by a select few, the reproductive nature of photographic prints allowed for a new type of relic for many more practitioners. Charles Bell noted "(They) all used the photograph instead of an image, rendering to it the worship that they gave to the images of Buddhas and deities."<sup>104</sup> Bell's observation is critical to understanding today's use of the Dalai Lama image. Prior to this specific photograph, Tibetan Buddhist practitioners likely utilized images of the Buddha or Avalokitesvara on their personal altars. With the newfound availability of photographic reprints, devotees were able to use these images in the same manner. This impact is still seen today. Most Tibetan Buddhist altars (in exile communities) display the image of the Dalai Lama the same way a Buddha is displayed; *katags* are offered to the photograph in a similar fashion. As the central image of the

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<sup>103</sup> Michael Henss, "From Tradition to Truth: Images of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama," *Orientalism*, v. 36 issue 6 (2005), 65.

<sup>104</sup> Charles Bell as cited in Henss, "From Tradition to Truth," 65. In Clare Harris's *In the Image of Tibet*, she suggests the Chinese use of Mao imagery as possible cause for the resultant proliferation of photographic images of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. However, Michael Henss discussion of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's photographs and their availability seems to preclude the former theory.

altar, the Dalai Lama's photograph—an image of a living Buddha—is now standard for these displays. This “image-relic” echoes the distribution of the Buddha's relics by Aśoka two millennia earlier. The notion that these photographs have become relics is further explored in later chapters regarding the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's portrait.

Another photograph of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama taken by Charles Bell is now housed at the British Museum and shows Thubten Gyatso in a standing position (Figure 87). This posture alone differentiates this type of image from the numerous depictions of Dalai Lamas in seated postures. Again, the Dalai Lama is not in a teaching or meditative gesture. Thubten Gyatso does not sit in an *asana*—a posture that conjures specific references to the Buddha and enlightenment. Likewise, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama is not displaying any sort of hand gesture which could be considered a *mudra*. Rather, he is leaning on a chair back with his right hand as his left hand is covered by his long sleeve. He does not wear the hat of the Geluk sect, and his overall demeanor is casual, if rigid. The purpose of the image was likely to capture a prominent leader and friend of the photographer rather than showcase an exemplary figure in the Geluk tradition. It is a minor shift, but again, it is important to note the beginnings of this political recognition.

A photograph of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama with Charles Bell and the Maharaja of Sikkim (Figure 88) also introduces new concepts into portraiture in Tibet. First, the Dalai Lama is seated on a western-style chair next to the two other men (the Maharaja standing), none of whom dominate the photograph. All three men are formally posed, though there are no iconographic features which would suggest the Dalai Lama is being showcased as a Geluk teacher (attributes, *mudra*, etc). Rather, the western-style image

depicts the Thirteenth Dalai Lama with hands resting on his lap staring directly at the camera. An interesting feature of this image is the fact that the Dalai Lama is no more prominently displayed than the other two men, likely because this picture is meant to include him in an historical moment with two other key figures. There is no hierarchic scale to show his authority in the Geluk sect. This type of imagery once again showcases the man as a political ruler. The next section details photographs of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama taken inside of Tibet's borders, and how those images likely influenced the manner of depiction in Tibetan portraiture.

### Photography in Tibet

Thubten Gyatso returned to Tibet in 1912 after the fall of the Qing dynasty lessened the immediate threat to Lhasa.<sup>105</sup> The Thirteenth Dalai Lama began his quest to modernize Tibet. He sent four students to England, one of whom later installed electrical lights in Lhasa in the 1920's. The Dalai Lama organized a medical school, a Tibetan army, and a telegraph line to more easily access the outside world. He also introduced the postal system, a police force in Lhasa, an English school in Gyantse, and a currency system. After the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet, several British photographers—including Charles Bell—were allowed to photograph the Geluk teacher; those photographs show the new option for representation of the Dalai Lama.

When discussing the imagery that occurred during the reign of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, one must consider the importance of the documentary photography of British explorers in Tibet. The introduction of photography in Tibet was not just a mode

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<sup>105</sup> Treasury of Lives: Biographies of Himalayan Buddhist Masters: [www.tibetanlineages.org](http://www.tibetanlineages.org)

of documentation for British historians and anthropologists looking to accurately report upon findings in remote locations. It was a catalyst for change in Tibetan artistic representation. Again, though I do agree with Clare Harris and her assertion that many early photographs were not accurately representative of Tibetan culture, I do argue that the images ultimately influenced Tibetan imagery of and audience reception to Dalai Lama photography. This section on “outsider” photography in Tibet can be seen as an evaluation of the *influence* of these photographs on artistic representation of the Dalai Lama, but not necessarily a collection of intended artistic compositions. Often these photographs accompanied diary entries that further allowed the photographer space to attempt a comprehensive evaluation of the culture. These portraits also altered the *use* of imagery of the Dalai Lama.

Several photographs of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama exist in collections around the world. I have chosen two types of photographs as representational of the imagery which exists. The first type of photograph showcases the informal side of documentary photography. These images were sometimes taken during historical events, but generally show the Dalai Lama during an “un-posed” moment. These images highlight the individual nature of the man rather than the institution. The second type of photograph shows a more formal or staged portrait. This category of imagery has more in common with the traditional Tibetan painting of lamas—the figure is often posed with particular Geluk regalia and sometimes displays particular hand gestures indicative of a teaching (thus showcasing the monk, but also referencing the political leader). Though these two types of photographs vary in their purpose, they both promote the Dalai Lama as an

individual. The photographs I use as examples, taken in 1912, 1921, and 1932, span the remainder of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's life after his return to Tibet.

Figure 89-Figure 90 are examples of the “un-posed” moment, or, those images that showcase the man over the monk. These prints of the same photograph show the Dalai Lama during a journey to Yatung in 1912.<sup>106</sup> Although these images are in the collection of Sir Charles Bell, the image was taken by photographer Henry Martin (or possibly David Macdonald).<sup>107</sup> The picture shows the Dalai Lama during a greeting or possible ritual with the locals of Yatung. The most obvious distinction between this photograph and earlier painted imagery of the Dalai Lamas is the inconspicuous nature of the leader in the photograph; the only indicator of where the Dalai Lama is standing is the umbrella over his head. Otherwise, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama easily blends into the background of people surrounding him. There is no attempt to place the Dalai Lama at the center of the photograph, nor is the Dalai Lama larger or placed higher than the other figures. The Dalai Lama is in the far right side of the image; the rest of the photograph shows people in some type of ritual, though the blurred nature of the photograph makes this occurrence difficult to distinguish. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama is standing outside in heavy robes. His left hand is covered by the sleeve of the robe as his right hand holds a ritual implement, though again this area is somewhat blurred. Rather than looking at the action, he peers directly at the camera with a very serious stare. It does not seem as though the photographer asked him to “pose.” Rather, he catches Thubten Gyatso's

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<sup>106</sup> The Tibet Album. "The 13th Dalai Lama at Yatung" 05 Dec. 2006. The Pitt Rivers Museum accessed 11 June 2010 and 30 June 2011 [http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo\\_1998.286.36.2.html](http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_1998.286.36.2.html).

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.



glance by accident. The setting of the photograph is clearly not posed. Here is one of the first depictions of the Dalai Lama doing his “everyday” activities; it is a biographical scene of the man. This later becomes quite usual with imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. There are some earlier traditional images that document historical events in the lives of the earlier Dalai Lamas (as discussed in Chapter 2), but the paintings are clearly formally arranged and the Dalai Lama depicted remains the center of the image.

Figure 91-Figure 97 show the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in more formally posed photographs. He is seated on his throne in his summer palace, the Norbulingka in Lhasa (the photographs were taken during the same session and show different versions of the same arrangement). The date of the photograph is October 14, 1921. Although this image comes from the collection of Charles Bell, the photograph itself could have been taken by either Bell or his assistant, Rabden Lepcha.<sup>108</sup> Again, the vague attribution of the image (and clear input of the Tibetan assistant) shows more Tibetan agency in the image than previously assumed. The photograph has much in common with the 1910 photograph taken by Charles Bell in India. At the same time, the composition is a very standard conception of showing the figure in his honored place. The image was originally published by Bell in his *Tibet: Past and Present* of 1924.<sup>109</sup> *The Tibet Album* gives Bell’s original description of the image as listed in his notes:

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<sup>108</sup> If it was taken by Rabden Lepcha, the photograph should not necessarily be considered “outsider” photography. I have included it in this section because Bell either shot the image himself, controlled the arrangement of the image, or at the very least, was responsible for the distribution/publishing of the image.

<sup>109</sup> *The Tibet Album*.

[No. of chapter] V. [Subject of Chapter] Dalai Lama. [Subject of illustration] H76 (u) Dalai Lama on his throne, 4ft high, in Norbu Lingka, as when blessing pilgrims. Behind throne red silk brocade; above it nine silk scrolls, each representing Buddha in the 'earth-pressing' (sa-non) attitude. In front of throne is a dais, 18 ins. high with a balustrade of finely carved woodwork running round it. Hanging down in front of the throne is a white silk cloth embroidered in gold with crossed dorjes. Flowers, i.e., chrysanthemums, marigolds etc., are set round the dais. This is the throne which the DL uses on important occasions.<sup>110</sup>

In the photograph, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama sits in the center of his throne room in the Norbulingka. The viewer sees a man with a serious countenance seated cross legged on a throne. His hands rest in his lap, which is covered with a white fabric. The hands are not in a specific *mudra*, indicating that the figure is not meditating or teaching or performing a formal act. He wears monk's robes covered by a silk fabric. His throne is also covered with a silken fabric. The panel in the front of his throne just under the seated lama depicts a *visvavajra*, the crossed *vajras* of Buddhist symbolism. Two swastikas appear in the lower corners of this panel, again symbolic in Buddhist culture. The silks surrounding this panel display cloud-like swirls. Steps lead up to the raised platform and the lama. In the first composition (Figure 91), the Dalai Lama does not wear a hat, and the frame of the photograph encompasses the whole of the throne room. But there are also close-up views that were published, including three in which a hat had been added (Figure 94-Figure 96). In the overall composition, several large *thangka* hang behind the head of the lama. Each buddha in each *thangka* seems to display the *bhumisparsa*

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<sup>110</sup> *The Tibet Album*. "The Thirteenth Dalai Lama on throne in Norbu Lingka" 05 Dec. 2006. The Pitt Rivers Museum. Accessed 11 June 2010 and 30 June 2011 <[http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo\\_1998.285.85.html](http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_1998.285.85.html)>.

*mudra*, the earth touching gesture. The elaborate woodworking around the throne canopy depicts dragons and floral motifs. A table on the Dalai Lama's proper right holds what looks to be a *ghanta* (bell), or certainly some type of ritual implement. The entire space feels rich and elegant, even in a black and white photograph.

The other versions of the image show minor changes (Figure 94-Figure 96). The Dalai Lama wears the traditional Geluk hat, and the frame is tightened to focus in on the figure. Otherwise, the Dalai's Lama's posture, complete with hands not in any specified *mudra*, and the background of *thangka* paintings remain the same. Again, this composition, although clearly arranged by the photographer and an example of posed portraiture, does not showcase the Dalai Lama in a teaching or meditative posture—a distinction from the earlier paintings discussed. The goal of the British photographer Bell was not to depict the Dalai Lama in the manner used for earlier Dalai Lamas (including surrounding figures showing his connections and reincarnation status), but to photograph him on the throne, much as he would a member of British royalty. Certain traditional elements remain: the ritual implements on the nearby table (possibly a bell), the *thangka* paintings which reflect the painted tradition of lineage display (showing a connection to the Buddha), and the symbolism of the *vishvavajra* and other Buddhist iconographic elements.

*The Tibet Album* provides a diary entry by Sir Charles Bell on the date the photograph was taken, October 14, 1921:

Rabden and I photographed the Dalai Lama this forenoon, sitting on the throne in his throne room, as he would sit when blessing pilgrims. The photos on the whole turned out well. ... This is the throne room that is used on important occasions. // While the room was being arranged the D[alai] L[ama] came in to see that the arrangements were properly made. It was interesting to see him en famille, in his own household. Monk officials, ordinary workmen, went about their work, almost jostling against him, while he wound in and out among them, giving an order here, making a slight change there. Workmen clean and polish the boarded floor by sliding over it boots with large woollen flanges attached, like a ballroom being got ready for a dance." [Diary Vol. XIII, pp. 28-9]<sup>111</sup>

Bell further discussed this photograph in *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, a complete history of his relationship with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>112</sup> Bell notes that he was the first person to ever photograph the Dalai Lama in Lhasa (his earlier photographs had been taken in India). He describes the preparation of the background for the image (the throne room) as well as the nine *thangka* behind the throne. He describes a red silk covering for the walls and a carved wooden throne covered by a gold embroidered white silk cloth. He mentions the *visvavajra* as a “symbol of equilibrium, immutability and almighty powers.”<sup>113</sup> This photograph of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was mass produced and

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<sup>111</sup> The Pitt Rivers Collection at the British Museum has published a comprehensive collection of documentary photography of Tibet in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The website is titled “The Tibet Album: British Photography in Central Tibet 1920-1950.”<sup>111</sup> The website further includes the original sources of publications and diaries of the photographers, allowing the viewer to immediately distinguish the dates, purposes, and context of each photograph. When available, the site includes maps of the photographer’s journeys.

<sup>112</sup> Charles Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama: The Life and Times of the Great Thirteenth*, (London: Wisdom Publications, 1987).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

distributed to monasteries, much like the earlier photograph taken in India. Clearly, photographic portraiture was now acceptable in Tibet.

This same type of photograph appeared a decade later in the 1932 image by Leslie Weir (Figure 98). Thubten Gyatso, looking quite seriously at the camera, sits atop his throne with the usual Buddhist accoutrements (*visvavajra* on the front of the throne, mandala and other implements to his right). He does not, however, wear the Geluk yellow hat nor does he place his hands in a *mudra*. Rather, he sits with a hand gesture that is not a *mudra*; he is not in a teaching or meditative posture. It is unclear why this image was taken, but it is likely that the British photographer was working in the same set of circumstances as the other British photographers; that is, he was “documenting” all aspects of Tibet and Tibetan culture, (again, likely with skewed results). Regardless, the image still highlights components of the Dalai Lama’s persona: the man is clearly recognizable as an individual; the monk is accompanied by his appropriate traditional imagery.

### Early Photographs of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama

One of the most interesting historical events of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama documented in photography is the 1955 meeting between Tenzin Gyatso, the Panchen Lama, and Mao Zedong (Figure 52, resulting painting discussed in Chapter 2). Taken in Beijing and now archived at the Norbulingka in Sidhpur, the photograph was the direct inspiration for the mural at the Norbulingka in Lhasa (Figure 51). The photograph shows Mao Zedong in the center seated before a variety of banquet items on the table. He turns

towards Tenzin Gyatso on his proper left, who appears to be laughing at something just said. The Panchen Lama looks on from Mao's proper right. Two officials flank the scene. The occasion is listed as the Tibetan New Year, and it initially seems unusual for the group to look so amicable towards each other. However, at this point in Tibetan-Chinese relations, Tenzin Gyatso was eager to find a compromise with the Communist Chinese government in the hope of preventing the ultimate takeover of Tibet. It is clearly an important historical event, and both parties likely did not object to the photograph. As discussed earlier, this moment—and this photograph—were later deemed important enough for inclusion as a mural on the walls of the Norbulingka. In fact, it was likely included to show the “political leader”; by including Tenzin Gyatso next to the ruler of China (and, in an equal position), the artist has validated the Dalai Lama's role as ruler of a sovereign nation. Certainly this event could have been depicted by the artist without the direct photograph, but the artist chose to directly use this image to depict the historical event. The merging of photography with painting, whether as a direct source of content or as a stylistic guide to photorealism, clearly influenced the types of images created of the Dalai Lama. This section seeks to explore the types of photographs which were taken during this time period, and how these photographs may have influenced the Tibetan artists creating imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Many photographs were taken of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama during his youth in Tibet. Some of these depict candid and spontaneous encounters with Tenzin Gyatso; others show the Dalai Lama in a more formal, posed manner. Like the photographs of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the majority of images were taken by “outsiders,” including

British photographers. I have chosen a variety of photographs to show the different aspects documented, such as casual imagery, formal posed imagery, action shots, and historical photographs. Such varied imagery shows that the Dalai Lama was willing to be photographed in a variety of settings. There are no painted representations of any Dalai Lamas as children, so the photographs of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as a child represent a completely new type of image.<sup>114</sup>

An unknown photographer captured an image of the four year old Tenzin Gyatso in Amdo in 1939, prior to the leader's journey to Lhasa (Figure 99). This photograph, currently in the archives at the Norbulingka in Sidhpur, India, shows a very human moment in the life of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. In this photograph, he is just a simple child, not an incarnation of high status. He looks straight at the camera with a calm countenance. He is wrapped in warm clothing and wears a hat; he stands in a plain background. This is one of the earliest known photographs of Tenzin Gyatso, and certainly shows the Dalai Lama at an age not depicted in art for previous incarnations (though I discussed the painting of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as a child in Chapter 2, I mentioned the "adult" rendering of the image—a smaller version of the grown man; photography brings the emergence of imagery of the Dalai Lama as an actual child.) The surviving art suggests that even the incarnations who did not reach adulthood were still represented as fully grown teachers (for example, Dalai Lamas Nine through Twelve).

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<sup>114</sup> Though paintings of the Dalai Lamas as children exist, they are rendered as smaller versions of grown men rather than as physically representative children.

This photograph, regardless of its creator's intent, shows the willingness by the Tibetans in charge of the young Dalai Lama to record the Dalai Lama as a child.

Another photograph of a young Dalai Lama depicts him prior to his departure for Lhasa in 1939 (Figure 100). Thomas Laird has identified the accompanying adults in the image as the officials of Ma Bufang, a local warlord who controlled the region in which the Dalai Lama was born.<sup>115</sup> Taken in Amdo, this photograph similarly is from an unknown source and is now located in the Norbulingka at Sidhpur. A Chinese inscription at the bottom (perhaps indicating a Chinese photographer, or perhaps added at a later date) translates as "The Fourteenth Incarnation of the (reborn) Dalai Lama is five years old."<sup>116</sup> The child stands at the center of a group of local dignitaries. As in the image shown in Figure 99, the Dalai Lama looks straight at the viewer in a calm manner. This photograph was a clearly arranged scene, indicating that the event and people were meant to be documented. There are no iconographic attributes or Buddhist symbols in the photograph. Rather, the intent here was to show the Dalai Lama on the advent of his journey towards Lhasa, an important biographical marker.

Showing a more formal setting, a photograph of the Dalai Lama at age ten depicts Tenzin Gyatso in his robes seated on a throne (Figure 101). This posed photograph, taken in 1945 by an unknown photographer, displays some key iconographical features of earlier painted imagery. This may show that the photographer attempted to convey the Dalai Lama's accoutrements in a faithful fashion. The throne is complete with the

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<sup>115</sup> Laird, image insert.

<sup>116</sup> Tenzin Gyatso's age is listed as five instead of four due to the Tibetan process of calculating age as one at time of birth.



symbolism of the *vishvavajra* and the swastikas. Tenzin Gyatso is wrapped in silk robes, seated against a patterned throne back. His hands are not visible in the photograph; they are possibly resting on his lap or in a meditative *mudra*. The photograph is reminiscent of those taken by Sir Charles Bell of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in his throne room (see Figure 91-Figure 97 in Chapter 4). The formality of the image is reminiscent of the formality shown in *thangka* portraiture. It shows that, although many photographs captured “snapshot” moments, or otherwise more casual type of imagery, some did retain a certain formality and highlight the high role of the Dalai Lama. The fact that the Dalai Lama was often a young child during these events is something not seen in earlier *thangka* or mural imagery.

One photograph, now at the Norbulingka in Sidhpur, India, shows the Dalai Lama during a very important historical event: his exam ceremonies (Figure 102). In this 1958 or 1959 depiction, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama is shown with his right hand extended and his left hand back holding mala beads. He is in the middle of an exam procedure, which consists largely of debate and large hand gestures that are used to reinforce each point. The traditional Geluk hats of the abbots are seen in the lower left corner. A large crowd is gathered in the background in the monastery identified as Ganden by the Norbulingka (India) archives.<sup>117</sup> The robes of the Dalai Lama, the seated positions of the abbots, and the surrounding ceremonial action are all typical of a traditional Tibetan examination. The photograph is one of the first records of such a debate in addition to its importance as a record of the Dalai Lama. Again, the photographer is unknown, though the intent was

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<sup>117</sup> Brauen, 182.

likely to document such an important historical occasion. This photograph serves as a primary document in the history of the life of the Dalai Lama rather than as an intentional work of art. Still, it can be compared to those murals of the Dalai Lama that depict important biographical events. It contributes to the theory that a wide variety of imagery of the Dalai Lama was acceptable to the Tibetan audience.

At the end of 1950, Tenzin Gyatso began his first exile journey to the Sikkim border. This flight was documented by the Austrian climber Heinrich Harrer, a resident of Lhasa for seven years and subsequent author of several texts about Tibetan life, including *Seven Years in Tibet*.<sup>118</sup> These photographs again serve to document an important historical event in the life of Tenzin Gyatso. The images in Figure 103 are now housed at the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich. These show the residents of the small region of Phari bowing as the Dalai Lama's group passes. These are clearly quick snapshots and do not show much detail in terms of the Dalai Lama's presence. They differ from painted portraiture of the Dalai Lama in some key ways. The figure is not the central or largest figure in the image. There is nothing in the way of Buddhological symbolism or accoutrements—no *asana* or *mudra*. However, they still serve as primary documentation of the journey to exile. These are moments in the Dalai Lama's biography that are captured by the photographer not as an artist, but as an historian. Unlike the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, who was not photographed until his exile in 1910, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama was freely photographed in a variety of situations. This again points to the varied approach to imagery of the Dalai Lamas. Sometimes realism is

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<sup>118</sup> Heinrich Harrer, *Seven Years in Tibet* (New York: Penguin Putnam Inc, 1996)

employed, other times generalized features are used. Sometimes the images are more formal, sometimes they are more candid in nature. The imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama—both painted and photographed—continued within this larger composite approach of Tibetan portraiture while, at the same time, changing as photography and political events impacted the lives of the artists and the Dalai Lama.

This chapter explored the earliest photographic images of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas. With the introduction of photography and outsider imagery, a new type of depiction emerged. The Russian drawings of the Kozlov exhibition depicted the Dalai Lama in a more individualized manner and without the usual iconographic attributes or features, thus showing the Dalai Lama for the first time in a position not referencing his teaching or spiritual status. It is documented that Tibetan artists were present during the creation of these images and were likely influenced by them in some manner. In addition to the Russian drawings, photographs of Thubten Gyatso began to appear. These photographs, first taken in exile by the British friend of the Dalai Lama, Charles Bell, showed the Dalai Lama, for the first time, in a more directly realistic manner in terms of facial features. Although the portraits were sometimes posed, they often emphasized the features of the man, rather than his role as a Dalai Lama; his role as a teacher was not necessarily emphasized. Many photographs showed the leader without any of the *asanas*, *mudras*, or symbolism of the earlier traditional portrait paintings. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama was extensively photographed during his early life in Tibet.

These images emphasized all aspects of the Dalai Lama's persona: man, monk, and political leader.

#### Chapter 4: The International Scene: The Fourteenth Dalai Lama on the World Stage, 1959 to the Present

This chapter examines imagery of the Dalai Lama since 1959, looking at both the evolving roles of the Dalai Lama as he entered the world stage as well as the new types and media of imagery relating to him. Although some images of the Dalai Lama may have been created in Tibet since 1959, the Cultural Revolution as well as a ban placed by the Chinese government on creating or possessing images of the Dalai Lama in 1996 have likely dramatically curtailed imagery of him in Tibet. Therefore, the images discussed in this chapter were all created outside of the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

As might be expected, images of the Dalai Lama since 1959 are abundant—likely numbering in the millions. Such an explosion parallels the widespread access to photography by non-professionals, and more, of course, to the explosion of digital media. At the same time, the vast numbers of images are not only due to the availability of image-capture media, but also since the Dalai Lama has become such a figure of international stance that almost every event in which he participates is documented in detail. This chapter looks at the explosion of imagery of the Dalai Lama since he left Tibet. Imagery is organized roughly chronologically and traces the Dalai Lama's emergence first, as a symbol to the western world of a pro-Tibetan cause, and, later, as a worldwide model for peace and environmental causes that align with his basic Buddhist

message of non-violence. Thus, as the Dalai Lama's life unfolded in the second half of the twentieth century, he not only attracted a world-wide audience of Buddhist sympathizers and practitioners, but he also became a figurehead for political and social action groups who aligned themselves with his life view.

When Tenzin Gyatso left Tibet in 1959, he did not realize that he would not return. In fact, he originally had planned to remain in southern Tibet, hoping that the turmoil in the capital of Lhasa would settle.<sup>119</sup> The situation in Tibet grew dire with the subsequent Chinese rule, and Tenzin Gyatso settled in India, where he remains today. The Dalai Lama's entrance into India and asylum there created controversy even within the Indian government. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru initially welcomed Tenzin Gyatso into India at the border with the following note:

My colleagues and I welcome you and send greetings on your safe arrival in India. We shall be happy to afford the necessary facilities to you, your family and entourage to reside in India. The people of India, who hold you in great veneration, will no doubt accord their traditional respect to your personage. Kind regards to you. Nehru.<sup>120</sup>

Although Nehru offered asylum to Tenzin Gyatso and other Tibetan refugees, some members of the Indian government were reluctant to challenge the Chinese government so directly. This reluctance affected Nehru, and some of his decisions wavered between

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<sup>119</sup> The Dalai Lama and his entourage had originally planned to establish the Tibetan government at Lhuntse Dzong within the Tibetan borders, but had to keep moving to India due to increasing pressure from the Chinese forces. Nehru document published in Tenzin Gyatso, *Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990) 146.

<sup>120</sup> Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Tenzin Gyatso. Tenzin Gyatso, 144.

support of the Tibetan cause and political concerns.<sup>121</sup> During the first year of exile, Tenzin Gyatso and his representatives met with Nehru and made four requests:

GOI (Government of India) should seek some form of guarantee from China for the personal safety of the Dalai Lama; refugees should be allowed to enter India freely; India should send a mercy mission with medical supplies (to Tibet); India should sponsor the Tibetan case at the United Nations.<sup>122</sup>

Nehru did not respond with complete agreement, nor did he outright object to establishing exile communities for the Tibetans. Tsering Shakya characterizes Nehru's position as one of sitting on the fence—trying not to anger China while simultaneously helping the Dalai Lama. Nehru stated his concerns to the Indian parliament: “the preservation of the security and integrity of India; our desire to maintain friendly relations with China; our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet.”<sup>123</sup> At the request of Nehru, Tenzin Gyatso did not make any political statement during his first months in exile. The Dalai Lama describes Nehru at this point as “a bit of a bully.”<sup>124</sup> The Dalai Lama finally held his first press conference on June 20, 1959 and declared a Tibetan Government-in-exile. On the night after the Dalai Lama gave his first press conference, the Indian Government released a memo stating that it “did not recognize the Dalai

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<sup>121</sup> This occasion was not the first time Nehru was reluctant to give full support to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans. Tenzin Gyatso's autobiography, *Freedom in Exile*, details an earlier discussion with Nehru during the Dalai Lama's 1957 visit to India. During this visit, Tenzin Gyatso brought up the possibility of seeking exile in India. The Dalai Lama notes with regard to Nehru, “At first he listened and nodded politely... Finally, he looked up at me and said that he understood what I was saying. ‘But you must realize,’ he went on somewhat impatiently, ‘that India cannot support you.’” Tenzin Gyatso, 117.

<sup>122</sup> Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999) 213.

<sup>123</sup> Statement by Nehru on March 30, 1959 (reproduced in Chanakya Sen, 1960, cited by Tsering Shakya, 214).

<sup>124</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, 146.

Lama's Government in Exile."<sup>125</sup> Tenzin Gyatso writes in his autobiography that this moment showed him the "true meaning of the word democracy," the government that was supporting him and his people financially did not do so politically, and this seemed to be a perfectly acceptable arrangement to the Indian Government.<sup>126</sup>

Other countries were also hesitant to recognize the Tibetan Government-in-exile as legitimate, trying to avoid any unpleasantness with India or China. Because of this lack of attention from other governments, Tenzin Gyatso hoped to present his case to the UN, writing the following letter to UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold in September, 1959:

It is with deepest regret that I am informing you that the act of aggression by Chinese forces has not terminated. On the contrary the area of aggression has been substantially extended with the result that practically the whole of Tibet is under the occupation of Chinese forces. I and my Government have made several appeals for peaceful and friendly settlement but so far these appeals have been completely ignored. In these circumstances and in view of the inhuman treatment and crimes against humanity and religion to which the people of Tibet are being subjected, I solicit immediate intervention of the United Nations.<sup>127</sup>

The result of the UN involvement was a resolution that weakly condemned the human rights violations of the Chinese government in Tibet, but did little to affect the situation. The discussion of the Tibetan issue gradually faded from the international scene as the major powers became preoccupied with the issues of the Cold War.

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<sup>125</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, 151.

<sup>126</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, 152.

<sup>127</sup> Letter by Tenzin Gyatso to Dag Hammarskjold, reprinted in Chanakya Sen, 1960, cited and discussed by Tsering Shakya, 226.



Jawaharlal Nehru increasingly supported the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees in exile until his death in 1964. Tenzin Gyatso spent his first year in exile in Mussoorie before moving to Dharamsala, his official home to this day. Other refugee settlements were set up in various parts of India, all with financial support from the Indian government.<sup>128</sup> The 1960's were a period of confusion (due to the unknown future of Tibet) and rebuilding for the Tibetan refugee communities in India. Tenzin Gyatso spent much of this time concerned with these issues of Tibet's future and the exile communities in India.

#### Introduction to the World

In 1959, a *Time Magazine* cover and article contained the first widespread international (here referencing areas outside of Tibet and China) images of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. The cover of the magazine shows a tempera painting of Tenzin Gyatso in front of the Potala Palace (Figure 104).<sup>129</sup> The label of "The Dalai Lama" is at the bottom left of the image. The upper left portion of the magazine cover announces "The Escape that Rocked the Reds." The table of contents lists the cover story along with two other pieces on Tibet, titled "Tibet: The Three Precious Jewels" and "Foreign News: Buddhism: The Dalai Lama's Faith."<sup>130</sup> The cover depiction of the Dalai Lama is executed in a soft, naturalistic manner by Russian artist Boris Chaliapin (an artist often

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<sup>128</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, *Freedom in Exile*, Ch. 8.

<sup>129</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19590420,00.html>

<sup>130</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601590420,00.html>

commissioned for *Time* covers).<sup>131</sup> The image of the Dalai Lama likely served as the first impression for many in the international world unfamiliar with the Tibetan monk.

Like the Russian drawings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama created half a century earlier, this portrait shows a more naturalistic rendering of the Tibetan leader. Of course, by this time, the photorealistic paintings of the Dalai Lama had become popular in Tibet. This cover, created by an outsider for an outside audience (here meaning outside of Tibet and China), was likely painted from a photograph (there are no records of the artist Boris Chaliapin ever visiting the Dalai Lama or meeting him in person). It is unclear which photograph was used by the artist, but there are many life-like elements included in the image that make the figure easily recognizable as Tenzin Gyatso.

The portrait shows the man in a positive light—he is smiling and has a friendly quality to him. While this subtle smile is certainly connected to the buddha image inherently recognized in the role of Dalai Lama, the choice by an outside artist to include a smile on the face of the man also serves a political function. From this first image, the international community is exposed to a political leader that is calm, sympathetic, and likeable. The artist could have easily chosen a more neutral photography from which to paint; however, he has furthered the notion of this man as representative of the “good” side of the argument. This sentiment is echoed in the accompanying article that clearly takes the side of the Tibetan exiled teacher. The Dalai Lama is depicted in front of the Potala Palace—his iconic home that he was forced to leave during a daring late night escape (and referenced by the title “The Escape that Rocked the Reds” in the upper left

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<sup>131</sup> [http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=dalai+lama&fq=online\\_media\\_type:"Images"](http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=dalai+lama&fq=online_media_type:)

corner). By showing the Dalai Lama in this manner, the cover presents the international community with an iconic figure that was (and continues to be) largely viewed in a positive light by the international community outside of China.

The cover story, “The Dalai Lama escapes from the Chinese,” begins with a photograph of the Dalai Lama with his mother (Figure 105). It is unclear why this particular photograph was chosen, but it again shows the Dalai Lama in a positive light (that being of a son with his mother). The article inaccurately describes the role of the Dalai Lama (calling him a “God-King” in the following passage), but it relates the story of the Dalai Lama’s escape from the Chinese through the experience of the Dalai Lama’s party:

They listened tensely for the sound of gunfire behind them, which would mean that the pursuing Red Chinese had clashed with the rearguard of Khamba tribesmen. Up front, scouts probed carefully to make sure Communist paratroops had not been dropped in the pass to bar their way. All of them—the 35 Khambas of the rearguard, the 75 officials, soldiers and muleteers—were charged with a solemn responsibility: to make good the escape from Tibet of the God-King in their midst—the 23-year-old Fourteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>132</sup>

The article also gives a very basic overview of Tibetan history, the Tibetan relationship with China, and the institution of the Dalai Lama. Although it is a very basic and simplified rendering of complex histories and terms, the article provides the international community with a glimpse of the leader of Tibet. Given the world situation at the time, it is not surprising that the article begins by discussing the problems

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<sup>132</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,864579-1,00.html>

associated with Communists but goes on to give a version of Tibetan life that is surprisingly similar to that of the Communists:

Polygyny(sic) & Prayer. The Tibet he would one day rule is a preserved relic of ancient oriental feudalism. Twice as large as Texas, lying in the very heart of Asia, it is a land of mountains and craterlike valleys that seem to have been ripped from the moon. Its people are handsome, cheerful and indescribably dirty. About four-fifths of them work to support one-fifth, who are shut up in lamaseries. What little land is not owned by the monks belongs either to the Dalai Lama or to about 150 noble families, who have kept their names and acres intact down the centuries by a mixture of polygyny and polyandry. To safeguard their ancestral estate, three brothers will often share a single wife, and all children are considered to be fathered by the eldest of the brothers. Recently, a highborn Lhasa woman was simultaneously married to a local nobleman, to the Foreign Minister of Tibet, and to the Foreign Minister's son by another wife.<sup>133</sup>

At the same time, elements of the article present Tibetan life as an idealized Shangri-la. The article thus wavers between one extreme version of Tibetan life (that of Shangri-la before the incursion of the Chinese) and the other (the backwards feudal state criticized by the Communist regime). As such, it doesn't present the viewer with a clear indication of who the Dalai Lama is and what he represents. The author of the article is not listed, nor is the source used by the author for the overview of historical events. Although the article is somewhat derogatory towards Tibetans (for example, "feudalism" is described in the paragraph above in the same manner the Chinese government has described Tibet prior to 1959), the article largely condemns the actions of "Red China" and shows the Dalai Lama as a victim of that intrusion. The two images presented to the

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<sup>133</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,864579-4,00.html>

international community—the cover painting and the photograph of Tenzin Gyatso with his mother—both present a non-militant defenseless monk.

These images mark the beginning of what would become a worldwide fascination with Tenzin Gyatso. This new international audience consists of both Buddhist practitioners (lay and monastic) and non-practitioners from areas around the world. (I am using the term “international” in this chapter to denote all regions outside of Tibet and China.) We have become accustomed to reading articles about Tenzin Gyatso and seeing his image quite often, but this was a new topic in 1959. After the Dalai Lama’s journeys to the west (beginning in 1973), the international community became even more interested in this man and the Tibetan people. Although the 1959 *Time Magazine* serves as an introduction to this new audience, the following decade was one of rebuilding in India.

#### Exile in India: 1959 to 1973

The early years of the Dalai Lama’s exile were focused on reestablishing the Tibetan culture within various communities of India, including the Dalai Lama’s own residence in Dharamsala. I do not know of any painted portraits created of Tenzin Gyatso during these years, although these may have been created and remain unpublished (and I have not found any in my research). Whether images of Tenzin Gyatso were created within what became the Tibetan Autonomous Region during this period is unknown, as none have come to light. There were, however, photographs of the Dalai Lama taken during this period. I have chosen three photographs (Figure 106, Figure 107a

and 107b) that capture some of the Dalai Lama's life in India. These photographs were chosen as representative of the type of biographical imagery of the Dalai Lama found during this period. Figure 106, published in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas*, shows a more casual image (that is to say, he is not posed) in a seemingly formal setting.<sup>134</sup> It appears as though Tenzin Gyatso is making a gesture during a teaching event. We have seen similar examples of imagery created of Tenzin Gyatso prior to 1959, such as scenes of the young leader on his throne or during his monastic exams. There is a continuation of this type of documentation imagery during the early exile period. The original purpose for this image is unclear. Martin Brauen himself photographed the image. He may have done so for a variety of reasons (perhaps he intended on using the image in a publication), but regardless, his photograph falls into the same categories of the pre-1959 imagery.

Figure 107a and 107b show two more photographs of everyday life, although in these images, Tenzin Gyatso is not in a formal setting. Tenzin Gyatso discussed his everyday activities during these early years of exile in his autobiography.<sup>135</sup> He often read the paper and listened to the radio, hoping for more insights into any developments within the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The photographs show us the "simple monk" side of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. It continues the type of casual imagery found in Chapter 3, although there is even more of a human quality to the man. It is possible that these photographs were arranged by the photographer rather than taken during the

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<sup>134</sup> Martin Brauen, 198.

<sup>135</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, *Freedom in Exile*.

everyday activities of Tenzin Gyatso. Either way, the images showcase a side of the Dalai Lama that does not pertain to teaching or meditation. The audience for the image may have changed, although the lack of context for the photographs prevents one from determining its original purpose. Although the context for these photos remains unclear, it may be that the Indian communities or international communities were now exposed to these types of photographs with accompanying articles about the state of the Tibetan exile communities. These photographs help to illustrate this period (1959 to 1973) as one of transition and uncertainty (the Dalai Lama did not yet have a widespread following or massive recognition during this period). It was also during this period that the Dalai Lama began performing the Kalachakra ritual outside of Tibet.

Although I have been unable to find any imagery of the first Kalachakra initiation completed in Dharamsala, India in 1970, the event itself became the first of 30 such rituals performed by Tenzin Gyatso around the world. In the last few years, these initiations have drawn massive crowds of practitioners and non-practitioners alike (discussed later in this chapter). These initiations, once meant only for the Tibetan monastic community, now include participants and audiences from around the globe. The international interest in the Dalai Lama, and all things Tibetan, began to increase after the Dalai Lama's first visit to the west in 1973.

#### The Dalai Lama beyond Asia: 1973-1989

From September to November of 1973, Tenzin Gyatso embarked on his first trip to the west, invited in some cases by those in the Tibetan Buddhist exile communities as well as other interested private groups. The Dalai Lama's first trip included Italy,

Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Austria.<sup>136</sup> His first visit to Switzerland was documented in photographs now housed at the Tibet Institute in Rikon, Switzerland. Two of the photographs to be discussed were taken by one of the original founders of the exiled Tibetan community in Rikon, Jacques Kuhn.<sup>137</sup> Jacques and his brother, Henri, owned a manufacturing company in the Swiss town and offered work to a group of Tibetan refugees. Switzerland thus became the first European nation to allow a settlement of Tibetan refugees in 1961. There was clearly support for the Tibetan cause prior to the Dalai Lama's visit in 1973, and this visit was likely a major event for the entire Tibetan community in Rikon. The photographs, now housed at the same institute, mark a period when some international support was shown for the Tibetan exile community. These relationships continue today, not only in Rikon, but in many exile communities around the globe.

I was able to obtain access to six pages of photographs during a 2009 trip to the Institute (all of these photographs are currently unpublished, Figure 108-Figure 113). These photographs show an interest by the western community in documenting the journeys and teachings of the Dalai Lama. I have little contextual information for these images; though the dates and photographers are listed, the original functions for the photographs are unclear. There is no curator for these images, though I was able to speak with Renate Koller, the library caretaker. Although she had no additional information as

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<sup>136</sup> <http://www.dalailama.com/biography/travels/1959---1979>

<sup>137</sup> This suggestion is based on conversations with some members of the monastic community at Rikon.



to the original use of the imagery, the photographs still serve as documentation of the types of images created by westerners during this time period. I will discuss each of these images in terms of which aspect of the Dalai Lama is showcased: man, monk, and political leader.

Figure 108 shows the Dalai Lama apparently addressing an audience (the caption, *Dalai Lama bei der ansprache* refers to this speech). The date of the image is listed as October, 1973, and the photographer is listed as Weber (again, it is unclear who some of the photographers were that took these photographs). It is also unclear if this audience included either or both Buddhist practitioners and non-practitioners, though it likely included both westerners and Tibetans (from the beginning of the Institute's inception, teachings have been open to the western Buddhist community as well as the Tibetan exiled community). The topic of the lecture is also unknown. I assume it is not a traditional Buddhist teaching since Tenzin Gyatso would normally be seated on a throne with appropriate accoutrements for such a teaching (even in the western world). He appears to be standing and addressing the crowd in a different manner. This different method of addressing separate audiences is further addressed in later chapters detailing more recent lectures by the Dalai Lama. However, even at this early period in international relations, Tenzin Gyatso seems to adjust his image accordingly. Rather than highlighting the "monk" (and, for example, sitting in a traditional posture with traditional attributes), the Dalai Lama is presenting himself as a man and political leader. Again, we don't know why the image was taken or what the speech referenced, but the positioning of the Dalai Lama indicates a more secular appearance. Though this is a result of the

agency of the figure depicted (and, again will be discussed at length in later chapters), the photograph furthers this constructed image of the Dalai Lama to the international community.

Figure 109 is captioned *Ansprache des DL vor dem ti* and is dated October 1973; the photographer is again listed as Weber. I believe this image may have been taken on the same day at the same event as the previously discussed photograph. A very careful look at the positioning of the microphone stand seems to suggest that this image is merely a wider view of the previous shot. If so, the viewer has far more information about the audience members. Tenzin Gyatso appears to be lecturing without religious implements or the traditional seating necessary for religious lectures. Rather, he stands, slightly laughing, with his hands clasped in front of a seated Tibetan audience. This audience likely consisted of fairly recent refugees to Switzerland (even those who came during the earliest wave of immigration would have been there no longer than twelve years). These would not have been Tibetans born in exile. I suspect the Dalai Lama spoke to this audience in Tibetan rather than English or German. Several non-Tibetan onlookers can be seen directly to the Dalai Lama's left seated in chairs. It is unclear if these were members of the press or, perhaps, figures connected with the Rikon Institute. In either case, they are positioned in a much different manner than the Tibetan group in front of Tenzin Gyatso. The audience above the stage is harder to discern; these may have been additional onlookers wanting to hear the speech of the newly traveling Dalai Lama. The positioning of these people—that is, above the Dalai Lama on raised ground—would never have occurred in a more traditional setting. Again, I believe this may have been the

beginnings of the dual-lecture Dalai Lama one finds today. He was likely addressing non-religious issues to an audience of both practicing Buddhists and non-believers. This photograph highlights the “man” and “political leader”; a necessity at this point in time for garnering international good-will.

Contrast that persona with the image in Figure 110. Tenzin Gyatso appears to be seated in a meditative position near the front of the Rikon altar room (the image is captioned *Dalai Lama in gebet*, here referencing prayer). The photographer listed is Gottingen and the date is November, 1973. It is unclear if, besides the photographer, the Dalai Lama is alone in the room or if he is addressing an audience. It does not appear to be posed, but the Dalai Lama must have known that the photographer was there. The “monk” is showcased here; the Dalai Lama, though traveling through Europe on what was ostensibly a political tour, remains devoted to his practice. He is open to showing these moments to the international community. The photograph is a reminder of this man—this political leader—as a simple monk. This again, is part of a constructed persona. The photographer has captured this moment that inherently refers to 500 years of tradition as well as to a new leader of the twentieth century.

Another series of photographs from November, 1973, Figure 111 was taken by the founder of Rikon himself. Jacques Kuhn took the images labeled *Der Dalai Lama in Festzelt*, a series of photographs showing the Dalai Lama on a throne, though in several casual positions. Again, it is unclear why the photographs were taken; perhaps Kuhn was trying to document the event, or gather images for promotional material for the institute. In any case, the images show Tenzin Gyatso in a very casual manner, as though he did

these sorts of lectures all the time (these, in fact, were the first of many international lectures). One must remember that this was his first tour outside of India; the photographer has actually captured the first instances of the Dalai Lama speaking to “outsider” (here, meaning non-Buddhist, perhaps) audiences. As the decades progressed, Tenzin Gyatso’s messages became quite specific to each audience, as will be discussed in later chapters.

Jacques Kuhn also photographed the images seen in Figure 112 in November, 1973. In these photographs (labeled *Dalai Lama in freien vor den Tib. Ist.*) Tenzin Gyatso sits on a cushioned chair one would expect to find in a living room near a television set, not as the throne for the Dalai Lama. The lecture audience clearly includes Tibetans, and one must assume many of these were practicing Buddhists. However, Tenzin Gyatso is not accompanied by any religious implementations (with the exception of his ever-present monastic clothing). He sits before a microphone and, like the last series of images, has a casual air about him. The choices we see the Dalai Lama make in these images are deliberate. Traditional custom would have Tenzin Gyatso in a higher seated position than his audience. There would have been specific requirements for addressing him. Tenzin Gyatso was not interested in these formalities, specifically when he was traveling in western countries. He became much more approachable as a human being by communicating with his audiences in more casual formats. This, in turn, paved the way for the Dalai Lama to become a leading figure outside of the realm of religion (namely, as a figurehead for peace). Though I discuss these roles in later chapters, it is

interesting to see how these very earliest images from the international community show a man on the verge of a changing Dalai Lama institution.

Figure 113, labeled *Ankunft des Dalai Lama an Tib. Inst.* and photographed by Gottingen (November, 1973), again refers to this casual nature of the current Dalai Lama. Tenzin Gyatso is shown arriving at the institute; he smiles and looks toward the community members in attendance. This practice detours from a more traditional type of travel and arrival for the Dalai Lama. In fact, I have personally witnessed Tenzin Gyatso, during his arrival at various lectures, reach out to audience members, or those along his path, and stop for casual discussions. Though he does often have bodyguards present, his affable nature and desire to communicate with audience members is always noticeable. Though this is likely a characteristic of the man rather than a calculated move to sway an international audience, it nevertheless has the effect of showcasing the human side of an otherwise high religious figure.

The Dalai Lama began transitioning into an international figure at this point. The more exposure to global audiences he had, the more appealing his cause for Tibetan justice, as well as his message of peace, became for those unfamiliar with Buddhism. This is evident in the emerging popularity of the Kalachakra initiations beyond a Buddhist audience. The first Kalachakra initiation performed in the west was at Deer Park Monastery in Madison, Wisconsin in 1981. Madison had become a home for many exiled Tibetans, and Deer Park Monastery was (and is to this day) an important site for the continuation of many Tibetan Buddhist traditions. The 1981 initiation brought a traditional Buddhist ritual to the west. A book was published shortly afterward that

brought further clarity to practitioners interested in the Kalachakra initiation with commentary by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>138</sup> The book presents the series of visualizations in which the practitioner imagines oneself as a Buddha. In the book, the procedure of the Kalachakra *mandala* (and the use of the *mandala* in conjunction with these visualizations) is discussed. The Preface states that this book is the first in the English language to discuss the details of the Kalachakra initiation. It also mentions the Deer Park Monastery in Madison as the first site of a Kalachakra initiation in the west, with this event serving as the impetus for the book.<sup>139</sup> By performing the ritual and writing the commentary, Tenzin Gyatso continues a central role of the Dalai Lama: a spreader of the *dharma*. He continues to perform the Kalachakra initiations around the globe, and to this date has done so some 32 times (a detailed description of these events appears on his official website).<sup>140</sup>

In addition to performing these initiations beginning in the early 1980's, Tenzin Gyatso also turned his attention once again to international political leaders. Many of his journeys during this decade were based around these political introductions. During this first trip abroad, Tenzin Gyatso met with several political leaders. The Dalai Lama's official website lists meetings with the Prince of the Netherlands, officials in Ireland, and the Prince of Greece and Denmark.<sup>141</sup> It wasn't until 1979 that Tenzin Gyatso met with a U.S. official: Wisconsin's Governor Lee Dreyfus. It was 1987 before Tenzin Gyatso

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<sup>138</sup> Tenzin Gyatso, *Kalachakra Tantra: Rite of Initiation*, translated, edited, and introduction by Jeffrey Hopkins (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1985).

<sup>139</sup> Aside from the reference in the preface, there is no other mention of the Madison event in the book and there are no photographs.

<sup>140</sup> <http://www.dalailama.com/teachings/kalachakra-initiations>

<sup>141</sup> <http://www.dalailama.com/biography/dignitaries-met/1954-1989>

captured the United States' attention with the plight of the Tibetans under Chinese rule. He met with U.S. President Jimmy Carter on September 20, 1987. He delivered his Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet in Washington to members of Congress the next day. This address to the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Caucus is reprinted in its entirety on the Dalai Lama's official website.<sup>142</sup> The main points listed by Tenzin Gyatso are as follows:

He asked for:

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace;
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.<sup>143</sup>

Tenzin Gyatso's elaborations on the first point—the transformation of Tibet into a zone of peace—included a discussion of *ahimsa*, or the practice of non-harm. These speeches began what would become a consistent message of peace from the Dalai Lama to the international community.

On June 15, 1988, Tenzin Gyatso gave his historic Strasbourg Proposal to members of the European Parliament. This address (reprinted in its entirety on the Dalai Lama's official website) does not ask for a Tibet completely free from Chinese

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<sup>142</sup> <http://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan>

<sup>143</sup> These points are taken directly from the Dalai Lama's official website:  
<http://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan>

intervention, but asks for a true autonomy and an end to human rights violations.<sup>144</sup> Many Tibetans disagreed with Tenzin Gyatso's new moderate approach to the situation. However, perhaps like the Buddha himself, Tenzin Gyatso was attempting to find a middle path—a compromise that would provide benefit to the Tibetan people and appease the Chinese Government.

These political speeches and the Dalai Lama's continued profession of non-violence ultimately were rewarded by his nomination for and subsequent receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1989. Figure 114 shows the Dalai Lama displaying his award at this major event in the life of Tenzin Gyatso. This was a turning point in the Dalai Lama's standing in the international community. Now, with this recognition bestowed on the Dalai Lama of Tibet, a global spotlight shone on both the man himself and the Tibetan cause. The next decade would be one of increased popularity of the Tibetan teacher. Even throughout this changing status, Tenzin Gyatso continued in his role as a spreader of the *dharma*.

#### 1989 to the Present: The Dalai Lama on the World's Stage

It is unknown whether any major images of the Dalai Lama were created within Tibet after his 1959 departure. Any portraits created may have been destroyed or hidden during the Cultural Revolution or later during the 1996 ban, discussed in the next chapter. This section begins by looking at the traditional means of depicting the Dalai Lama in the

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<sup>144</sup><http://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/strasbourg-proposal-1988>. Some of the sections of the proposal indicate a willingness of the Dalai Lama to work with the Chinese government on some issues: "The Government of the People's Republic of China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy. The Government of Tibet should, however, develop and maintain relations, through its own foreign affairs bureau, in the field of commerce, education, culture, religion, tourism, science, sports and other non-political activities. Tibet should join international organizations concerned with such activities."



international Tibetan exiled community. This includes the *thangka* in Figure 115 and the Norbulingka (India) paintings in Figure 116-Figure 117. I also discuss the imagery used on altars, since this practice likely continues a tradition found in Tibet during the time period. Figure 118 and Figure 119 show such imagery as used in exile communities.

The *thangka* in Figure 115 is now housed at the Musee d'Ethnographie in Geneva, Switzerland. The central and largest figure is the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, thus employing the same manner of representation used in earlier *thangkas* to ascribe importance. The surrounding figures are Uśniśavijaya and White Tara in the upper registers, and Palden Lhamo in the lower right. Five monks stand at the base of the Dalai Lama's throne. The Dalai Lama holds a wheel in his proper left hand and the stem of a lotus in his right hand, which also displays the *vitarka mudra*. As mentioned in earlier chapters, these iconographic hand gestures and attributes were often characteristic of more than one individual, and thus cannot be used exclusively to determine the identity of the figure. The central figure is much larger than the surrounding figures and sits atop an elaborately decorated throne. Flowers and foliage extend out of the central throne back in front of a more simplified background of hills and sky. The two figures in the upper registers float on clouds of varying colors, while the two figures at the bottom are enveloped in green and blue flame-like auras, respectively.

Hierarchic scale and the central placement of the Dalai Lama show the importance of the figure. The lack of universally naturalistic features or any lifelike physicality was a characteristic found in earlier Dalai Lama portraiture. This Dalai Lama is unidentifiable by depiction alone; he is painted in the same style as the *thangka*

paintings of the previous Dalai Lamas described in the earlier chapters. This indicates that, although there were new ways of showing Tenzin Gyatso in photographs and paintings, there was also a continuation of more traditional elements.

A painting of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as the last and current figure in the Dalai Lama lineage at the Norbulingka in Dharamsala, India, also shows many traditional elements found in other Dalai Lama representations (Figure 116-Figure 117).<sup>145</sup> Like the lineage set found at Samye (discussed in Chapter 2), this Dalai Lama set includes all fourteen incarnations.<sup>146</sup> Unlike at Samye, where only the Fourteenth Dalai Lama was represented in a photorealistic style, both the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas are shown here in such a manner. It is unclear why the artists have chosen to use this style on the last two Dalai Lamas (as opposed to just the current Dalai Lama, as shown in Samye). In any case, many traditional elements remain intact.

The high-rank of the Dalai Lamas is emphasized by their size (they are much larger than the surrounding elements) and placement at the center of each composition. Each throne dominates the space. The surrounding landscape—blue sky and green grass—serves as a backdrop for the large figures, much like earlier portraits discussed. Here, a mixed approach to the portraiture is even more pronounced since the first twelve Dalai Lamas have very similar, generalized features, whereas the Thirteenth and

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<sup>145</sup> The master painter at the Norbulingka institute, Temba Chophel, oversaw the painting of the Norbulingka lineage set in 1994. It is unclear if he was responsible for all of the images of the Dalai Lamas; it seems more likely that a group of artisans contributed to the lineage set. Kelsang Yeshe, editor, *Norbulingka: The First Ten Years of an Adventure* (New Delhi: Thomson Press, 2006).

<sup>146</sup> Few other complete sets of lineage paintings in Tibetan exile communities are known. Author Thubten Samphel states that the complete lineage mural at the Norbulingka is rare. *The Dalai Lamas of Tibet* (Singapore: Lustre Press, 2000), 13.

Fourteenth Dalai Lamas are shown with photorealistic faces. This clearly continues the same type of stylistic choices found at the earlier Samye lineage set. The purpose of the image is to show the importance of the teaching figure in both a buddhological and political sense. This is again found in the *mudras* and teaching postures, as well as the photorealistic faces, respectively.

All of the Dalai Lamas are shown in a formal posture as they display a *mudra* and wear the yellow hat and robes of the Geluk sect. Dalai Lamas 1-6, 9, 10, and 12-14 display the *vitarka mudra*. Some of the figures also hold attributes, such as the lotus, the wheel, or the bowl. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama holds the lotus in his right hand and the wheel in his left hand. Many of the Dalai Lamas have additional objects in front of them, such as the vase, the wheel, the *vajra* and the *ghanta*. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama has one additional object in front of him that, to my knowledge, is not found in any other representation. He sits behind a small globe with a tiny flying dove over the Indian region of the map. This object clearly refers to Tenzin Gyatso as a man of peace, and as a man spreading this message of peace from his home base in India. The globe shows how Tenzin Gyatso (and thus the institution of the Dalai Lama) has a new global audience and a corresponding new role. Even in this more traditional representation, the international reputation of Tenzin Gyatso is present.

Photos of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama are found on altars around the world in various Tibetan exile communities. This makes religious sense, since he is viewed as an incarnate bodhisattva. It also serves as a testament to the unification of the international Tibetan community. It is unclear if this placement of the photograph of Tenzin Gyatso

was ever prevalent before his exile in 1959 within the borders of Tibet. Today, his image is banned there, though there are many who still place his image on altars underneath other paintings or photographs (discussed later). There may be a political component to this practice. In addition to the spiritual nature of the figure as a bodhisattva and thus, correctly placed on the altar, Tenzin Gyatso has become a unifying figure for all Tibetans, regardless of sect. His image on both monastic and private altars likely refers to both his spiritual status and his presence as the unifier of all Tibetan people.

The photograph of the Dalai Lama in Figure 118 is on the altar at the Tibet Institute in Rikon, Switzerland. I was at the Institute during the celebration of the Dalai Lama's birthday on July 6, 2009. Each participant at the ceremony (including non-practitioners) presented the image of the Dalai Lama with the traditional *katag*, or white scarf, showing reverence to the Dalai Lama. These scarves can be seen in Figure 118 just in front of the photo of Tenzin Gyatso. Tenzin Gyatso appears to be quite young in the picture, and it is unclear how the specific photograph was chosen for the altar. This photograph was consecrated by the higher ranking monks of the institution. I asked one such monk about this consecration process, since I have seen many photographs used on personal altars in exile communities and it seems as though consecration would be unlikely for those images. Lama Pema Wangyal explained that, even without "official" consecration, the photographs themselves are always consecrated in nature due to the subject matter.<sup>147</sup> That is to say, a photograph of the Dalai Lama is to be held in the

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<sup>147</sup> Conversation with Lama Pema Wangyal at the Rikon Institute, July 6, 2009.

highest regard whether or not the image has been consecrated, just due to the fact that the Dalai Lama is the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.

The photograph in Figure 119 is also a consecrated image at a monastery outside of Tibet: the Gyuto Tantra Monastery in Sidhbari, India near Dharamsala. Although the monastery is now famous as the home of the exiled Karmapa Lama, the institution was founded by Geluk practitioners. The original monastery in Tibet was founded in 1474 by Jetsun Kunga Dhondup, a student of the First Dalai Lama.<sup>148</sup> Although the Karmapa Lama is a member of the Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism, the current political circumstances have brought the various sects together support of the Tibetan cause. Because of this, photographs of the Karmapa and Dalai Lamas are sometimes found on the same practitioner's altar, which is unlikely to have occurred prior to 1959. Such sectarian unity is also found at the more recent Kalachakra initiations by the Dalai Lama, where one finds monks from various sects of Tibetan Buddhism in attendance.

As mentioned earlier, the Kalachakra initiation was given outside of Tibet for the first time by the Dalai Lama in India in 1970, and then for the first time in the west in Madison, Wisconsin in 1981. Tenzin Gyatso recently completed his 30<sup>th</sup> initiation outside of Tibet (32 initiations, total) which was held in Bodh Gaya, India, in January of 2012. The Dalai Lama's official website describes the background of the Kalachakra initiation, and why it is important to continue this particular ritual, even outside of

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<sup>148</sup> <http://www.gyutomonastery.com/>

Tibet.<sup>149</sup> Part of the ritual includes the construction and dismantling of the Kalachakra *mandala*. Figure 120 shows the Dalai Lama's role in destroying the *mandala* created for the 1989 Kalachakra initiation in Santa Monica, California. As the popularity of the Dalai Lama on the world's stage has grown, so has the interest in the Kalachakra *mandala*. Although this is a traditional manner of spreading the *dharma* to practitioners, many non-practitioners have attended these events, especially in the last ten years. The Dalai Lama's website lists the attendance of the 1981 Madison Kalachakra at 1,500 people. The 1989 Santa Monica Kalachakra had an audience of 3,300 people. The most recent Kalachakra initiation performed in the west in Washington D.C. in July, 2011, had an audience of 14,000 people. Clearly, the influence and impact of Tenzin Gyatso has spread to a wide number of people, both practitioners and non-practitioners. Similarly, the image of Tenzin Gyatso has appeared in a variety of media geared toward both groups of people.

Western Buddhist magazines with no specific sectarian affiliation have featured the Fourteenth Dalai Lama on their covers. I have chosen two of the more popular magazines as examples. *Shambhala Sun* and *Tricycle* are two of the most prominent Buddhist magazines for an English-speaking audience. Buddhist practice in the west is a relatively new phenomenon, and has recently become a new field of study for religious scholars and social anthropologists. Although the practices of western Buddhists are

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<sup>149</sup> <http://www.dalailama.com/teachings/kalachakra-initiations>. The modern Kalachakra initiations as performed by Tenzin Gyatso are also detailed by Urban Hammar in his article, "Dalai Lama and the Modern Kalachakra Initiations," <http://www.scribd.com/doc/27307231/Dalai-Lama-and-the-Modern-Kalachakra-Initiations>

outside of the scope of this study, I briefly mention the magazines here as yet another type of media that utilizes the image of the Dalai Lama. Neither *Shambhala Sun* nor *Tricycle Magazine* is devoted to any one particular Buddhist sect. Both magazines describe themselves as inclusive of Buddhist and meditational ideals, a likely more appealing type of publication to a western audience sometimes unfamiliar with the more rigid details of specific Buddhist sects. I have several practicing western Buddhist friends who read these magazines, some of whom do the required Buddhist meditations, but do not follow the other lists of rules often found in a particular Buddhist tradition. Even with the broader terms of spiritual practice (and, many of these practitioners consider themselves more spiritual than religious), the Dalai Lama serves as a model of human behavior. His promotion of non-violence is appealing to this audience. This is clearly a new type of audience for the Dalai Lama. This community outside of Tibet is exposed to the traditional teachings of Tibetan Buddhism through these magazines, but also to a variety of cognitive and meditative teachings that are not part of the Tibetan tradition. Through exposure in such media, the Dalai Lama has expanded his role to include not only Tibetan Buddhist practitioners, but also practitioners who are likely to incorporate his teachings into their practices, regardless of sect.

His appearance in these magazines has a second purpose. Aside from continuing his role as a spreader of the *dharma*, the Dalai Lama has been able to continue to draw attention to the plight of the Tibetans in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. His face on the covers of both *Shambhala Sun* and *Tricycle* (Figure 121 and Figure 122) are both shown in a close-up portrait. His smiling face in both images is a welcoming introduction to

Buddhist practice for those westerners picking up the magazine out of curiosity. He does not wear the traditional Geluk hat, nor is he shown in a specific teaching pose. He is not surrounded by the accoutrements of the Geluk sect, and is likely more approachable in this manner to westerners unfamiliar with the traditional Tibetan Buddhist rituals. He is truly an international figure on these covers, transcending any particular sect or political position as a figure of a “Spiritual Hero,” as the title of the *Shambhala* article proclaims.

As Tenzin Gyatso has become more recognizable on the world’s stage over the past few decades, his image has been used by sympathizers with agendas other than those of a religious or political nature. Aside from practitioners and those interested in Buddhism and meditation, those interested in peace, environmental efforts, and a return to simplicity have used the image of the Dalai Lama in their various advertisements and art exhibitions.

Figure 123-Figure 124 show the inclusion of the Dalai Lama in advertisements for Apple Computers. The 1997 ad campaign was designed by the ad firm Chiat/Day and utilized several portraits of various inspiring historical figures.<sup>150</sup> Portraits of Gandhi and Einstein appeared in the campaign, as did portraits of Ted Turner and Joan Baez. No products were ever shown in the ads, and the participants were not paid for the use of their images. Instead, those featured in the portraits (or their estates, if deceased) received donations to the charities and non-profits of their choice. The Dalai Lama often donates any financial awards he receives (including the monetary component to the

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<sup>150</sup> Tom Hornby, “Think Different: The Ad Campaign that Restored Apple’s Reputation,” 4/9/2007  
<http://lowendmac.com/orchard/07/apple-think-different.html>



Nobel Peace Prize), so it is not surprising that this arrangement was mutually beneficial. Apple Computers was able to show its support of leaders like the Dalai Lama, and the Dalai Lama was able to reach a large western audience.

The Dalai Lama's image was used by the Foundation for a Better Life in 2008 on a billboard at Denver International Airport (Figure 125). The image shows Tenzin Gyatso with his hands pressed together accompanied by the phrase "Doesn't just wish for peace, He works for it." Beneath the phrase is the word "Hope" and the link to the Foundation for a Better Life's website (listed on the billboard as [www.forabetterlife.org](http://www.forabetterlife.org), since changed to [www.values.com](http://www.values.com).) The Foundation's mission statement is as follows: "The Foundation for a Better Life began as a simple idea to promote positive values. We believe that people are basically good and just need a reminder. And that the values we live by are worth more when we pass them on."<sup>151</sup> Other figures used in the campaign include Jackie Robinson and Desmond Tutu. Like the Apple Campaign, the Pass it On billboards display international figures who are positive role models. The Dalai Lama's portrait likely conveys the importance of peace, even without the accompanying phrase. Schools and non-profit organizations can request materials from the organization, and there is no product or service sold by the company. It seems to simply exist as a way of spreading positive thoughts and deeds.

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<sup>151</sup> <http://www.values.com/about-us>

Figure 126 shows a still from a video of the Dalai Lama from a YouTube video created to promote the Prince of Wales' Online Public Awareness Campaign to Save Rainforests.<sup>152</sup> In the video, several international figures state their names and professions. Harrison Ford states "actor," Joss Stone states "singer," and Tenzin Gyatso states "simple Buddhist monk." The Dalai Lama's presence in the video shows his support for the conservation and environmental efforts of the campaign. Environmental protection is a relatively recent concern for the globe due to advanced scientific developments, and therefore one would expect that this Dalai Lama would be the first of the fourteen to address such issues. This still shows the changing role of Tenzin Gyatso as compared to the other Dalai Lamas. As he continues to promote the *dharma*, he also promotes environmental efforts and peace organizations.

This message of peace was further solidified in a series of art exhibits created solely to spread the image and message of the Dalai Lama. Very few depictions of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama were created by western artists prior to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's exile. Since 1959 and especially in the last few decades, artists have been using the image of the Dalai Lama as a symbol of peace, an idea that manifest to a wide degree with 2004's inception of *The Missing Peace* exhibition. *The Missing Peace* was the product of meetings between the Committee of 100 for Tibet and the Dalai Lama Foundation. These groups began collecting images for an exhibit that would encompass many facets of the current Dalai Lama's life. The only instruction the artists were given

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<sup>152</sup> <http://firstlinemedia.com/epk/rainforestSOS/>

was “to create a work of art inspired by the life and the message of the Dalai Lama.”<sup>153</sup> Other, earlier works of the Dalai Lama (such as Richard Avedon’s 1998 portrait of Tenzin Gyatso) were also included. The exhibition began a global tour in 2006 and resulted in a catalog also titled *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama*, from 2005.<sup>154</sup> I have chosen the images published in the catalog as representative of the type of imagery created, and thus they are discussed here. The exhibition included direct portraiture alongside abstract visions of the Dalai Lama’s quest for peace. For example, at the New York Tibet House U.S. in 2007, the few pieces chosen exemplified the latter, leaving the casual viewer to make the connection between artistic representation and greater vision. Curator Randy Jayne Rosenberg explains the greater exhibition’s resulting imagery:

The themes that emerged became the organizing principle of the show. The exhibition can be seen as a spiral, beginning with the more concrete concepts about the Dalai Lama: his appearance, beliefs, religion, and homeland. The show then circles outward to include increasingly more abstract and universal themes: the ideals of human rights, peace, and compassion; people in exile; an exploration of belief systems; paths of transformation; universal responsibility; globalization; and ideas of temporality and impermanence.<sup>155</sup>

Unlike the traditional Tibetan portraits of the previous Dalai Lamas, these images relay a new message. Rather than showing the Dalai Lama as an accomplished Geluk teacher, these images convey a message of world peace. The *mudras* and attributes of

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<sup>153</sup> <http://www.dalailamafoundation.org/programs/the-missing-peace/>

<sup>154</sup> Randy Jayne Rosenberg, curator, *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware, 2005) viii.

<sup>155</sup> Randy Jayne Rosenberg, curator, *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware, 2005) viii.

Buddhism were gone, replaced by universal symbols of peace. The title itself gives weight to the accomplishments of Tenzin Gyatso, namely his Nobel Peace Prize and later, his Congressional Gold Medal, both testaments to the leader's international quest for human rights and peaceful understanding between cultures.

Richard Avedon's image of Tenzin Gyatso amidst other monks reminds the viewer that the Dalai Lama is, in his own words, only one monk (Figure 127). This photograph was taken prior to the development of the *Missing Peace* exhibition and catalog; however, it exemplifies the premise of the project: showing a man of peace. Although the catalogue gives no details regarding the context of the photo, Richard Avedon gave a statement for inclusion in the catalog:

A portrait photographer depends upon another person to complete his picture. The subject imagined, which in a sense is me, must be discovered in someone else willing to take part in a fiction he cannot possibly know about. My concerns are not his. We have separate ambitions for the image. His need to plead his case probably goes as deep as my need to plead mine, but the control is with me. A portrait is not a likeness. The moment an emotion or fact is transformed into a photograph it is no longer a fact but an opinion. There is no such thing as inaccuracy in a photograph. All photographs are accurate. None of them is the truth.<sup>156</sup>

Avedon's interpretation of his photograph is likely more ego-centric than the curators had probably envisioned. However, the viewer looking at the image most likely does not automatically share the perspective of the photographer. Whereas Avedon sees himself in the photograph (and the photograph as a manner in which to control his "need" to plead his case), the viewer is immediately drawn to the honest and peaceful quality of the

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<sup>156</sup> Richard Avedon as cited in *The Missing Peace*, 8.

largest and most in-focus figure, Tenzin Gyatso. He has his usual kind expression on his face as he stands, in monk's clothes, among other monks. He is both exemplifying his statement that he is merely a simple monk, and also showing his incredible nature as the Dalai Lama. Most viewers likely gravitate toward his image, and it is this likeability, this magnetism, that has helped Tenzin Gyatso gain an even wider international audience. In this way, the Dalai Lama's image is again both continuing the tradition of spreading the *dharma* (since this image and the Tibetan cause reached so many cities during the exhibition) and also spreading the message of peace to a new type of audience—the non-practitioner or casual museum-goer.

Those familiar with Chuck Close's portraits will recognize the style of the image in Figure 128: the Dalai Lama's head fills the space and each detail is captured perfectly in color. This image is done with digital pigment printing, though it is familiar in style and composition to Close's many photorealistic portrait paintings. The face of Tenzin Gyatso fills almost the entire image (the top of his monk's robes are also visible). The Dalai Lama is smiling—almost laughing—in the image, and the portrait clearly shows a man who embodies the idea of peace and humility. As cited with the image in the exhibition catalog, Close demonstrates that “a very traditional genre, portraiture, could be resurrected to become a challenging form of contemporary expression.”<sup>157</sup> The newness here is in the intimacy of the image. Although many portraits of Tenzin Gyatso existed by this point, the intimacy of the Chuck Close image may resonate on a deeper level with some viewers. The Dalai Lama seems incredibly approachable in this photograph. He

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<sup>157</sup> Chuck Close as cited in *The Missing Peace*, 11.

seems like an old friend rather than a high ranking teacher in a Buddhist sect. Again, Tenzin Gyatso the man transcends the institution of the Dalai Lama in this image and reaches a wider audience than ever before.

Artist Guy Buffet brings a lighthearted quality to the subject matter of the Dalai Lama in *His Holiness and the Bee (How a Little Annoyance Can Bring Great Joy)* (Figure 129). The loose brushstrokes reiterate the easy-going attitude of the subject; indeed, the Dalai Lama is shown handling an annoyance, the bee, with a playful quality. As the title suggests, the viewer follows the story from the onset of the annoyance to the ultimate joyful image of the Dalai Lama holding a lotus flower. Much can be read into this painting: perhaps the understated “annoyance” is not a bee but the incursion of China, and the response by the Dalai Lama is his peaceful approach to handling the situation. The viewer is encouraged to find levels of meaning in this image; again, the conflation of political and social meanings will certainly appeal to the audience viewing the work as modern art.

Other works in *The Missing Peace* exhibition and catalog indirectly refer to the Dalai Lama without direct portraiture. In Spanish artist Salustiano’s work *Reincarnation* (Figure 130-Figure 131), the viewer first encounters an overwhelming space filled with red. The color suggests “Red China,” and thus a political meaning. The main subject is a young child intensely staring outward. The gaze of the child is penetrating, almost disturbing. The image of the child, when coupled with the title *Reincarnation* suggests a portrait of a Buddha yet-to-come. One might think of Maitreya, the future Buddha, and his imagery. One might think of the notion of reincarnation and this portrait as a future

image of Tenzin Gyatso. But more likely than not, one will connect the red coloring of the image to the dominance of China, and the subsequent confusion that will ensue should China choose the next Dalai Lama. The words behind the child's head read "skye b\_\_\_s/pa'i yang srid," with the second word being obscured. The *skye* indicates rebirth, if the second word is *bzhes*, it is the active idea of taking rebirth. The words "yang srid" translate as reincarnation, and is linked with the genitive case to the obscured word. The artist is undoubtedly referencing the obscure future of the institution of the Dalai Lama (I discuss the future of the institution of the Dalai Lama further in the concluding chapter.) The ambiguity of the child's sex adds to the mysterious nature of the painting: could the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama be a girl? As the artist describes in his supplementary written piece, he did not receive any concrete answers to the questions he asked of lamas, monks, and lay practitioners regarding the future of the Dalai Lama institution:

At the beginning, I was dissatisfied and disoriented. Little by little, I realized that they were not giving me closed answers. They were opening the door in order for me to travel my own way across this subject....My intention is not to give you an instruction manual on how to interpret the artwork. Its theme is reincarnation and compassion and I intend to open a door not to a closed room but to an open field. This image is based on the idea of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation and his continued evolution and growth. The painting portrays the image of the Dalai Lama in his next incarnation as a young child and is a metaphor for growing, evolving, and transforming.<sup>158</sup>

Each of the artworks discussed above was created by a western artist. *The Missing Peace* did include one "portrait" of the Dalai Lama by a Tibetan artist, though his interpretation was quite different than the others. In *Tenzin Gyatso, Ocean of Wisdom*

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<sup>158</sup> Salustiano as cited in *The Missing Peace*, 76.

(Figure 132), the viewer sees only one foot in a sandal surrounded by colorful depictions of auspicious Buddhist signs. The artist, Losang Gyatso, wanted to depict the Tibetan practitioner's view of the Dalai Lama—with head bowed in reverence. The artist also refers to the Dalai Lama's preference for flip-flops in this image. The artist noted the meeting between President George W. Bush and Tenzin Gyatso in 2005 as inspiration:

[President Bush and the Dalai Lama] were both seated, with Mr. Bush striking an overly casual pose with one foot resting on the other knee, and the Dalai Lama was sitting in what might be considered an appropriate manner for someone visiting someone else's office: friendly and respectful, but with flip flops on....There was so much going on in the photo but in the end, the Dalai Lama looked more comfortable in the White House than Mr. Bush did. This led me to consider the Dalai Lama through the way in which he manifests total comfort in his own being and with that of others. This is a feat that's practically impossible for most of us to achieve.<sup>159</sup>

The surrounding symbols are traditional auspicious symbols of Buddhism (including the parasol, conch shell, and endless knot), and they appear to float on top of a *mandala* (a circle encompasses four colors that form a surrounding square). Although this is certainly not a traditionally rendered image, the combination of traditional elements with the playful and new vision of the Dalai Lama encompasses the role of Tenzin Gyatso himself. He is carving out a new path while simultaneously retaining the main goals of the institution.

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<sup>159</sup>Stephanie Murg, *Dalai Lama appears at the Rubin Museum*, date not listed  
[http://www.gyatsostudio.com/dalai\\_lama\\_at\\_the\\_rubin\\_in\\_spirit\\_and\\_in\\_acrylic.html](http://www.gyatsostudio.com/dalai_lama_at_the_rubin_in_spirit_and_in_acrylic.html)



Another depiction of the Dalai Lama that is easily recognizable as Tenzin Gyatso is Shepard Fairey's 2005 print titled *Compassion (His Holiness the Dalai Lama)* (Figure 133). I have chosen this image as an example of the Dalai Lama as viewed in pop culture. Fairey's website states that this print was created in honor of the Dalai Lama's 75<sup>th</sup> birthday. The prints were sold on his website (60 dollars apiece) and seemed to have sold out quickly.<sup>160</sup> The digitally altered print was based on a photograph by Don Farber. The artist cited his respect for the Dalai Lama's position of non-violence as source of inspiration:

I've always had great admiration for His Holiness and his non-violent approach to the plight of the Tibetan people. When I was approached with the opportunity to work with this beautiful image as a sanctioned source and create a work that evokes the Dalai Lama's presence as I feel it, I was thrilled. I hope His Holiness remains a presence of compassion in the world for many birthdays to come!<sup>161</sup>

The proceeds of the print sales were divided between the Tibet House and the LA Friends of Tibet. It is impossible to know who the audience was for each print purchased—certainly practitioners and non-practitioners alike are drawn to this print for both its subject matter and its artistry. Shepard Fairey is not a practicing Buddhist, but has managed to capture the likeness of a 500-year old institution in a contemporary and engaging manner. The shading and colors of the prints are flattened in such a way as to resemble graphic design more so than any painted imagery. It is quite similar to Fairey's 2008 image of Barack Obama from the ubiquitous "Hope" posters of the 2008 U.S.

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<sup>160</sup> <http://www.obeygiant.com/prints/compassion-his-holiness-the-dalai-lama>

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

Presidential campaign. The comparison doesn't stop there. In addition to the stylistic connections between the images, both prints showcase an international figure—an icon of our times. It is this new role—that of international icon—that is easily found in the various photographs of Tenzin Gyatso with world leaders, pop culture figures, and other peace activists.

Figure 134-Figure 140 show Tenzin Gyatso with several world leaders, leaders of peace movements, and pop culture icons. In fact, a quick image search on Google for Tenzin Gyatso brings up thousands of images of the Dalai Lama with a wide range of people. Although one might expect to see Tenzin Gyatso—the figurehead of the Tibetan cause and former political head of Tibet—with other world leaders, the actual meetings between Tenzin Gyatso and these leaders always causes concern (at the very least) for relations with China.<sup>162</sup> President Obama postponed his initial meeting with the Dalai Lama in 2009 until after he was able to meet with Chinese officials (he finally met with him in February of 2010, Figure 134).<sup>163</sup> Tenzin Gyatso's meetings with George W. Bush were even more infuriating for the Chinese government (he met with the former president four times during the latter's tenure), as the Dalai Lama received the Congressional Gold Medal in 2007 (Figure 135-Figure 136). On September 13, 2006, U.S. Congress passed a bill awarding the Dalai Lama the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest civilian honor in the nation. In a bi-partisan decision, Congressmen and women and House Representatives supported the bill initiated by Senators Dianne Feinstein and

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<sup>162</sup> A list of dignitaries that the Dalai Lama has met with is found on his official website: <http://www.dalailama.com/biography/dignitaries-met>

<sup>163</sup> President Obama met with Tenzin Gyatso again in 2011 and, most recently, on February 21, 2014.

Craig Thomas, and House Representatives Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Tom Lantos. A spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry immediately criticized the decision, saying it "seriously interferes with China's internal affairs and damages China-U.S. relations... We express our strong dissatisfaction and firm opposition."<sup>164</sup>

The photographs from these types of events are usually taken by the press (often credited to the AP) and not by professional artists. Whereas the Richard Avedon photograph was a beautiful work of art that could be interpreted as a statement of the Dalai Lama as a humble monk, these photographs function as news items—they are widely distributed, easily obtained (by those outside of the TAR), and provide a visual narrative of Tenzin Gyatso's travels and meetings. Likewise, the photographs of the Dalai Lama with peace activists and pop culture icons are plentiful and show the widespread appeal of this particular Dalai Lama.

Figure 137 and Figure 138 show Tenzin Gyatso with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela, respectively. Again, these photographs were taken by members of the press rather than artists. The images are snapshots of the Dalai Lama with other legendary figures known for their anti-violent positions. It may seem natural that the Dalai Lama would meet with such figures, since they share common goals. It may be surprising, however, to find the Dalai Lama with so many pop culture icons. Figure 139 shows Tenzin Gyatso with Richard Gere, a practicing Buddhist and friend. Gere was instrumental in bringing attention to the Tibetan cause during the 1990's. Also

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<sup>164</sup> "China Expresses 'Strong Dissatisfaction' Over Congressional Gold Medal for Dalai Lama," Associated Press, September 14, 2006. [http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/2006/9/14\\_4.html](http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/2006/9/14_4.html)

sympathetic to the Dalai Lama's cause is Oprah Winfrey, who featured Tenzin Gyatso in an interview for *O Magazine* in August, 2001 (Figure 140). Again, the association with these various types of public figures shows the widespread appeal of the current Dalai Lama on the world's stage.

## Chapter 5: Image as Political Protest

Tenzin Gyatso continued to be an iconic figure through the turn of the millenium. In 2008, as China prepared for the Olympics and Tibetans worldwide hoped to shine a light on human rights violations in the TAR, the Dalai Lama was again featured on the cover of *Time Magazine* (Figure 141). The face of Tenzin Gyatso spans the entire cover. Although he has a slight smile, there is more concern in his face as he looks off to the reader's right. The accompanying article, "The Dalai Lama's Journey," details the past 50 years of Tibetan relations with the Chinese government for those only recently aware of the issue due to the Olympics. *Time Magazine* continued to bring these issues to readers and remain sympathetic to the Tibetan cause. In October, 2011, the Dalai Lama was referenced on the magazine's cover (an invisible man is shown in monk's robes with Tenzin Gyatso's signature eyeglasses, Figure 142). The cover title states "Tibet's Next Incarnation." Like the painting by Salustiano shown in the *Missing Peace* exhibition, this image references the uncertainty of the Dalai Lama institution upon the death of Tenzin Gyatso. These two images show a concern by the international audience for the future of the Tibetan cause. This is a far cry from the initial international reaction to the Tibet issue in 1959 and through the 1960's when Tenzin Gyatso struggled to have the cause heard at the U.N. Even today, several news articles about the current struggle in Tibet

and the Dalai Lama institution can be found on the internet daily. These articles often reference the political turbulence in both the international exile communities and within the borders of the PRC. One period of extreme uncertainty and frustration came during the 2008 Summer Olympics held in China.

In Dharamsala, India, many individuals protesting the Beijing Olympics of 2008 carried images of the Dalai Lama through the streets (Figure 143-Figure 144). I personally witnessed these protests, and so I use these images as examples of the Dalai Lama's image as a political tool. Though the Dalai Lama's political stance is not aligned with that of this particular group of protestors (he is requesting Tibetan autonomy within the Chinese state, rather than Tibetan independence), his image was used by protesters as a show of solidarity among the Tibetan communities and, most likely, to help gain worldwide attention through the use of this Nobel Laureate's picture. In contrast, a protest of the Chinese Olympics in Madison, Wisconsin during the summer of 2007 (one year prior to the beginning of the Olympic Games) did not involve any imagery of the Dalai Lama (Figure 145). This omission was likely deliberate; several Tibetan organizations within the United States face internal strife as to how the cause is best portrayed to the public. The omission of the Dalai Lama's image in some of the American protests further shows the power of visual association.

#### Propaganda in China and the Ban of the Dalai Lama's Image

No group is more aware than the propagandistic powers and communicative nature of the visual than the Chinese government. In fact, in 1996, the image of Tenzin Gyatso was banned in Tibet in order to prevent any further unifying associations of the

beloved teacher and leader. Prior to the 1996 Chinese ban on imagery of the Dalai Lama, photographs and postcards of Tenzin Gyatso were easily obtained within the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Although these images are still widespread in Tibet, they are now hidden due to their illegal nature. They did not need to be hidden prior to the ban, and as such, they were sold on the Barkhor—the main circumambulatory route for Tibetan Buddhists in Lhasa. Figure 146 shows one such postcard. In the image (distributed in 1993 and reproduced in Clare Harris' *In the Image of Tibet*), photographs of the Dalai Lama on the viewer's left and the Panchen Lama on the viewer's right are superimposed onto a scene of the Potala Palace (the former winter residence of the Dalai Lama).<sup>165</sup> Two cranes are depicted near Tenzin Gyatso on the left side, and a large image of Avalokiteśvara sits atop the palace. A postcard like this may have been used on a practitioner's altar, though again, the lack of photography from inside the TAR during the past 50 years makes this assertion difficult to prove. In any case, the creation of this type of composite image clearly shows the importance of the two living incarnations of bodhisattvas as well as the representation of the bodhisattva of compassion atop his living quarters (Avalokiteśvara is said to reside on Mount Potala; the Potala Palace is symbolic of this). Scholar Robbie Barnett has suggested that some postcards sold currently on the Barkhor still use the Avalokiteśvara imagery (without the illegal Tenzin Gyatso photo), and that practitioners recognize this image as a surrogate for the Dalai Lama.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Harris, 95.

<sup>166</sup> Although all images of the Dalai Lama invoke Avalokiteśvara, not all images of Avalokiteśvara invoke the Dalai Lama. Robbie Barnett, personal correspondence, 2009.

China has a long history of politically charged visual imagery, specifically during the tumultuous 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the Communist victory over the Nationalists in 1949, Mao Zedong turned to the same type of imagery used in Communist Russia: Socialist Realism. Socialist Realism was a tool used to promote the masses and the leader himself. The importance of artistic representation was well understood by Chairman Mao. His speeches at the Yan'an forum on Literature and Art in 1942 foreshadowed a long and integral relationship between the Chairman and artistic renderings of his country:

Revolutionary ...art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward...produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such...art, this task could not be fulfilled, or at least not so effectively and speedily.<sup>167</sup>

And so, the Chinese government was acutely aware of the power of visual imagery for several decades of rule. In 1996, this understanding led to the removal and ban of all imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama within the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The events leading up to the ban certainly provide a context for the iconoclast agenda: after 35 years of political control, the Chinese authorities had become concerned by the rising popularity of the Dalai Lama in the west (as discussed earlier). The 1989 awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Tenzin Gyatso ensured a place of sympathy for the Tibetan cause in the international consciousness. As if overnight, photographs of the Dalai Lama were no longer viewed by the Chinese Government as medieval remnants to pacify the peasants; rather, they were seen as displays of solidarity. With the photo of the Dalai

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<sup>167</sup> Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works>, 2006.



Lama, a typical Tibetan may be professing his faith *and* his desire for independence. Clearly, the Chinese government needed to repress all such displays of solidarity. The timing of the ban suggests a connection between the continuation of the 1987 Anti-Splittist movement and the second wave of China's Strike Hard campaign in 1996, connections I further explored in an earlier article regarding the ban.<sup>168</sup>

In April, 1996, Tibetan newspapers announced the absolute ban on all images of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>169</sup> Official "work teams" arrived at several monasteries to ensure the ban was followed. Though the ban now pertained to all Tibetan residents, this decree actually began two years earlier with the enforced restriction of religious material in TAR governmental positions. In 1994, the Tibet Policy changed under the Third Work Forum; the repeated message to officials was now that the Dalai Lama was a "serpent's head" which must be chopped off in order to kill the serpent.<sup>170</sup> The first stage of the anti-image agenda was enacted when all governmental officials within the Tibetan Autonomous Region were completely banned from any displays of religious affiliation. This same time period brought about several orders against monasteries, the gravest offense being an image of Tenzin Gyatso on the premise. The methods of relaying this information to the general public differed depending on location. Public announcements

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<sup>168</sup> Sarah Getzelman, "Forbidden Image: The 1996 Ban of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's Image," *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 1. Winter 2008, 44-55.

<sup>169</sup> The operations of the Chinese government seem to follow a pattern difficult to trace: the announcement of the ban or order is made by the official to the media, this information is related to the people through the local newspapers, and the ban or order is enforced by lower ranking officials thereafter. Though the ban against the Dalai Lama's image appeared in these newspapers, I have been unable to locate a Chinese or Tibetan worded reproduction of the ban.

<sup>170</sup> "China Strengthens Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign," as cited on Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy website, July 13, 2001. <http://www.tibetanliberation.org/antidalailamacampaign.html>

were made in Shigatse by loudspeakers that Tibetans with photos of the Dalai Lama would be required to surrender them to officials.<sup>171</sup> Subsequent reports indicate that officials required several Tibetans to burn these images, or trample on them in a manner not unlike practices from the Cultural Revolution.

The newspaper in Lhasa made the ban official on April 5, 1996.<sup>172</sup> In a calculated move by officials, the order was to be introduced gradually. A group of enforcement officials visited public buildings in Lhasa on April 24th to further ensure enforcement of the ban. In May 1996, the Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign set its sights on the schools within Tibet. On May 16<sup>th</sup>, all middle and secondary school children were informed that the possession of Dalai Lama images would no longer be permitted.<sup>173</sup> It is difficult to obtain direct decrees in Chinese for obvious reasons. The majority of information obtained by Party officials is through leaked documents posted on pro-Tibetan websites.

At the same time the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's image was banned, his persona was parodied in the Chinese paper, *China Daily*. A cartoonish caricature of the Dalai Lama was printed in *China Daily* on August 15, 1996 (Figure 147). This image was republished in Thomas Heberer's "Old Tibet: A Hell on Earth?" where the image is accompanied by a the following caption: "China violates its own ban by publishing a

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<sup>171</sup> "Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign in Full Swing," World Tibet Network News, December 8, 1994. [http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/1994/12/8\\_2.html](http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/1994/12/8_2.html)

<sup>172</sup> "Artist Found Traumatized After Alleged Torture," World Tibet Network News (TIN), November 26, 1996. [http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/1996/11/26\\_1.html](http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/1996/11/26_1.html). In Lhasa, a Tibetan commented on the ban to a member of the Tibetan Information Network: "This act has made us feel resentful, and deep ill feeling has been surfacing amongst Tibetans here." "Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign Shifts to Schools," World Tibet Network News (TIN), May 20, 1996. [http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/1996/5/20\\_2.html](http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/1996/5/20_2.html)

<sup>173</sup> "Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign Shifts to Schools." An earlier ban of the Dalai Lama's image in schools was instated in 1986, though it seemed as though the photographs continued to be tolerated with no repercussions.

caricature of the Dalai Lama accompanied by an article charging him with having used human heads, intestines, and skins in sacrificial offerings.”<sup>174</sup> I have been unable to locate the original accompanying article, though the image itself speaks volumes as to the propaganda perpetuated by the Chinese government-controlled media. In the cartoon, the Dalai Lama is shown hunched over with *mala* beads around his neck, spitting into a microphone. The cartoonist was apparently trying to create an entirely new persona than the friendly and peace-loving Tenzin Gyatso known to the world. This image shows a monstrous figure—a distorted view of the monk that reflects the distorted view of the Chinese government.

The Chinese government’s ban on all Tenzin Gyatso imagery may have also been a reaction against the influence of foreigners. Prior to 1996, it was not uncommon to see tourists with pictures of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan flag attached to their backpacks. The ban reinforced a break between what could otherwise be a unifying visual image. After the 1987 uprisings, the Party restricted travel for foreigners and posted the following notice:

1. We extend welcome to friends from the different countries in the World who come to our region for sightseeing, tour, visit, work, trade discussion and economic cooperation.
2. Whoever comes to our region must respect our State sovereignty, abide by the laws of our country. They are not allowed to interfere in internal affairs of our country and engage in activities that are incompatible with their status.
3. Foreigners are not allowed to crowd around watching and photographing the disturbances manipulated by a few splittists, and they should not do any distorted propaganda concerning disturbances, which is not in agreement with the

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<sup>174</sup> Thomas Heberer, “Old Tibet a Hell on Earth? The Myth of Tibet and Tibetans in Chinese Art and Propaganda,” in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, Thierry Dodin and Heinz Rather, eds. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 146.

facts. 4. In accordance with our laws we shall mete out punishment to the trouble-makers who stir up, support, and participate in the disturbance manipulated by a few splittists.<sup>175</sup>

The tourists who were arrested for involvement or association with the uprisings were strongly reminded of these restrictions.

The monasteries of Lhasa suffered greatly from the rules imposed in 1996. On May 7, 1996, the majority of the monks at Ganden monastery chose to refuse cooperation with governmental officials. Rather than sign documents denouncing the Dalai Lama, these monks either returned to their villages or attempted escape through the Himalayas. Some of the monks were arrested, though the numbers vary from seven to seventy.<sup>176</sup> There are also reports of gunfire during this incident—the possible cause of the death of two monks. Though reports of dissidence at other monasteries surfaced, namely at Sera, Drepung, and Ramoche, it is believed that the ban went into effect with much less difficulty in other areas.<sup>177</sup> Though Ganden monastery was officially closed to foreigners, the Tibet issue had become prominent on the international stage.

In 1997, Washington again turned its attention to Tibetan matters when Madeleine Albright announced to congressional leaders the intention of the Clinton administration to create a specific Tibetan affairs position within the State Department. The U.S. State

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<sup>175</sup> Schwartz, 41.

<sup>176</sup> “Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign Shifts to Schools.”

<sup>177</sup> The restrictions continued in 2001 with the ban of celebrations of the Dalai Lama’s birthday. The commemoration, known as Trungha Yarsol, had been celebrated for years with relatively few incidents. A circular issued by the Chinese government was distributed on June 24 2001, two weeks before the July 6 celebration. This document, titled “Strengthening Abolition of the Illegal Activities of Trungha Yarsol Celebration and Protection of Social Stability” was undoubtedly an extension of the earlier Strike Hard Campaign. Once again, the lines blurred between political protest and “criminal activity.” “China Strengthens Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign.”

Department Report on China (August 8, 1997) clearly recognized the incidents of the preceding years.<sup>178</sup> Besides reporting on the human rights violations, the report mentions the ban on Dalai Lama imagery:

In April the Government banned photographs of the Dalai Lama in monasteries and private homes, extending and widening a 1994 prohibition on the sale of the Dalai Lama's photograph in shops and on officials displaying his photograph in their homes or offices. Police reportedly conducted house-to-house searches to enforce the ban. This ban prompted some of the protests in the monasteries...<sup>179</sup>

The U.S. State Department Report continues and clearly describes the resulting detainments, possible deaths and persecutions, giving specific Tibetan names where available. The Chinese officials cited in the report admit to the arrests but denied any murders. The 'Re-education policy' of the Tibetan monks is also addressed: "Hundreds of officials participated in the campaign, during which monks were forced to attend sessions on law, patriotism, and support for national unity and were coerced to sign statements criticizing the Dalai Lama." In a final statement, the U.S. State Department Report on China recognizes the current situation:

While the (Chinese) Government has made efforts in recent years to restore some of the physical structures and other aspects of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan culture damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, repressive social and political controls continue to limit the fundamental freedoms of ethnic Tibetans.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup>The U.S. State Department lists its annual human rights reports on its website: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/> However, the earliest listed report is 1999. The 1997 report is found on numerous pro-Tibetan websites, each with the same content. I have chosen to cite the version from the following (seemingly unbiased) web address: [www.Historywiz.com/primarysources/reportonchina-tibet.htm](http://www.Historywiz.com/primarysources/reportonchina-tibet.htm)

<sup>179</sup> 1997 U.S. State Department Report on China-Tibet.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

The report discusses the unfavorable treatment of foreigners to Lhasa during this period: “There were credible reports that Chinese authorities also detained foreigners visiting Tibet, searched them, and confiscated materials deemed politically sensitive.”<sup>181</sup> Upon learning of Washington’s reports on Tibet, *China Daily* cautioned further U.S. involvement: “draw back the hand that tries to stir China’s business.”<sup>182</sup>

The Chinese officials apparently regard the past ten years as a success, though they are still well aware of the threat posed by “splittists.” A Chinese website details the benefits of programs such as the Re-education campaign citing Qamba Puncog, deputy head of the TAR Office for Patriotism Education for Lamaseries:

Previously, many lamas lacked understanding of the reality and history of Tibetan society, an overwhelming majority of the lamas have now realized that Dalai Lama is not their spokesman, nor their spiritual leader but the head of the clique which always seeks to split up China and hinder construction of a normal order in Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism.<sup>183</sup>

By demonizing the Dalai Lama, the Chinese government has created a political environment where would-be international Tibetan supporters find themselves economically handicapped. Countries like the United States can tout the Dalai Lama’s message indefinitely, but the stronghold the authorities have on the issue prevents any real communication. The advent of the Internet has made it possible to find accounts of specific incidents within Tibet, though the accuracy of these reports cannot be assured.

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Carlson, 38.

<sup>183</sup> “Education Improves Lamaseries’ Administration,” *Xinhua News Agency*, June 19, 2001. [www.china.org.cn/english/Tibet](http://www.china.org.cn/english/Tibet)

In November of 1996, World Tibet Network News reported an article titled “Artist Found Traumatized after Alleged Torture.”<sup>184</sup> In a chilling account, the article details the punishment endured by artist Yungdrung. As a specialist of Dalai Lama portraiture, Yungdrung was a clear target for authorities newly persecuting those possessing images of Tenzin Gyatso. The painter was held in custody for 58 days, after which he was found barely conscious and in a state of severe shock in a public toilet near the Barkhor. According to unnamed sources, police raided the artist’s house and confiscated all of the offending paintings. The article further investigates the general role of the artist by interviewing the prominent Tibetan artist Gongkar Gyatso. Though the ban was not in effect in the 1980’s, Gyatso discussed his fear of offending authorities:

In 1985 or ’86 when for the first time I heard a cassette a (sic) speech by His Holiness, then I got a very good feeling about him, and I thought about doing a portrait of him. But we knew it was dangerous, that maybe I would lose my job or end up in prison or something like that. I know it was quite a serious thing so I always took care not to make the government angry.<sup>185</sup>

For the several visitors who have been to Tibet in the last twenty years, it is very clear that there is no true freedom of religion. A true sense of freedom would of course include the ability to display images of the Dalai Lama. As a monk from Drepung stated “Reciting om mani padme hum, visiting temples, and making offering to deities are not considered real freedom of religion.”<sup>186</sup> Though there are no longer any posters

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<sup>184</sup> “Artist Found Traumatized After Alleged Torture.”

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> Schwartz, 73.

prescribing proper etiquette for tourists, those planning visits to the country undoubtedly read of the image ban in travel books. *Lonely Planet* bluntly states the rule:

It is currently illegal to bring into China pictures, books, videos or speeches of or by the Dalai Lama. Moreover, you may be placing the recipient of these in danger of a fine or jail sentence from the Chinese authorities. Pictures of the Dalai Lama with the Tibetan national flag are even ‘more’ illegal.<sup>187</sup>

During a 2006 visit to a monastery in Lhasa (unnamed here for obvious reasons), our group spotted a monk working on a painting near the main entrance. He seemed hesitant as we approached. Our guide assured him that we were okay. He then turned around a painting he had next to him of a portrait of Tenzin Gyatso. We were allowed to enter his living quarters where another image of the current Dalai Lama was displayed prominently in the center of the room. The risk involved in creating such an image is obviously great. However, the importance of practicing one’s faith has superseded the Chinese government’s policies.

In July of 2011, 5000 Tibetans in the eastern regions enthroned an image of Tenzin Gyatso against the orders of the Chinese Government (Figure 148).<sup>188</sup> The website Phayul (a popular Tibetan news site for the exiled community) reported the event, and it remains unclear if there were any repercussions for this particular incident. Certainly, hidden imagery of Tenzin Gyatso is popular. Figure 149 shows a likely common occurrence in Tibet—the image of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama on an altar covered by another image (the location here is not specified, again for safety reasons).

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<sup>187</sup> Bradley Mayhew and Michael Kohn, eds. *Lonely Planet: Tibet*. (May 2005,) 298.

<sup>188</sup> <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=29809&t=1>



This shows the continued importance of the Dalai Lama (and the importance of his image) to Tibetans under Chinese control. I believe the ban has been unsuccessful in deterring most Tibetans from possessing images—although hidden—of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> The influx of tourists to Tibet is undoubtedly a blessing and a curse to the Chinese government. Though the economy in the region has stabilized through international dollars, the connections made between outsiders and Tibetans are of great concern to the Party. As Schwartz writes, “many Westerners visiting the region have had the experience of Tibetans slipping into their hands or pockets handwritten notes, often addressed to the United Nations. The notes typically proclaim the independence of Tibet, the oppression of the Tibetan people by Chinese invaders, and the loyalty of Tibetans to the exiled Dalai Lama.” Schwartz, 21. I have personally received several of these notes.

## Chapter 6: The Dalai Lama: A Self-Portrait

The previous chapter explored a variety of different lenses through which one might view the role(s) of the Dalai Lama. This chapter explores the manner in which the Dalai Lama presents himself—how does he view his role on the international stage, and does this differ from how he is presented by artists/photographers as explored in Chapter 4? The Dalai Lama’s 2010 book *My Spiritual Journey* contains several texts and shorter speeches given by Tenzin Gyatso (I discuss the publications of the Dalai Lama more fully at the end of this chapter).<sup>190</sup> I mention this book now because the writings are organized by the Dalai Lama into three categories. These categories give the audience a clear understanding of how the Dalai Lama sees himself and further, how he would like to be viewed. Those categories are titled “As a Human Being,” “As a Buddhist Monk,” and “As the Dalai Lama.” These divisions show a man who understands his varied roles and different audiences. He has written books about happiness to help non-practitioners (the man as a human being), as well as books explaining and exploring Buddhist texts (the man as monk). He has written about his life and struggles (the man as Dalai Lama). The articles and writings within also show a man with varied interests and social/environmental concerns new to this incarnation. Likewise, his teachings around

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<sup>190</sup> Tenzin Gyatso with Sofia Stril-Rever, *My Spiritual Journey* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010).

the globe are varied depending on his audience. He might speak of world peace for a secular audience in New York, and then give a week-long Buddhist teaching to monks or practitioners in India (thus spreading the *dharma* much like his predecessors). Unlike his predecessors, Tenzin Gyatso is now also able to reach a wide audience around the globe through social networking. The Office of the Dalai Lama is responsible for his Twitter and Facebook pages, as well as an official website that expands upon a variety of interests of the Dalai Lama. His books, teachings, and social media pages continue with the thesis set forth in earlier chapters: this is a man reaching new audiences and achieving new goals, while at the same time, promoting the *dharma*.

#### Official Photography of the Dalai Lama

In 2001, photographer Manuel Bauer was given permission to travel with the Dalai Lama photographing his daily life for preservation in both an online archive and in print form.<sup>191</sup> In the introduction to the website, Bauer describes his reason for the project: “The archive aims to preserve a comprehensive body of photographic work of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, with the goal of strengthening and building the identity of the Tibetan people as well as of men around the world and of future generations.”<sup>192</sup> This clearly ambitious project uses only photography in its method of message conveyance. I have chosen images from Manuel Bauer’s work that emphasize several aspects of the Dalai Lama’s life. One is reminded of the biographical scenes of the Buddha when

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<sup>191</sup> <http://www.dalailama-archives.org/> and Matthieu Ricard and Christian Schmidt, text, Manuel Bauer, photographs, *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo, 2005).

<sup>192</sup> <http://www.dalailama-archives.org/>

looking at these photographs depicting daily life. Some reiterate the spiritual and peaceful qualities of the man. Others provide glimpses into the more human nature of Tenzin Gyatso: images that do not necessarily invoke the message of the *dharma*, but show the variety of roles of the fourteenth incarnation.

The first page of the Dalai Lama Archives website states that the Pictorial Portrait Project is “under the patronage of The Private Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.”<sup>193</sup> These images were taken with the clear agreement of Tenzin Gyatso—they are “official” portraits in the sense that the Dalai Lama’s office controls the use of the imagery (as compared to other snapshots that may be taken by individuals and used in a variety of manners). An “images” link on the left side of the main webpage brings the viewer to a short or long tour of photographs, or to an archive of photographs. All of the photographs in the project were taken between 2001 and 2006 by Manuel Bauer, though the context of each photograph varies greatly. Some images show the travels of Tenzin Gyatso, others depict the Dalai Lama during teachings, and still others show everyday life events of the simple monk. The Project link on the website further describes the importance of keeping such visual records:

The visual memory has a continuing influence on man, building and strengthening his identity. Thus the archive aims to preserve a coherent body of photographic work of the 14th Dalai Lama, with the goal of building and strengthening the identity of the Tibetan people as well as of men around the world and future generations. Man has the right to thorough visual documentation of outstanding personalities. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is one of the most distinguished individuals of our time. His Holiness' non-violent engagement for Tibet and for peaceful cohabitation place his life story in the ranks of those of Mahatma Gandhi

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

and Martin Luther King. Through visual representations exemplary personalities continue to inspire and strengthen man. Photography is perfectly suited to document historically relevant events and personalities and will be valid in the future, as newly gained insights will allow new interpretations of the illustrated events. Mankind—and especially younger generations—have the right to a coherent visual document of the 14th Dalai Lama. Such a document will make the character of this man who shapes history approachable.

In 2005, Manuel Bauer published selected images from the first three years of his archive in *His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, Journey for Peace*.<sup>194</sup> Hundreds of photographs in the catalog are supplemented by conversations between Tenzin Gyatso and Matthieu Ricard, Christian Schmidt, and Manuel Bauer.<sup>195</sup>

I have chosen a select group of images that each showcase one aspect of the varied nature of the archive. The first two photographs show the Dalai Lama during religious teachings. In the first image (Figure 150), the Dalai Lama is photographed at an instructional session at Thupten Dorji Dak Monastery in Kasumpti in Himachal Pradesh (June 16, 2002). He is seated atop a throne with all of the Geluk regalia associated with such teachings, including the swastikas on the front of the throne seen in many of the earlier depictions discussed. He is in *vajrasana*, though he leans his body forward with his hands clasped in front of him. He is in the posture of teaching, but the photographer has managed to capture an “in-between” moment; that is to say, he is not displaying any specific *mudra* or reading from a text. In this way, the image differs from earlier paintings and photographs that showed the precise moments of Geluk instruction.

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<sup>194</sup> Matthieu Ricard and Christian Schmidt, text, Manuel Bauer, photographs, *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo, 2005).

<sup>195</sup> The book also includes a timeline of “Tibet in World History” by Christian Schmidt, 253.

Because Manuel Bauer was given free access to the Dalai Lama during all moments of the teacher's life, he was able to capture these types of less formal moments that were never depicted in earlier paintings of the Dalai Lamas.

The image in Figure 151 is also from a teaching (at Jonang Monastery in Sanjauli in Himachal Pradesh, June 12, 2002), but shows the Dalai Lama with the specific *anjali mudra*. This gesture was not seen in any of the earlier paintings, but it is a formal gesture used to show reverence. Manuel Bauer's artistic eye has turned this moment into an artistic work by blurring the edges of the photograph and centering the teacher in the black and white image; even so, it is still a moment that was not posed for the photographer. This was again a teaching in which the photographer had complete access to the Dalai Lama and was allowed to capture a moment from the teaching. Although both of these images show "captured moments" not previously seen in Dalai Lama imagery, they still easily fit one's preconceived notion of what a spiritual master looks like. The following images challenge that notion by showing the Dalai Lama in situations one does not commonly think of when imagining a great spiritual leader.

In Figure 152, one finds Tenzin Gyatso in a familiar pose for a Dalai Lama; he is in *vajrasana* and is clearly meditating. However, he is in a Sheraton Hotel room rather than a temple. Again, Bauer had complete access to the Dalai Lama for several years and has stated that he was allowed to capture all moments of the teacher's life. These were not posed images, although the lighting and placement of the figure are done with a keen photographic eye. These were all images capturing the "real" life of Tenzin Gyatso. His meditation in the hotel room was not done for an image; it is something he does as part of

his monastic practice regardless of location. By capturing this moment, the photographer has forced the viewer to think of the everyday life of the Dalai Lama (which includes time in hotel rooms), as well as the teacher's own statement that he is but a simple monk (he continues his simple practice regardless of location). This juxtaposition is intentional, and encourages the viewer to think about the Dalai Lama's human nature.

In the most mundane image of everyday life captured by Bauer, Figure 153 shows the Dalai Lama in nothing but a towel drinking a glass of something (perhaps milk) in his hotel room. The monk's robes are gone, and the image of Tenzin Gyatso without a shirt in such a human moment seems shocking at first. Certainly, there are no images of previous Dalai Lamas in such a pose without clothing. Bauer's free reign of access to Tenzin Gyatso meant that he was able to capture such moments, again turning the images into works of art with his eye for framing and lighting. This was not a posed moment, but a moment to which all viewers could relate. Similarly, Figure 154 shows Tenzin Gyatso exercising on a treadmill at his residence. It is a beautiful photograph, but again, an unexpected depiction of the teacher. Even the Dalai Lama needs exercise, and Bauer again manages to turn an everyday activity of Tenzin Gyatso into a beautiful photograph.

Undoubtedly, some viewers are initially uncomfortable with these types of images. Practitioners may feel that reverence to the leader is not being adequately portrayed; non-practitioner viewers, with visions of the Nobel Peace Prize in mind, may feel the same. However, like the first category listed by the Dalai Lama, he is showing his life "as a human being." The next section further explores these varied roles of the Dalai Lama as a figure of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Like so many other international icons

(including, now, the Pope), the Dalai Lama has turned to the internet in order to spread his varied messages.

### The Internet and the Fourteenth Dalai Lama

The Buddhist concept of Indra's net is viewed as the metaphorical phenomena which occurs in the universe; every being and entity is interconnected and thus dependent on each other, much like the vertices in a net. In Indra's net, all of the vertices are jewels which reflect the light which in turn is reflected from the other jewels. It epitomizes the ability of each being to impact every other being. This concept is easily translatable to the modern uses of the Internet. One person's website will link to numerous others; they are the jewels reflecting the other jewels, and they allow for an infinite number of connections. The Dalai Lama's image is easily found in this net, and the depictions of him are multifaceted. His supporters are able to connect to each other, though they also reflect and comment upon the links of his detractors. It is the ultimate vision of Indra's net, and it is the most powerful manner in which one can frame his persona.

I begin this section by exploring the Official Website of the Dalai Lama: [www.dalailama.com](http://www.dalailama.com). This site is run by the office of the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, India, his home in exile. The site is comprehensive, leading viewers to everything from photographs and videos of Tenzin Gyatso to biographies of the earlier Dalai Lamas. Political, religious, and social issues all have links, including the contentious issue of Shugden, one of the dividing issues among the Tibetan exile community. In many ways, the official website is the primary source of direct information from the Dalai Lama;



these are the links and issues that the government in exile has deemed important, and by inclusion on the website, are sanctioned by the Dalai Lama himself. For example, though the Dalai Lama does not write the actual “tweets” on his Twitter page, his office team ensures that the messages are directly from the Dalai Lama’s books or speeches: “‘We work hard to make sure it’s his voice,’ said the team member.”<sup>196</sup> In previous generations, the Regent often spoke for the Dalai Lama (one thinks of the Desi Sangyas Gyatso and his relationship to the Fifth Dalai Lama); in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the website becomes the voice of the Dalai Lama. The main difference lies in the audience: whereas the regents could speak to the Tibetan people in Tibet, the Official website of Tenzin Gyatso rarely reaches the Tibetan people in the PRC. The audience has become the international community beyond Tibet, a shift that greatly impacts the role of the Dalai Lama’s institution.

The official website of the Dalai Lama links the viewer to Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter. These social sites have become major marketing powerhouses. Advertisements dominate these pages, and the Dalai Lama’s pages are not exempt. On the one hand, this is a way for Tenzin Gyatso to reach his followers. The links provide discussion forums for the photograph, video, or quote, and the devotees (or enemies) of the Dalai Lama are welcome to give feedback. It is truly an inclusive medium. On the other hand, the sites, run by the Dalai Lama’s office rather than the man himself, are ways in which the exile government is able to shape its own image. For many years, the

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<sup>196</sup> Melinda Liu, “Dalai Lama, Twitter Rock Star: The Virtual Influence of His Holiness,” <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/08/06/dalai-lama-twitter-rockstar-the-virtual-influence-of-his-holiness.html>

exile government has struggled with how to portray Tibet in order to retain international sympathy. On the social networking links, the Dalai Lama (or his office, more accurately) is able to maintain his image by posting photographs of events and daily inspirational quotes. The notion that these are marketing tools for the man is not a cynical view; it is a view that looks at the necessity of marketing even for such noble causes. The creation of “Tibet” via these sites and others cannot be ignored.

What does all of this mean? By viewing the internet imagery of the Dalai Lama, I hope to show how this new media has affected the view of the Dalai Lama on the international stage (that is, beyond the TAR). His role has shifted since that of previous Dalai Lamas, and the access to the man has shifted as well. Even so, Tenzin Gyatso continues in his role of *dharma* spreader, thus fulfilling his last two self-proclaimed roles: that of a monk and that of the Dalai Lama. Thus, tradition and modernity intertwine as the Dalai Lama furthers his position as an international icon via the internet.

[www.DalaiLama.com](http://www.DalaiLama.com)

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama is far more visible internationally than his predecessors. His exile from Tibet and desire for international help demanded he become a more recognizable figure, but the globalization of the world due to the internet certainly helped. Tenzin Gyatso currently uses the web address [www.dalailama.com](http://www.dalailama.com) as a method of promoting his ideals.<sup>197</sup> At the top of the website, three languages are available for browsing: English, Tibetan, and Chinese. A banner across the top of the page flashes the

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<sup>197</sup> [www.dalailama.com](http://www.dalailama.com) as accessed on July 11, 2012. I also compare the numbers of videos/images and content to the earlier access date of July 15, 2010.

same message alternating in all three languages “For as long as space endures, and for as long as living beings remain, until then may I too abide to dispel the misery of the world,” by Shantideva.<sup>198</sup> And so, the first sentence encountered by the visitor to the site pertains to the Buddhist side of the Dalai Lama’s viewpoint, rather than his political or environmental side. This shows the continuation of the traditional role of the Dalai Lama: that of the teacher who spreads the *dharma*. Below this statement, ten tabs direct the viewer to various pages regarding the Dalai Lama’s schedule, history, and future goals. They are: Homepage, Schedule, News, Photo Gallery, Video and Audio, Messages, Teachings, The Dalai Lama, The Trust, and Office. On the homepage, six alternating clips show recent events hosted or attended by the Dalai Lama. When clicking on one of the images, one is brought to an entire album devoted to that event. The site is clearly making an extreme effort to document in detail the life of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, and given his rigorous schedule, this must be no easy task. These initial images are updated daily, showing the advantage of the internet over print medium.

Under these album links are six major links: Welcome, Latest News, Upcoming Schedule, Books, Gallery, and Webcasts. The Welcome Link also provides three links to popular social networking sites: YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter. His twitter updates, or “tweets,” provide the follower with one line sentiments about world peace, or sometimes links to photographs of the day’s events (I discuss social networking sites later in this

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<sup>198</sup> [www.dalailama.com](http://www.dalailama.com)

chapter.) A seventh extended tab below the prior six reads “Explore” and includes the following sublinks: Messages, Teachings, The Dalai Lama, and Office. Under Messages, one finds links to Buddhism, Compassion, Environment, Religious Harmony, World Peace, Middle Way Approach, Tibet, Acceptance Speeches, and Dolgyal (Shugden). The latter is an especially dividing issue regarding a protector deity of Tibet. The inclusion of this issue on the main page of the Dalai Lama’s website shows the sincerity of the institution to address such a difficult topic.

Under the listing of “Teachings,” one finds Schedule, Attending the Teachings, Dharamsala Guide, Training the Mind, Words of Truth, and Kalachakra Initiations. Under the “Dalai Lama” tab, one finds several links exploring the history of the institution, including The Dalai Lamas, A Brief Biography, From Birth to Exile, Chronology of Events, Three Main Commitments, Awards and Honors, Dignitaries Met, Books, Travels, and Questions and Answers. The “Office” tab links to Public Audiences, Private Audiences, Media Interviews, Invitations, Contact, and The Dalai Lama Trust. Below these links is the copyright of all material on the website to the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Each of these links continues to other links, which in turn continue to even more links pertaining to the Dalai Lama and Tibet. This ultimate “net” with reflecting jewels never remains static; updates and events constantly change the images and links given on the site. Rather than try to document each changing link’s contents on the Official site, I will focus on the links titled “Photo Gallery” and “Video and Audio,” as these images in

particular showcase the most important imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama according to his office in Dharamsala.

After clicking on “Photo Gallery,” the viewer first sees interchangeable images on the top half of the webpage (it worthwhile to mention that regardless of link followed on the site, the Buddhist quote remains at the top of the page).<sup>199</sup> On July 15, 2010, these images were all labeled “TCV Summer Program Students” and showed the Dalai Lama in the center of a room surrounded by, presumably, the students of the Tibetan Children’s Village. On July 11, 2012, the album showcased was titled “His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s 77<sup>th</sup> Birthday Celebrations,” and included imagery from July 6, 2012. The bottom of the page repeats the “Explore” links of the home page. The center panel allows the viewer to click on six categories, the first being “Featured Albums.” This link provides thumbnails for 76 Featured Albums (as of July 11, 2012; this rose from 41 albums just two years prior). Most of the albums showcase recent events attended by the Dalai Lama, including visits to Zurich, Switzerland and Madison, Wisconsin. Yet another album is titled “Portraits” and shows 19 photographs of the Dalai Lama, all recent images. Other albums depict earlier moments in Tenzin Gyatso’s life. One is titled “Escape into Exile.” When clicking on this thumbnail, one finds 27 unlabeled, mostly black and white photographs. The scenes seem to depict the Dalai Lama’s journey in 1959 into India. Another album is titled “1956/57 Visit to India.” These images do provide some information on several slides (there are 12 total photographs). Several images recount important meetings between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and

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<sup>199</sup> <http://dalailama.com/gallery>

Indian political figures, including Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. These two albums are also found in the third link, “Historical,” along with an album titled “Pre-1969.” This album has ten photographs, most with a brief description of the event (although again, no photographer or provenance for the image is given). The other photographic album categories include “Travels,” “Dharamsala,” “Meetings and Special Events,” and “Archive.” The latter shows four album thumbnails, each linking to an album found in one of the other five links.

The link “Video and Audio” brings the viewer to a page of Webcasts organized into seven categories, plus a link to “show all.”<sup>200</sup> The first category, “Featured Webcasts,” shows 134 different videos chosen from the other sections with varying themes (up from just 23 videos on the main page in July, 2010). The second link is to “Teachings.” There are 47 videos here (up from 29), ranging from “The Jataka Tales” to “Atiśa’s Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment.” Most are video and audio recordings of the Dalai Lama’s teachings around the globe (many in his resident town of Dharamsala, India). I attended the Atiśa teachings in Dharamsala from August 4-6, 2008, and find the online access to the three-day event to be even more accessible than the event itself. The online video provides Tibetan, Chinese, English, and Korean translations, and all three days clearly documented with the Dalai Lama speaking and the monks singing. The live event, while incredibly stimulating for other reasons, did not allow such easy access to the teaching. It was difficult to hear the Dalai Lama, and impossible to see him. In this

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<sup>200</sup> <http://dalailama.com/webcasts>

way, the internet has supplemented “real life” and has provided more information than would be obtainable otherwise. The third link is to videos of “Press Meetings and Interviews.”

18 video clips show full interviews of the Dalai Lama by Ann Curry, Larry King, Piers Morgan, and others, with the most recent video posted on June 24, 2012. Again, the instantaneous accessibility of these types of resources is invaluable for anyone researching the Dalai Lama. Other links to videos include “Dialogues and Panel Discussions,” “Public Talks,” “Addresses and Special Events,” and “Short Clips and Documentaries.” Each grouping of videos documents the teachings, thoughts, and direct statements of the Dalai Lama himself. The office of the Dalai Lama is able to transport Tenzin Gyatso into the living rooms of followers all over the globe. One can hear for herself the words of the lama, rather than relying on translated transcripts or summary articles of the interview. This medium is essential as a counteraction to the Chinese government’s portrayal of the Dalai Lama as a separatist. Again, however, the lack of access to these internet sites in China and Tibet provide an obstacle to the Office of the Dalai Lama. Even so, his image is projected throughout the rest of the world in his own words.

## Social Networking sites

“The internet’s greatest strength—rapid and cheap sharing of information—is also its greatest weakness.”<sup>201</sup>

The author of the above quote, Erik Qualman, wrote *Socialnomics*, an evaluation of the rising importance of social networking sites. Anyone doing a search online through Google or Yahoo knows that the results will be varied and usually overwhelming. It is even difficult to ascertain the official sites of most companies; the searcher usually it assumes that it is a site toward the top of the results list, or has the company name in the web address, but this is not always the case. Social network sites have become the best answer to the Internet search problem. Someone looking for direct information will now turn to that company’s Facebook or Twitter site, bypassing the long list of sites that may or may not be useful after a basic Internet search. For a man as controversial as the Dalai Lama, it is imperative that he is able to control his own message, rather than letting the Chinese government shape his image as that of a separatist. A Yahoo search of “Dalai Lama” shows his official website under several other news articles pertaining to the leader.<sup>202</sup> It would be easy for someone curious about the leader’s position to first click on a link written by his opposition. Now, the researcher can directly access the Dalai Lama’s official sites by going to Facebook and Twitter, and becoming a “fan,” thus receiving direct insights by the Office of Tenzin

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<sup>201</sup> Erik Qualman, *Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2009) 7.

<sup>202</sup> On a search from July 1, 2010, the news links shown above the Dalai Lama’s official website included the following: “Chinese Officials Assert Role in Choosing Next Dalai Lama,” New York Times; “Dispute over Identity of Real Panchen Lama,” Sydney Morning Herald; “The Wit of William F. Buckley,” salon.com; “China’s Lama finds Support Among Tibetan Monks,” The Age.



Gyatso. This section investigates these two sites as well as the other major social networking site, YouTube, in order to better contextualize the Dalai Lama's image as it most often appears today, on the internet.

### Facebook

On Facebook, the Dalai Lama is able to reach out to his "Facebook fans" on a daily basis. Those who "fan" his site receive posts such as the following:

At one level, forgiveness means you shouldn't develop feelings of revenge. Revenge harms the other person, it is a form of violence and usually leads to counterviolence—so the problem never goes away. At another level, forgiveness means you should try not to develop feelings of anger toward your enemy. Anger doesn't solve the problem, it brings uncomfortable feelings to yourself and destroys your own peace of mind. (June 24, 2010)

At the actual Facebook page for the Dalai Lama, one finds a link to [www.dalailama.com](http://www.dalailama.com) as well as the phone number of the Dharamsala office (Figure 155). His chosen "avatar" shows the man smiling and looking off camera, dressed in his monk's robes. Every individual chooses an image to represent him or her on the social site; here Tenzin Gyatso appears as just another person checking in with friends. However, his site is run as a business rather than as an individual (two distinct types of pages available on Facebook). Author Dan Zarella discusses the difference: "...Facebook reserves friending for individual people and calls it *fanning* when you connect with a brand."<sup>203</sup> As a result, you cannot "friend" the Dalai Lama or post to his page directly (there are other avenues on Facebook which allow for discussion, to be discussed). And so, the Dalai Lama is

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<sup>203</sup> Dan Zarella, *The Social Media Marketing Book*, (Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media, 2010) 59.

consciously extending himself to an international audience as he continues to spread his messages of the *dharma* and of peace.

As of June 24, 2010, 575,705 Facebook fans “liked” his page; this jumped to 3,999,972 as of July 11, 2012 (these are the accounts to whom the daily quote is posted). Sixteen albums were posted as of June, 2010. This number jumped considerably; a viewer to his page today finds dozens of albums that are with continuous additions. A fan can view the many photos of the events the Dalai Lama attends. One album titled “Historic” shows fifteen images of the Dalai Lama during his tenure in Tibet. Another album titled “World Leaders” showcases 22 leaders whom the Dalai Lama met, including one image of Tenzin Gyatso bowing to Mao Zedong. This inclusion shows the transparency of the office of the Dalai Lama; even images which are certainly controversial are displayed on the Facebook site.

26 videos of the Dalai Lama are posted (July, 2011, up from 13 in June, 2010), including a Today Show interview from May 20, 2010, the first live talk show interview by Tenzin Gyatso. Over 500 posts under the video show the responses of the viewers; in this way, a true dialogue is available between the Dalai Lama and his followers.

Prior to changes made by the social networking company in 2011 (including a switch to a “Timeline” format), the Dalai Lama’s page included a discussion tab. This tab linked the fan to 291 different discussion links (June, 2010), ranging from “Is it true that the Dalai Lama eats meat?” to “Dalai Lama is CIA Operative.” At the time, the links were open to the fans of the Dalai Lama, and the uncensored discussions are yet another example of the transparency of the institution. Under the “Notes” tab, one found “Ten

Questions for His Holiness the Dalai Lama” from *Time Magazine*, “His Holiness the Dalai Lama Eager to Visit Earthquake Affected Area,” “His Holiness the Dalai Lama Bestows Ordination Vows,” “An Ethical Approach to Environmental Protection,” and “Three Main Commitments.” On July 19, 2010, the Facebook announcement to the fans of the Dalai Lama linked to one section under this notes tab (a transcript of an interview), thus further creating an unending source of information and further allowing the Dalai Lama to reach an audience in his own words. An additional tab to the right of “Notes” allowed for reviews. As of June 24, 2010, 106 reviews of the site were posted, again, seemingly uncensored. As with everyone’s Facebook page, advertisements continuously run on the right-hand side of the screen. This may seem out of place for the Dalai Lama, though it does remind one of his human—just like all other “Facebookers”—status.

#### Twitter

During the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election, the social media site Twitter helped to spread the message of Barack Obama to many internet-savvy users. One archive put the number of Obama’s Twitter followers at 118,107, while John McCain lagged behind with 4,942 followers.<sup>204</sup> Today, Barack Obama lists 17,402,723 followers (July 11, 2012); this number grows daily as more people decide to subscribe to the shortened format of Twitter posts. Like Facebook, a fan or supporter can follow a number of politicians, celebrities, or local friends. Unlike Facebook, the Twitter poster is allowed only 140 characters per post to express a viewpoint or describe an event. The Twitter poster can decide on how often to post these comments, and the follower can choose as many

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<sup>204</sup> [http://www.readwriteweb.com/archives/social\\_media\\_obama\\_mccain\\_comparison.php](http://www.readwriteweb.com/archives/social_media_obama_mccain_comparison.php)

Twitter posts to follow as he or she wants. Corporations use Twitter to advertise; charities use Twitter to request donations. While some users restrict access to their posts to only those who have requested it, most businesses choose to allow access to everyone (even those without Twitter accounts can follow these sites).

The Dalai Lama's Twitter Page (he is @dalailama) shows his messages against a yellow background with *dharma* wheels superimposed on the Potala Palace (Figure 156). As social media writer Joel Comm explains: "Instead of leaving the left side of your Twitter page blank or filled with some strange design, you want to use that space to promote your business. That strip is valuable real estate, and not using it as good as leaving money on the table."<sup>205</sup> Although the Dalai Lama is not promoting material goods, he is trying to portray himself in a certain light, that is, counter to the image promoted by the Chinese government. The right side of the page gives the Official website of the Dalai Lama—dalailama.com—and showed 463,786 followers as of June 24, 2010, 4,648,431 followers as of July 11, 2012. The Dalai Lama is listed as following zero Twitter accounts. It is interesting to note that the Dalai Lama does not follow anyone's accounts; certainly this shows a desire to remain neutral rather than be seen as supporting a person or group that may be seen as controversial. 21,355 Twitter users have attached the Dalai Lama's accounts to their List, thus showing his account as "Listed". Essentially, this all means that the statements of the Dalai Lama are rapidly disseminated to his followers, and the followers of his followers.

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<sup>205</sup> Joel Comm, *Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2009) 48.

Besides joining Twitter to follow the posted updates of the Dalai Lama, the visitor is encouraged to text “Follow Dalai Lama” to 40404 in order to receive telephone updates directly to the follower’s cell phone. The right-hand side box further indicates that the Dalai Lama currently has 801 “Tweets,” or updates (up from 190 in June, 2010). The tweet at the top of the page (the most recent and therefore largest) states “We need to relate to each other out of compassion, with a sense of connection to each other and a deep recognition of our common humanity.”<sup>206</sup> Other messages include links to dalailama.com or YouTube for videos and photographs of that day’s events attended by the Dalai Lama.

VOANews.com states that the Dalai Lama does not post his own messages, and that his office provides the social networking sites with all imagery/text.<sup>207</sup> In an interview with Piers Morgan in 2012, the Dalai Lama also referenced the fact that he does not use the internet. However, by posting as “@dalailama,” the site is clearly sanctioned by the Office of Tenzin Gyatso, and can be taken as official statements of the man himself.

Twitter was used as a tool for the Dalai Lama to reach Chinese followers when, on May 21, 2010, he answered questions from the Chinese followers who were able to get through the Chinese government’s firewall.<sup>208</sup> Chinese writer Wang Lixiong met the Dalai Lama in a New York hotel room to choose the questions and post to the latter’s

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<sup>206</sup> <http://twitter.com/dalailama>

<sup>207</sup> <http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/asia/Dalai-Lama-Joins-Twitter--85083032.html> (February 23, 2010).

<sup>208</sup> <http://mashable.com/2010/05/21/dalai-lama-twitter-chat/>

Twitter account.<sup>209</sup> More than 8,000 people follow Wang's posts, though it is uncertain how many people inside of China were able to read the interview. The Christian Science Monitor states that over 1200 questions were submitted for the interview, and the Dalai Lama was able to answer over 300 in 90 minutes, though the AP report lists the number of questions at 250. Wang Lixiong's own website shows a YouTube video of the event.<sup>210</sup> An English transcription of the transaction appeared on the Tibetan exile website, phayul.com.<sup>211</sup>

Phayul's website states that 1253 people who participated on Google moderator sifted through 289 questions posed by Twitter followers. 12473 votes determined the questions to be asked to the Dalai Lama. Ten questions are answered in the English transcription on Phayul's website, though it is unclear if this is the complete account of the event. The questions ranged from topics such as China's controversial selection of the Panchen Lama to direct questions about the Dalai Lama's intentions for an independent Tibet. Each question is answered straightforwardly by Tenzin Gyatso, and the Twitter followers were able to see the direct words of the Tibetan, unfiltered by the Chinese government. Again, it is impossible to know how many Chinese internet users were able to view this Twitter event within the PRC; it is also likely that there are no

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<sup>209</sup> [http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2010/0521/Dalai-Lama-to-China-Follow-me-on-Twitter?utm\\_source=feedburner&utm\\_medium=feed&utm\\_campaign=Feed%3A+feeds%2Ftop+\(Christian+Science+Monitor+|+Top+Stories\)](http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2010/0521/Dalai-Lama-to-China-Follow-me-on-Twitter?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+feeds%2Ftop+(Christian+Science+Monitor+|+Top+Stories))

<sup>210</sup> <http://wanglixiong.com/>

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?article=Wang+Lixiong's+interview+with+Dalai+Lama+on+Twitter&id=27371&c=5&t=1>

accounts (news articles, transcriptions, etc.) of this event on the Chinese government's monitored internet.<sup>212</sup>

Beyond the actual Twitter page of the Dalai Lama, one can search "Search.twitter.com" to see who is discussing Tenzin Gyatso. A search for "Dalai Lama" on June 28, 2010 found that numerous people had been tweeting something pertaining to the Dalai Lama. At the top of the list was a quote by the Dalai Lama posted by Tony Robbins: "Be kind whenever possible. It is always possible." And so, the Dalai Lama's words spread rapidly through the Twitter website even through other followers and Twitter posters. A search for Tibet on Twitter's search site brings up similar content as a larger internet search; that is, one finds political content, statements geared toward the Dalai Lama, and even merchandise promoted as authentically Tibetan.

Another search site pertaining to Twitter is "twist.flaptor.com"; a site that allows the viewer to see which words are "trending". The lower portion of the page lists recent tweets mentioning the Dalai Lama. Many of these are quotes and are similar in subject to the Search.twitter.com page. The upper portion shows a chart which documents the rise and fall of popularity according to date. To see back further than 90 days, one must register with the site. On July 19, 2010, there were not enough tweets about the Dalai Lama to warrant inclusion on the chart. However, this site serves an interesting purpose; as more people get their news from the internet and "tweet" about various topics, one can instantly see what the internet world has deemed important. This feature, or one like it, is

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<sup>212</sup> This process was repeated on July 19<sup>th</sup> with more questions. Phayul reports that, at least for a few days, the conversation seemed to be uncensored within the PRC.  
<http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?article=Dalai+Lama+Tweets+to+China&id=27808>

undoubtedly used on the other side of the issue—by the Chinese government—to monitor the popularity of Tenzin Gyatso.

The final social media site to be discussed is one which has absolutely redefined visual culture. Numerous videos are posted to YouTube daily by casual viewers and major corporations alike. Many advertisements are only posted on YouTube (with no television counterpart) in the hopes that the video goes “viral.” These days, a viral advertisement is often more successful than ad campaigns of years past. But how does someone like the Dalai Lama use this type of site to his advantage?

### YouTube

YouTube was created in 2005 as a site which would allow an unlimited number of videos on various topics. In 2006, Google purchased the site and the popularity of YouTube due to its ease and functionality continued to grow. Five years later, the site is essential for marketers wanting to go viral and for politicians hoping to shape their images. The Dalai Lama’s official website even links to YouTube. This could be a controversial move, considering the fact that anyone can post and respond to videos. However, the Office of the Dalai Lama seems confident that the majority of the videos appearing on YouTube paint Tenzin Gyatso in a positive light.

A search for “Dalai Lama” on YouTube results in 30,100 results (July, 2012, up from 10,100 videos pertaining to the term on July 15, 2010).<sup>213</sup> The first video to appear at 2:30 on July 15, 2010, misspelled “Dali Lama interview,” showed 306,644 views (the videos are constantly reappearing depending on popularity; the same search ten minutes

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<sup>213</sup> www.Youtube.com on July 15, 2010.



later revealed a different order of videos. The most recent search showed a video titled “Dalai Lama: Inner Peace, Happiness, God and Money at the top of the site). One video is a rough copy of an ABC special with Barbara Walters in Dharamsala, India. The nine minute video gives no information of the date/specifics of the video, one of the downfalls of a site where anyone can post videos from anywhere. However, the main benefit of YouTube is the ability of viewers to post immediately responses to the video. Everything is discussed here—politics, religion, environmental efforts—and the dialogue, though sometimes more trivial than others, can often lead the viewer into other resources. It is as though one is able to instantly access the interview or topic of choice and hear the Dalai Lama speak directly on the subject. It allows a forum for disagreement as well. It would be interesting to do a video search within the confines of the Chinese firewall to see which videos of the Dalai Lama appear.

It is not just the Chinese government putting videos on YouTube which demonize the Dalai Lama. On one page, the viewer finds a short video titled “Penn and Teller: Dalai Lama and Tibet.”<sup>214</sup> This six minute forty-eight second video has been viewed 80,537 times as of July 11, 2012 (43,358 times as of July 22, 2010). People searching for either Dalai Lama or Penn and Teller (a popular Las Vegas comedic duo) will come across the video. The contents are completely untrue, yet sadly, must seem believable to anyone just beginning his or her research on the Dalai Lama. In the video, no citations are given, yet comedian Penn insists that the West has been blindsided by the Dalai Lama. He says that, in our naiveté, we believe Tenzin Gyatso to be a positive figure

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<sup>214</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fYEOSCIOnrs>

rather than the tyrannical leader of pre-Chinese Tibet. His statements are truly astounding. He points to the “slave system” of pre-1959 Tibet, clearly with no understanding of the Tibetan Buddhist symbiotic system. He states that the Dalai Lama took thousands of dollars from the CIA for resistance forces, thus making him a hypocrite for fighting back. In actuality, the CIA and the United States were the ones interested in fighting the Chinese; as soon as the threat from China subsided in terms of U.S. relations, the money to Tibet ended. The clip goes on, though again, absolutely no credible sources are listed or discussed. Because Penn and Teller are popular in the west, it is easy to see how a fan might be misled by such a video. The pitfalls of the internet are clear here; one must tread carefully and always look for credible sources.

Although there will always be videos posted which portray the Dalai Lama in a negative light, many of the videos displayed show the Dalai Lama himself speaking, thus giving viewers a chance to decide for themselves about the position of Tenzin Gyatso. One can even search his name rather than title and find videos. A YouTube search of “Tenzin Gyatso” turned up 1390 videos (July 11, 2012; 263 videos on July 19, 2010). Like Facebook, YouTube displays advertisements alongside the videos posted. These advertisements are often directed by the choices of the viewer (based on internet searches, etc.) and do not reflect the opinions of the content of the page.

As noted, it is unlikely that the Dalai Lama has any direct contact with the day to day Facebook statuses, Twitter updates, and YouTube postings. Rather, the Office of the Dalai Lama sees great importance in reaching the international community this way; a way to distinguish the real goals of the Dalai Lama from those stated by the Chinese

government. The internet is the best way to disseminate these goals. From charities to large corporations, a webpage—at the very least—is necessary. This is a continuation of the earlier Dalai Lama imagery in one major way: authentication. The earlier paintings were created to show the Dalai Lama as an exemplary teacher, a spreader of the *dharma*. Now, the visual image on the internet is used to spread this message as well as the Dalai Lama's message of peace to an international audience that is in a position to help. On the social networking sites, the political and the religious information is there, but there is a focus on a message of peace that is easily applicable to the lives of westerners, many of whom are not Buddhist.

The impact of the Internet on everyday life is obvious. One is able to instantly connect to friends, pay bills, read the latest news, and find images. The Dalai Lama has embraced this technology as he reaches out to his followers around the globe. One looking for images of the Dalai Lama (outside of the Chinese firewall) instantly finds numerous videos and photographs posted on the leader's Official Website, YouTube, and Facebook. His followers can freely discuss the Dalai Lama or other Buddhist issues on the latter account. His Official Website documents every event attended, provides biographies of all of the Dalai Lamas, and links to important Buddhist issues.

#### In His Own Words: Books and Lectures

Tenzin Gyatso's books and lectures, like his webpage and social media sites, can be divided into different types of messages. The Dalai Lama's office has grouped his lectures into the following categories: Buddhism, Compassion, Environment, Religious

Harmony, World Peace, Middle Way Approach, and Tibet.<sup>215</sup> All of these categories in turn follow the types of roles I have proposed: Buddhism, Religious Harmony, and the Middle Way Approach are all religious topics; Compassion and World Peace fall under the broader category of peace; Environment remains the same topic; and finally, Tibet remains the political issue. Though these are categories given for the various lectures of the Dalai Lama, they also apply to his published works.

Tenzin Gyatso has written or co-authored an astonishing 108 books and commentaries since leaving Tibet.<sup>216</sup> As mentioned, the subject matter of these books varies greatly, and like the imagery of the Dalai Lama, shows both the traditional role of Tenzin Gyatso as a spreader of the *dharma*, but also new roles including peace advocate and environmental enthusiast. His books include two additional topics: the scientific relationship to meditation/Buddhist practice, as well as writing detailing his autobiography (though the latter can be included in the “political” category since these works often detail the political history of Tibet). The following are just a few of the published works by Tenzin Gyatso showing both traditional types of writings by the Dalai Lama and works intended for the newer audiences.

Autobiography: *My Land and My People*, New York: Potala Publications, 1962; *Freedom in Exile*, New York: Harper Collins, 1991. There were certainly biographies (and autobiographies) written about and by the previous Dalai Lamas, and thus the type

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<sup>215</sup> [www.dalailama.com/messages](http://www.dalailama.com/messages)

<sup>216</sup> Some of these books are compilations of lectures given by the Dalai Lama. <http://www.dalailama.com/biography/books/>

of this work could be considered traditional. However, the bulk of both of these books discusses the political history of Tibet (naturally, since the Dalai Lama's life coincides with major changes in Tibetan history), and can certainly be viewed as political writings. These works can be seen as an appeal to an international audience interested in the Tibetan cause.

Buddhism: *The Buddhism of Tibet and the Key to the Middle Way*, London: Wisdom Publications, 1975; *Kalachakra Tantra: Rite of Initiation* (with Jeffrey Hopkins) Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1985; *The World of Tibetan Buddhism* (with Thubten Jinpa), Boston, Wisdom Publications, 1995. Again, the actual topic of these works—Buddhism—is a traditional one for the Dalai Lamas. However, these writings are geared toward an international audience. Prior to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, there was no attempt at spreading the *dharma* in this manner outside of the Tibetan cultural borders.

Peace (Sectarian issues): *Kindness, Clarity, and Insight* (with Jeffrey Hopkins) Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1984; *The Art of Happiness*, with Howard C. Cutler, New York: Riverhead Books, 1998. These books discuss peace not only in a global sense, but for each individual. They are very popular books in the west. *The Art of Happiness* could be viewed as a “self-help” book in that it instructs readers on ways to feel satisfied and content with their lives. These books often achieve this type of instruction without direct Buddhist teachings or references. Again, this is a new role for the Dalai Lama, and the books certainly attract a new type of audience.

Science: *Consciousness at the Crossroads: Conversations with the Dalai Lama on Brain Science and Buddhism*, Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1999; *The Universe in a*

*Single Atom: The Convergence of Science and Spirituality*, New York: Morgan Road Books, 2005. These books document the most recent interest of Tenzin Gyatso: the intersection of science and Buddhism. As more researchers become aware of the benefits of practices such as meditation on human health, attention has been given to the aspects of Buddhism that might promote such awareness. The Dalai Lama has worked with several institutions regarding these intersections (including MIT), and his writings detail some of these connections. This type of writing is certainly a new topic for a Dalai Lama, and the audience is, again, quite different than that of previous incarnations. These different types of books certainly appeal to a variety of people, and the lectures and speeches of the Dalai Lama are no different.

I have personally attended two different types of lectures by Tenzin Gyatso: the first was titled “Peace and Prosperity” and was given to 6,000 people at Radio City Music Hall (New York City) in October of 2007. The second was actually a three-day series of teachings—“Atiśa’s Path to Enlightenment”—given from August 4-6, 2008 in Dharamsala, India. The content and audiences varied greatly. During the “Peace and Prosperity” lecture, Tenzin Gyatso spoke at length about how each individual can find inner peace. This, in turn, could lead to a more peaceful society. There were no references to any specific Buddhist texts or teachings. Tenzin Gyatso did reference religion only to say that it doesn’t matter which religion one chooses, as long as one is able to find this type of peace through compassion. The audience at Radio City Music Hall seemed to consist mostly of westerners (and specifically, New Yorkers), though there were some Tibetans in attendance.

This does not mean to suggest that the Dalai Lama does not present Buddhist teachings to western audiences. As mentioned earlier, the Kalachakra initiation has now been given by the Dalai Lama several times to the international community. Prior to the “Peace and Prosperity” lecture in New York City, the Dalai Lama taught the Diamond Cutter Sutra and Seventy Verses on Emptiness (the Buddhist teachings of Śākyamūni and Nagarjuna) to a western audience. Some may have been practicing Buddhists; others were likely curious or interested in seeing such an international icon. Likewise, there were certainly some westerners—practitioners and non-practitioners—in the audience for the 2008 Dharamsala lecture. These teachings, though, were completely based on Buddhist texts and spanned three days. The teachings were read in Tibetan (and translated into Korean, due to the patronage of the Korean Buddhists in attendance), and were therefore less accessible to the audience members who were did not speak Tibetan.

The five sessions of this teaching were ultimately posted on the official Dalai Lama website.<sup>217</sup> The videos show the Dalai Lama as a Geluk master; he is responsible for the appropriate teachings and texts, and the entire three-day series is clearly focused on a religious theme. Appropriate attributes and ritual objects are used during the ceremonies, as is appropriate dress for the Dalai Lama and monks in attendance. These lectures did not delve into any other topic (peace, environment, etc.) nor did these lectures include the question and answer portion so often conducted for audiences in the west. The videos as posted online also include translations in Chinese and English (beyond the Tibetan and Korean given at the time of the event), thus making the entire

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<sup>217</sup> (<http://dalailama.com/webcasts/post/36-atishas-lamp-for-the-path-to-enlightenment>).

production more accessible to an international audience. And so, although this is clearly a moment of “spreading the *dharma*” by the Dalai Lama (a very traditional role), it is also done in a manner that is anything but traditional. It includes an international audience (some members in attendance, many more via the internet), and again points to a new role for the Dalai Lama institution.



### Concluding Remarks: A Complex Picture Emerges

“Strictly speaking, from a Buddhist practitioner’s point of view, if it is an image of the Buddha, then merely because of that fact, you regard it with respect.”- Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama<sup>218</sup>

The Dalai Lama’s image requires the same reverence given to that of the Buddha. As the incarnate bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Tenzin Gyatso is the fourteenth to hold the position of Dalai Lama. This dissertation has explored his image, citing changes with representation, function, and audiences for the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas. Furthermore, this dissertation has discussed the political events that shaped the changes in imagery during the mid-twentieth century.

Since 1959, many Tibetans have lived under Chinese Communist rule. The majority of these Tibetans are Buddhist practitioners, many of whom belong to sects and traditions that have not, over the centuries, shown allegiance to the Dalai Lamas. At the same time, since the advent of Communist rule in 1959, the Dalai Lama of the Geluk sect has become the unofficial but most visible spokesperson on behalf of the Tibetan people. Today, many Tibetans within the Tibetan regions of China, and, specifically the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) view the Dalai Lama as their symbol of hope and, quite likely, their unofficial spiritual and secular leader. Not surprisingly, in exile communities

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<sup>218</sup> Tenzin Gyatso as quoted in Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama*, 103.

where his image is not banned, the Dalai Lama's photograph is worn as an amulet, found on altars, and revered as not only the incarnate bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, but as the sole figurehead who might help the Tibetans successfully gain control over their own society.

Departure from Tibet brought the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to the international stage—a role not held by the previous thirteen title holders. Tenzin Gyatso quickly became a different type of symbol to the global community that embraced him. At first, he was a symbol for the so-called “free world” against Chinese Communism. Later, through his message of non-violence, he became a symbol of peace to the West, but, at the same time, a symbol of dissension to the Communist regime, as exemplified by the 1996 ban on his images.

Beijing's hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games created both anger and hope in those following the Dalai Lama's actions. Some were upset at the lack of recognition by the Olympic committee of the violation of human rights in Tibet. Others hoped the international attention on China would force regulation changes. The Dalai Lama, contrary to Chinese government reports, favored the Chinese Olympics and hoped it would open a dialogue between the exiled Tibetan government and the Chinese authorities. Sadly, rioting months before the games prevented any further goodwill between the two factions. The Dalai Lama pleaded for an end to the violence; the Chinese government insisted he was to blame for inciting his followers.

The importance of this topic is reflected in the continuous current uncertainty regarding the future of the Dalai Lama institution. The Dalai Lama has suggested several incarnation options for his next life as well as options for Tibetans that do not include

leadership by a Dalai Lama. He has stated that he will not be reborn in Tibet under the current political circumstances.<sup>219</sup> The Chinese government will undoubtedly choose a next incarnation (much as they did with the most recent Panchen Lama) in an attempt to sway public Tibetan opinion. However, the Tibetan people will undoubtedly look for the “real” incarnation of Tenzin Gyatso, disregarding the obvious political choice of the Chinese government.

Meanwhile, the political role of the Dalai Lama has changed in the exile community, and it will likely continue to change. In 1992, a number of democratic steps taken by the exile government in Dharamsala pointed the way to new elections for the *kalons* (political ministers previously chosen by the Dalai Lama).<sup>220</sup> In 2001, the Kalon Tripa (the senior minister of the Geluk sect) was elected for the first time by the Tibetan exile community. The Dalai Lama has been instrumental in these changes, even though these progressions mean less authority for the Dalai Lama’s institution. Clearly, the power of the position was never the goal of Tenzin Gyatso. In fact, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama has even questioned his position for the future of the Tibetan cause:

Whether the institution of the Dalai Lama remains or not depends entirely on the wishes of the Tibetan people. It is for them to decide. I made this clear as early as in 1969. Even in 1963, after four years in exile, we made a draft constitution for a future Tibet which is based on the democratic system. The constitution clearly mentions that the power of the Dalai Lama can be removed by a two-thirds majority vote of the members of the Assembly. At the present moment, the Dalai Lama's institution is useful to the Tibetan culture and the Tibetan people. Thus, if I were to die today, I think the Tibetan people would choose to have another Dalai Lama. In the

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<sup>219</sup> <http://dalailama.com/biography/questions-and-answers>

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

future, if the Dalai Lama's institution is no longer relevant or useful and our present situation changes, then the Dalai Lama's institution will cease to exist. Personally, I feel the institution of the Dalai Lama has served its purpose. More recently, since 2001 we now have a democratically elected head of our administration, the Kalon Tripa. The Kalon Tripa runs the daily affairs of our administration and is in charge of our political establishment. Half jokingly and half seriously, I state that I am now in semi-retirement.

This is a critical point in Tibetan history. My future research will continue to evaluate production and reception of Dalai Lama imagery as the institution progresses.

The role of the institution of the Dalai Lama has changed. The original practice of creating portraits of lineage masters within the Tibetan tradition has transitioned to today's multifaceted explosion of imagery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Different audiences, media, and contexts for his image coincide with the leader's shifting role in the political, social, and religious spheres. This dissertation evaluated each of these contexts. Regardless of the individual conclusions left to be made, this research relates the importance of the image and role of Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

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[www.tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/](http://www.tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/)

[www.tibetanlineages.org](http://www.tibetanlineages.org)

[www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19590420,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19590420,00.html)

Appendix A: Figures



Figure 1 Third Dalai Lama; Second half of 16th century, Western Tibet, 123.2 x 93.3 cm, Private collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 29.



Figure 2 Detail





Figure 3 Detail

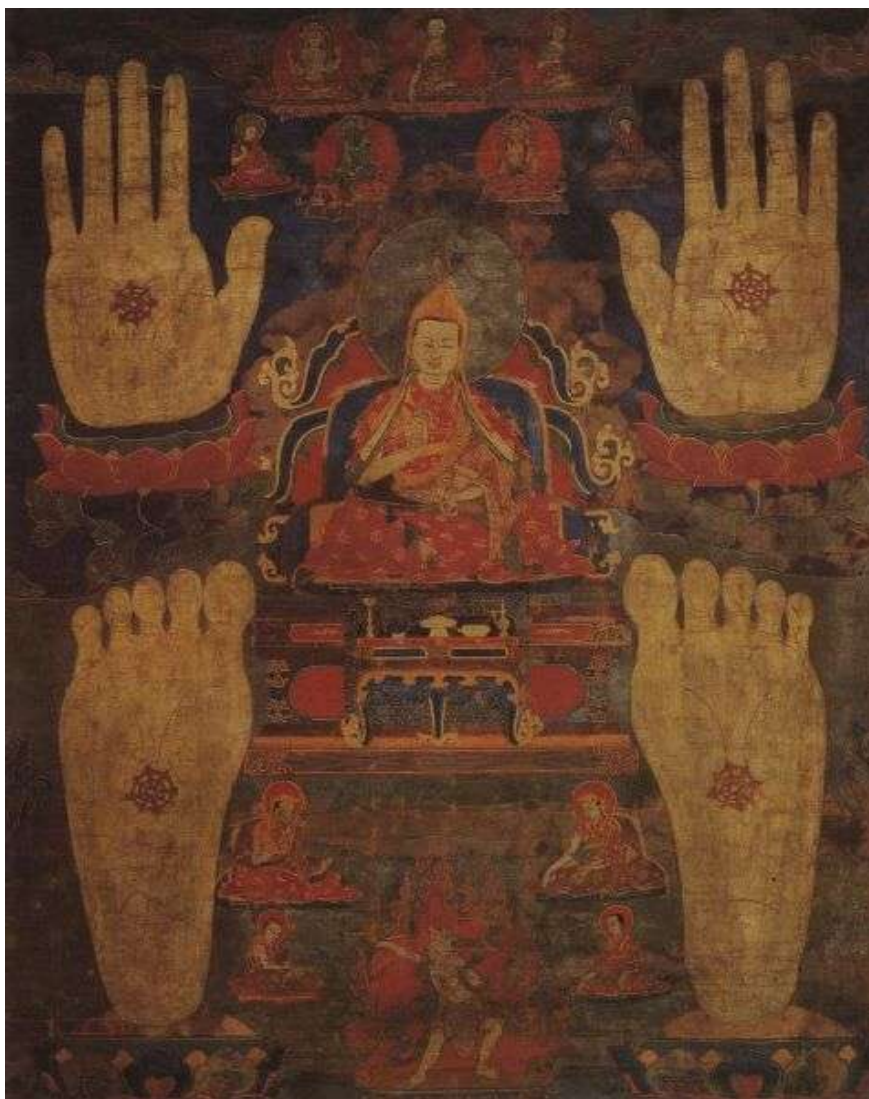


Figure 4 Third Dalai Lama; 17<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, Collection of Hahn Cultural Foundation, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 98854



Figure 5 Detail



6

Figure 6 Comparison



Figure 7 Third Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 86x54cm, Schlieper Collection, Brussels, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 1



Figure 8 Detail



9

Figure 9 Comparison

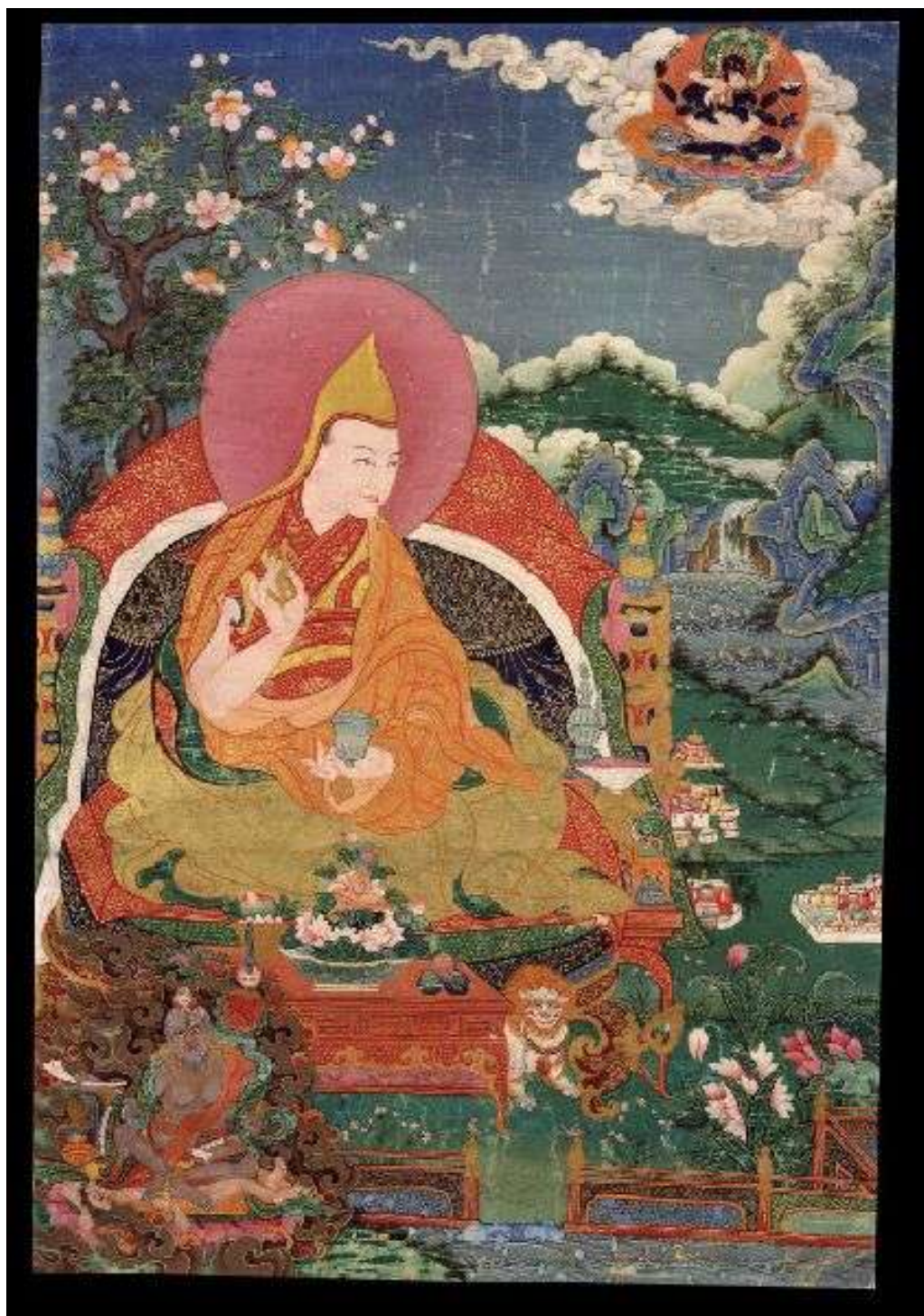


Figure 10 Third Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 58.42x39.37cm, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 327





Figure 11 Detail



Figure 12 Comparison



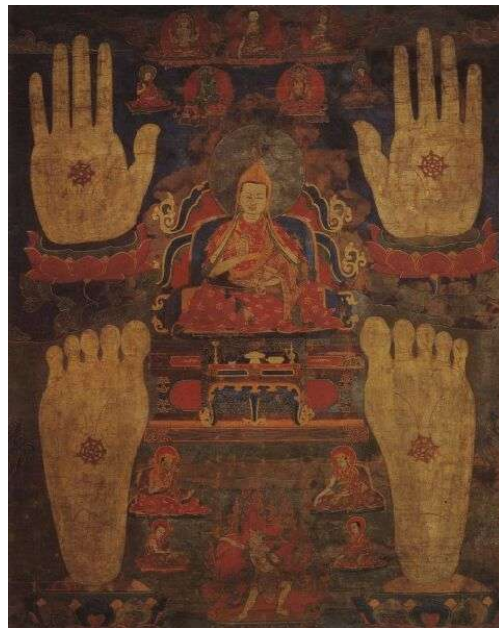
Figure 13 Fifth Dalai Lama; Late 17<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 77.5x50cm, Musee National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 42



Figure 14 Detail



Figure 15 Detail



16

Figure 16 Comparison



Figure 17 Fifth Dalai Lama; Second half of 17<sup>th</sup> century Central Tibet, 66x41.9cm, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 506



Figure 18 Detail



Figure 19 Detail





Figure 20 Fifth Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, Appliqué, 99x70cm, Essen Collection, Museum der Kulturen, Basel, image courtesy of Museum der Kulturen



Figure 21 Fifth Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 180.3x101.6cm, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 46



Figure 22 Detail



23

Figure 23 Comparison



Figure 24 Fifth Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Eastern Tibet, Private Collection, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 73436



Figure 25 Detail



Figure 26 Detail



19<sup>th</sup> century Eastern Tibet



18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet



17<sup>th</sup> century Central Tibet

Figure 27 Comparison



Figure 28 Seventh Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 64.77x43.18cm, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 212





Figure 29 Detail

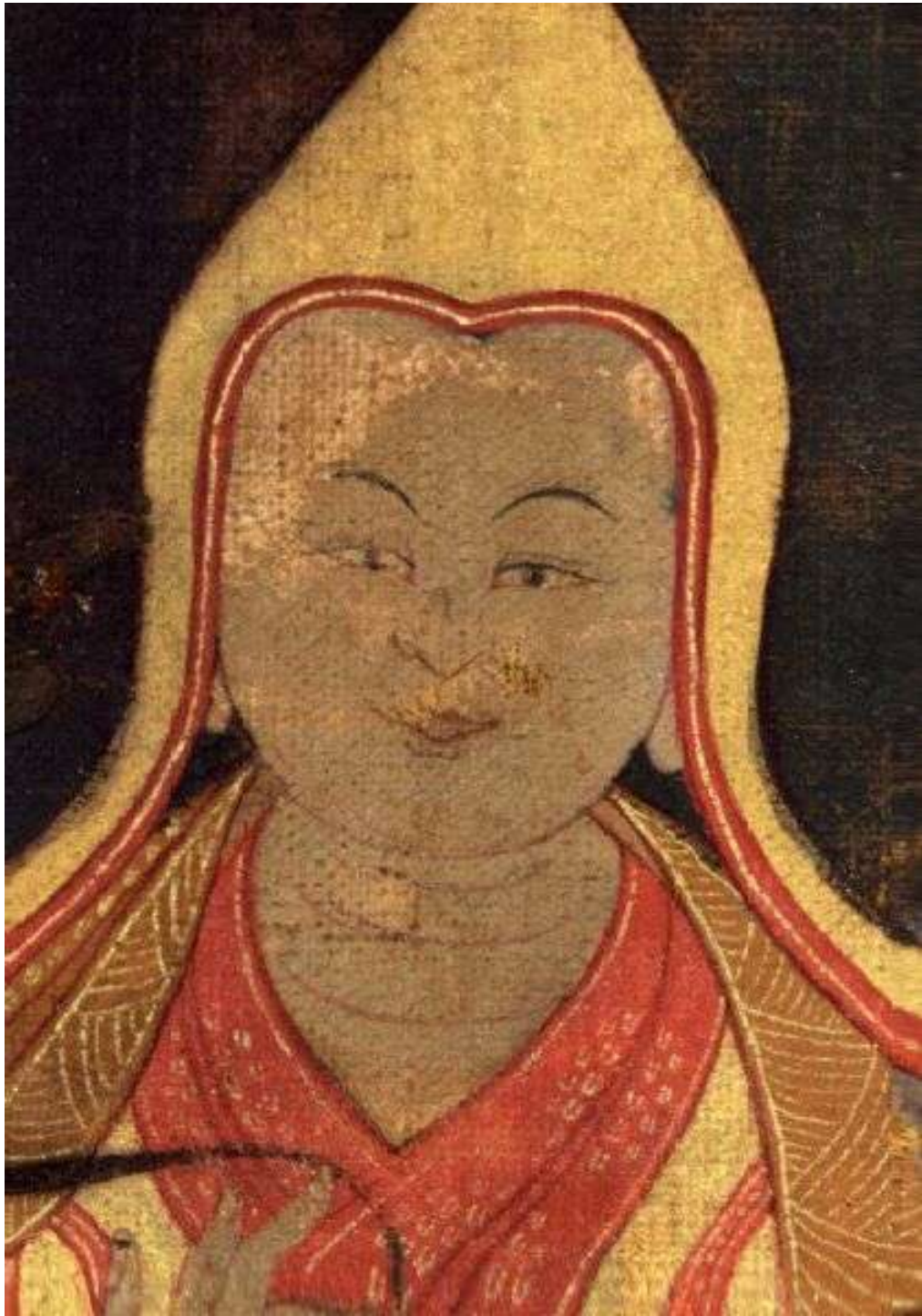


Figure 30 Detail



31

Figure 31 Seventh Dalai Lama (with detail); Mid 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 86x54cm, Schlieper Collection, Brussels, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 72



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Figure 32 Seventh Dalai Lama (with detail); ca. 1800 Tibet, 65.5x46cm, Essen Collection, Museum der Kulturen, Basel, photograph by author



Figure 33 Seventh Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 64x53.5cm, Essen Collection, Museum der Kulturen, Basel, photograph by author



Figure 34 Reverse



35

Figure 35 Seventh Dalai Lama (with detail); 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 64x42cm, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich, image provided by Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich



Figure 36 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Artist unknown, Date unknown, Potala Palace, Tibet, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 91





Figure 37 Detail



Figure 38 Detail



Figure 39 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Temba Chopel, 1990's, Norbulingka, India, photograph by Eric Huntington

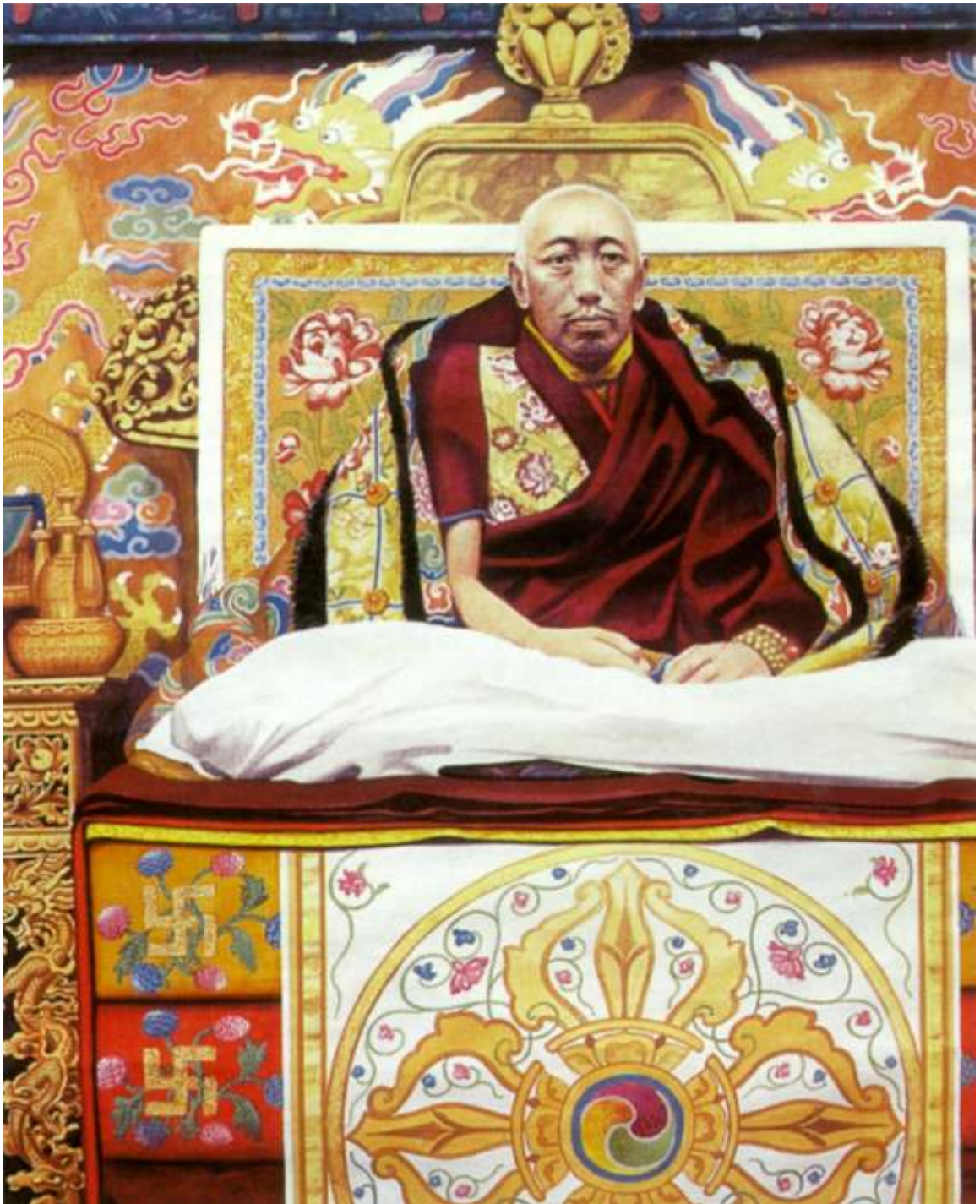


Figure 40 Thirteenth Dalai Lama seated on throne; Amdo Jampa, 1980's, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 112



29

Figure 41 Comparison with photograph reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 114



Figure 42 Fourteenth Dalai Lama Mural at Sera Monastery; Artist unknown, Date unknown (20<sup>th</sup> century), Lhasa, Tibet, photograph by Ian Cumming



Figure 43 Detail



3

Figure 44 Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso; Artist unknown, Date unknown (20<sup>th</sup> century), Samye monastery, Tibet, image provided by Huntington Archive





Figure 45 Detail



Figure 46 Overview



Figure 47 Overview

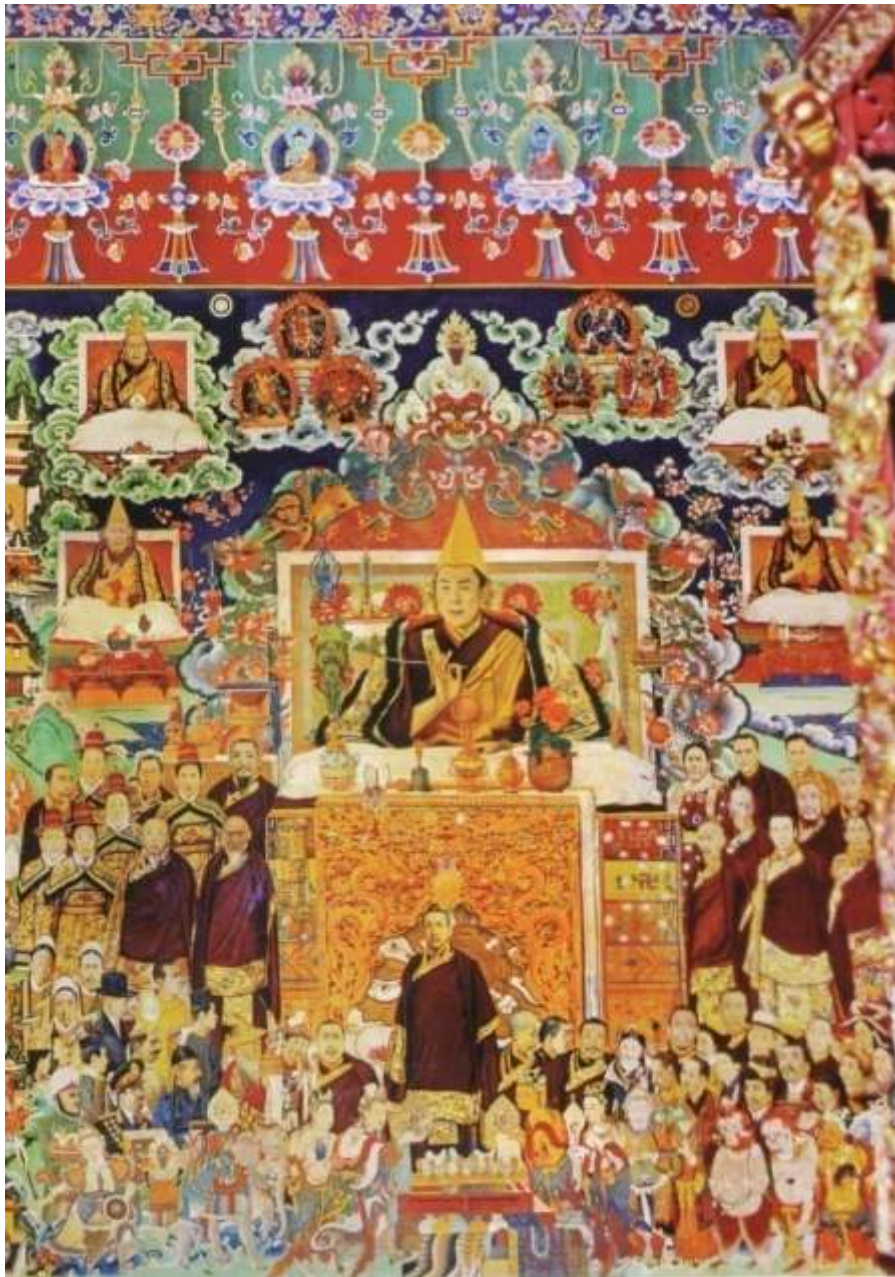


Figure 48 Fourteenth Dalai Lama on occasion of assuming role of Tibetan leader November 17, 1950; Amdo Jampa, 1955/6 Lhasa, Tibet (Norbulingka), as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 130



Figure 49 Detail



Figure 50 Mural from the Norbulingka; Artist unknown, Date unknown (20<sup>th</sup> century) Lhasa, Tibet, Photograph by Thomas Laird



Figure 51 Mural from the Norbulingka, Artist unknown, Date unknown (20<sup>th</sup> century) Lhasa, Tibet, Photograph by Thomas Laird



Figure 52 Meeting in Beijing; 1955, Norbulingka Institute, Sidhpur, India, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 157

Mao Zedong, center. Panchen Lama to the left of Mao, Tenzin Gyatso to the viewer's right of Mao. Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi on the outside.



Figure 53 Third Dalai Lama; 17<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, H. 16cm, bronze, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 32



37

Figure 54 Comparison



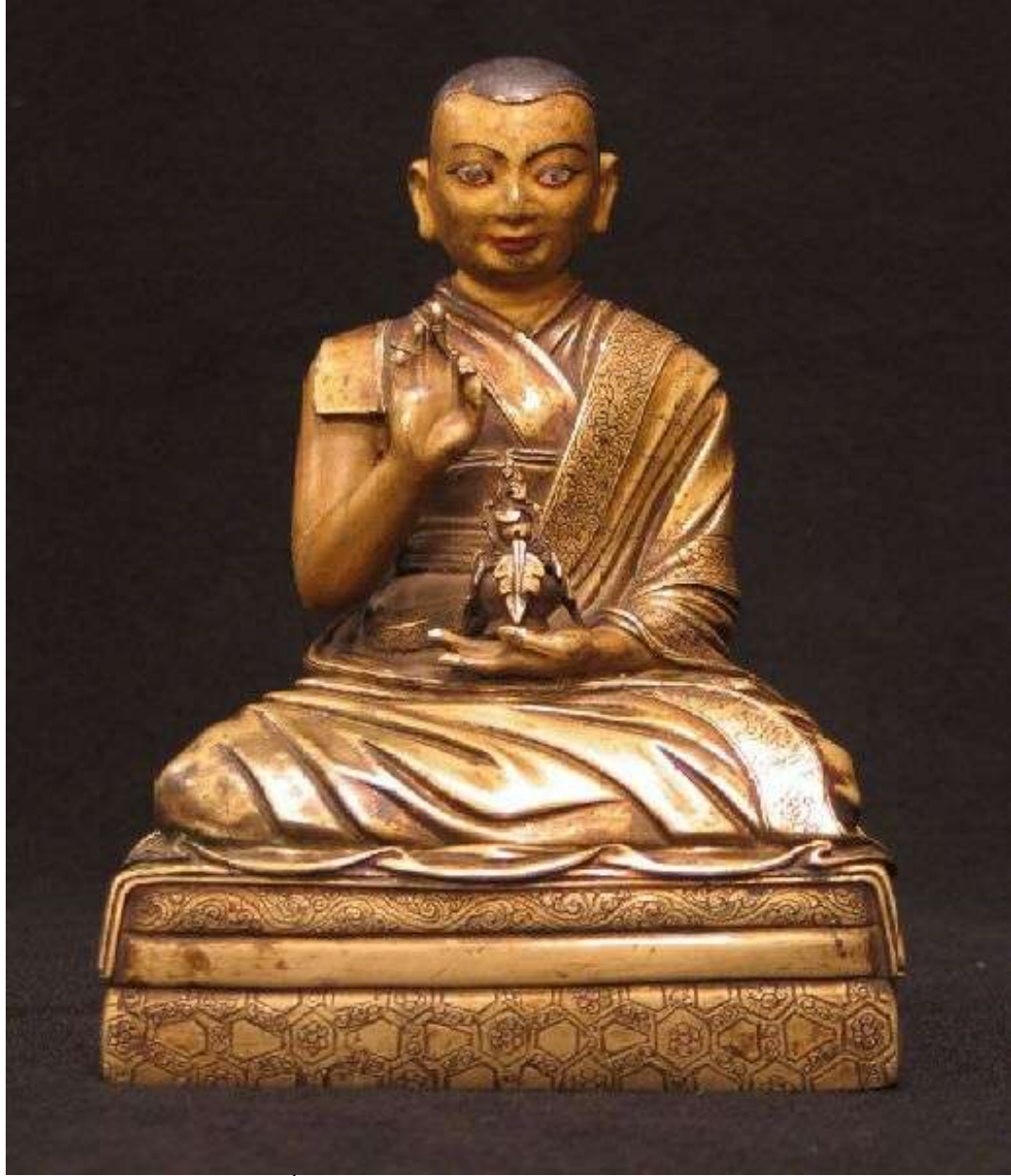


Figure 55 Fifth Dalai Lama; 17<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, Metal, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 65647



39

Figure 56 Comparison



19<sup>th</sup> century Eastern Tibet



18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet



17<sup>th</sup> century Central Tibet

40

Figure 57 Comparison



Figure 58 Fifth Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 14.70cm, metal, Collection of Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 75063



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Figure 59 Comparison



Figure 60 Fifth Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, 25.40cm, Metal, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources ([himalayanart.org](http://himalayanart.org)) HAR image 65375



44

Figure 61 Comparison

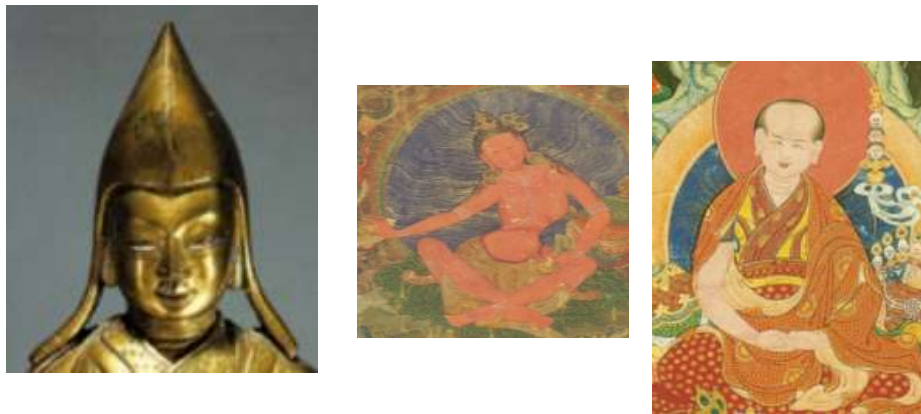


Figure 62 Seventh Dalai Lama; 18<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, H. 19cm W. 12cm, gilded bronze, Collection of Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 76



46

Figure 63 Comparison



47

Figure 64 Comparison





Figure 65 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Artist unknown, ca. 1900 Tibet, Stucco and papier-mâché, H 23cm W 17cm D 13.5cm, Collection of Enrico Bonfanti, Lucerne, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 102



Figure 66 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Artist Unknown, Date unknown, Tibet, bronze, H 31cm W 20cm D 18cm, Collection of Claus-Peter Bach, Memmingen, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 100



Figure 67 Comparison



Fifth Dalai Lama



Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Figure 68 Comparison

7



Figure 69 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Artist unknown, silver, 20<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, Museum fur Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 101



Figure 70 Fourteenth Dalai Lama; Rajesh Awale, 2005, gilded bronze with painted face, H 16", as published on artist's website



Figure 71 Avalokiteśvara; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi, as reproduced on Himalayan Art Resources (<http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setid=686&page=2>) Figures 71-83 from this source

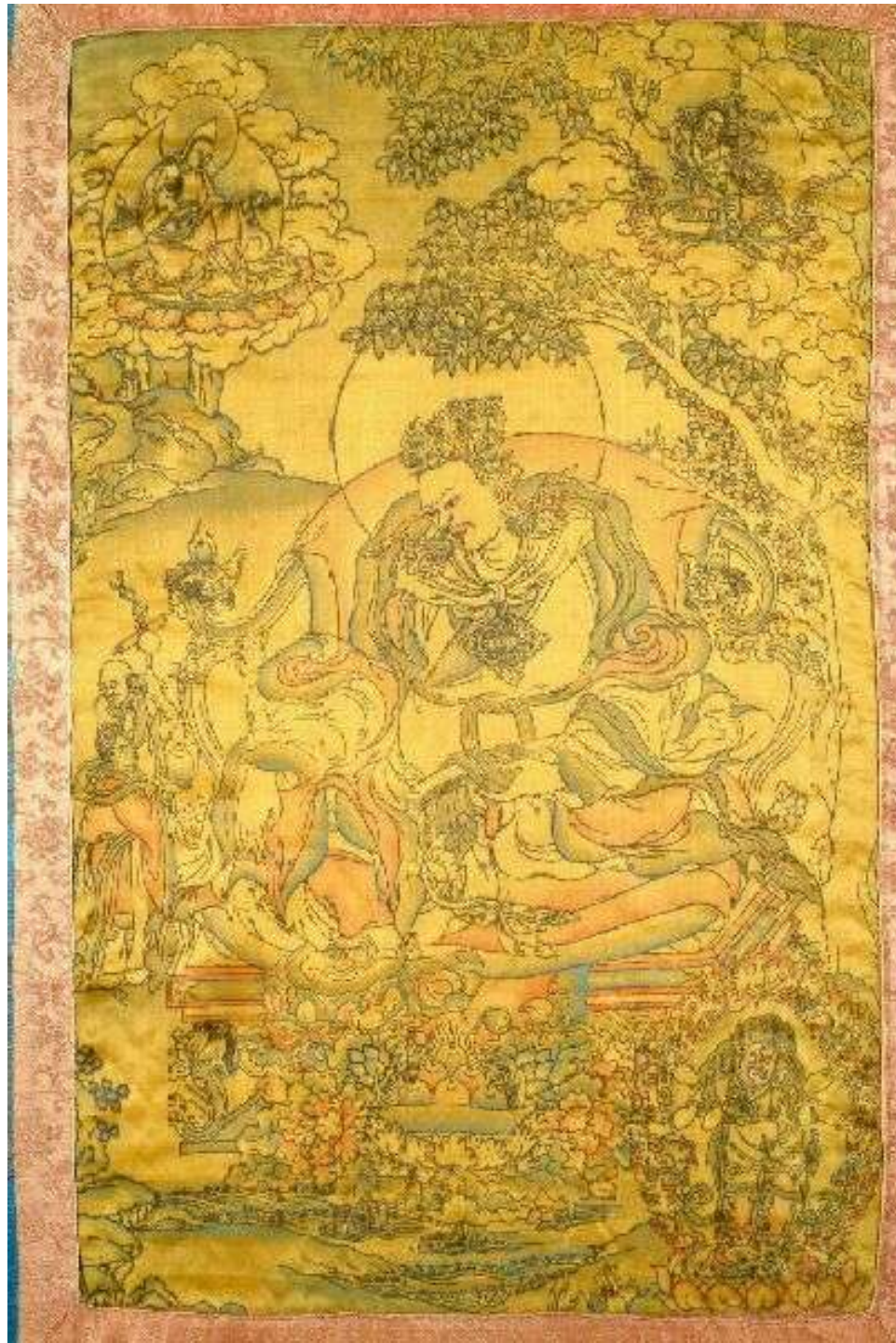


Figure 72 King Konchog Bang; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 73 Songtsen Gampo; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi





Figure 74 Dromton; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 75 Sachen Kunga Nyingpo; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 76 Pakpa; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 77 First Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 78 Second Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi

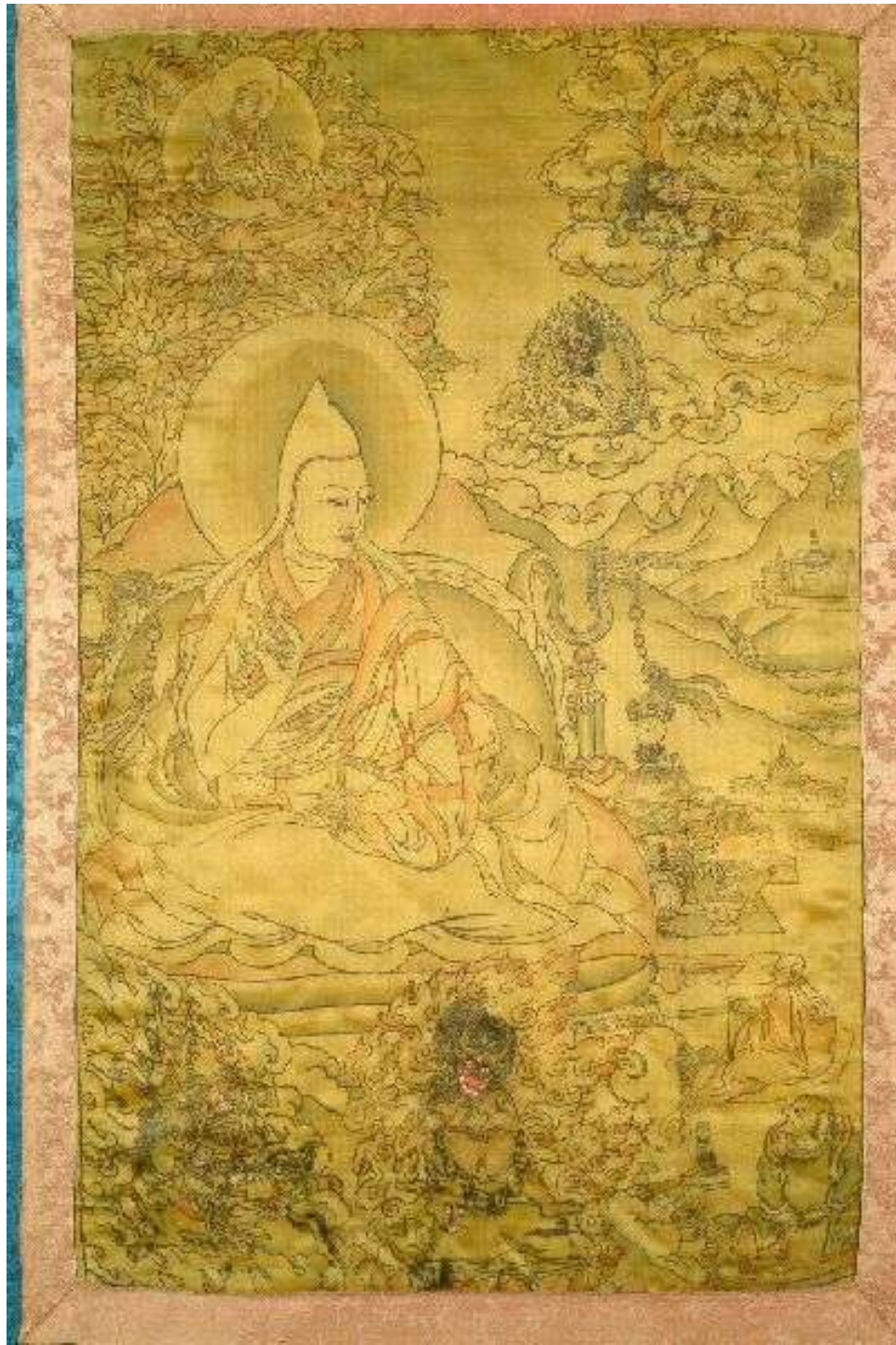


Figure 79 Third Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 80 Fourth Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 81 Fifth Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi





Figure 82 Sixth Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi

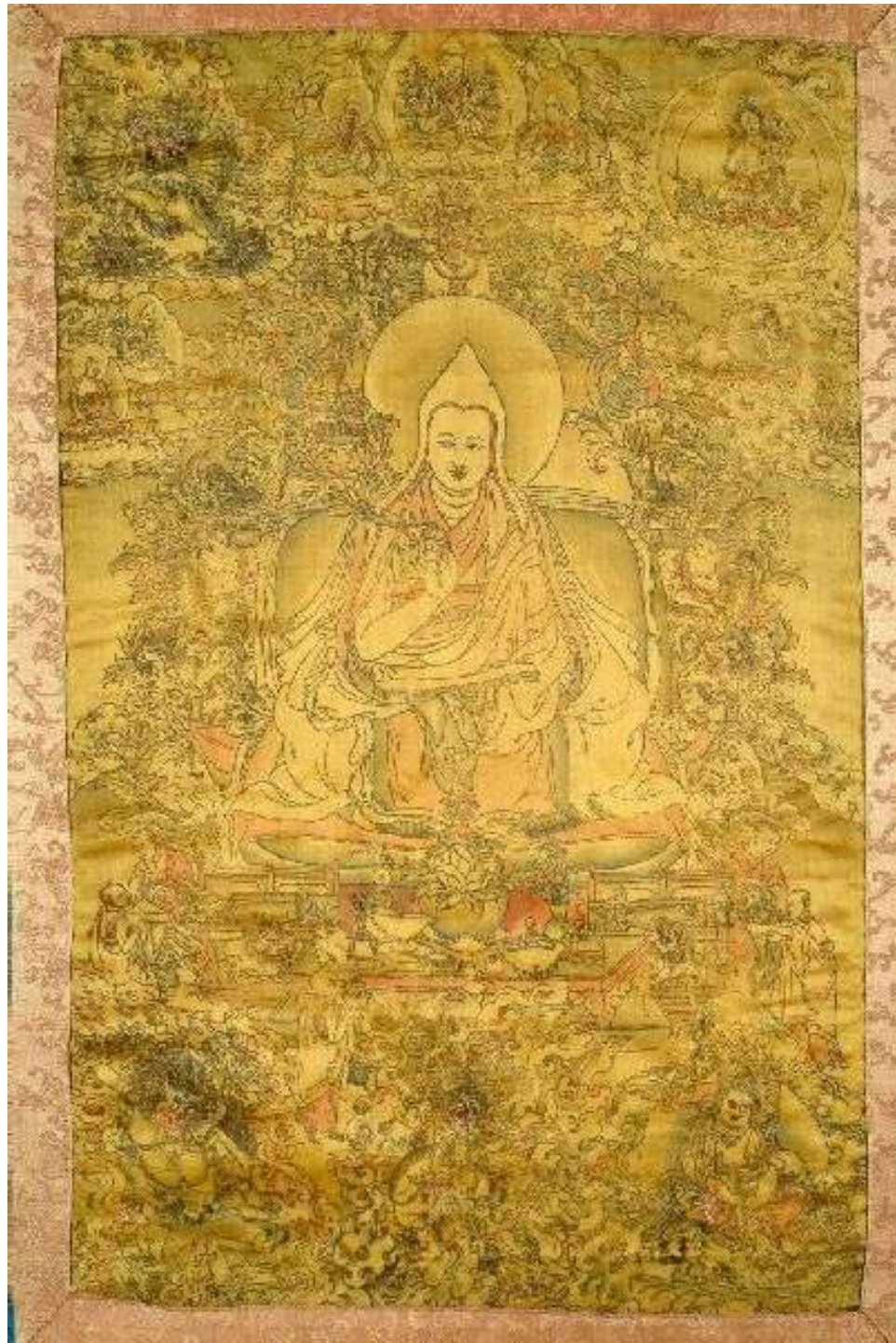


Figure 83 Seventh Dalai Lama; 19<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, ground mineral pigment of silk, Collection of Tibet House, New Delhi



Figure 84 Portrait of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama; N. Kozhevnikov, 1905, Pencil drawing, 53 x 35cm, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, as reproduced in Gennady Leonov's "Two Portraits of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama," *Arts of Asia*. July/August 1991, 108-127.



Figure 85 Portrait of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama; N. Kozhevnikov, 1905, Pencil drawing, 53 x 35cm, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, as reproduced in Gennady Leonov's "Two Portraits of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama," *Arts of Asia*. July/August 1991, 108-127.



Figure 86 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Photograph by Charles Bell (color by unknown Tibetan artist), 1910, India, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Press) 2005, plate 110



Figure 87 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Charles Bell, India, 1910, British Museum, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Press) 2005, plate 109



Figure 88 Charles Bell, the Maharaja of Sikkim, and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Photographed by Johnston and Hoffman, 1910, Sir Charles Alfred Bell Collection, British Library, London, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Press) 2005, plate 237



Figure 89 Thirteenth Dalai at Yatung; Photographed by Henry Martin or David MacDonald, Yatung, 1912, Collection of Sir Charles Bell, as reproduced on *The Tibet Album*. "The 13th Dalai Lama at Yatung" 05 Dec. 2006. The Pitt Rivers Museum accessed 11 June 2010 and 30 June 2011 [http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo\\_1998.286.36.2.html](http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_1998.286.36.2.html).



Figure 90 Thirteenth Dalai at Yatung; Photographed by Henry Martin or David MacDonald, Yatung, 1912, Collection of Sir Charles Bell.





Figure 91 Thirteenth Dalai Lama at the Norbulingka; Sir Charles Bell, Lhasa, Tibet, October 14, 1921, as reproduced on *The Tibet Album*. "The Thirteenth Dalai Lama on throne in Norbu Lingka" 05 Dec. 2006. The Pitt Rivers Museum. Accessed 11 June 2010 and 30 June 2011 <[http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo\\_1998.285.85.html](http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_1998.285.85.html)>.



Figure 92 Additional print



Figure 93 Additional print

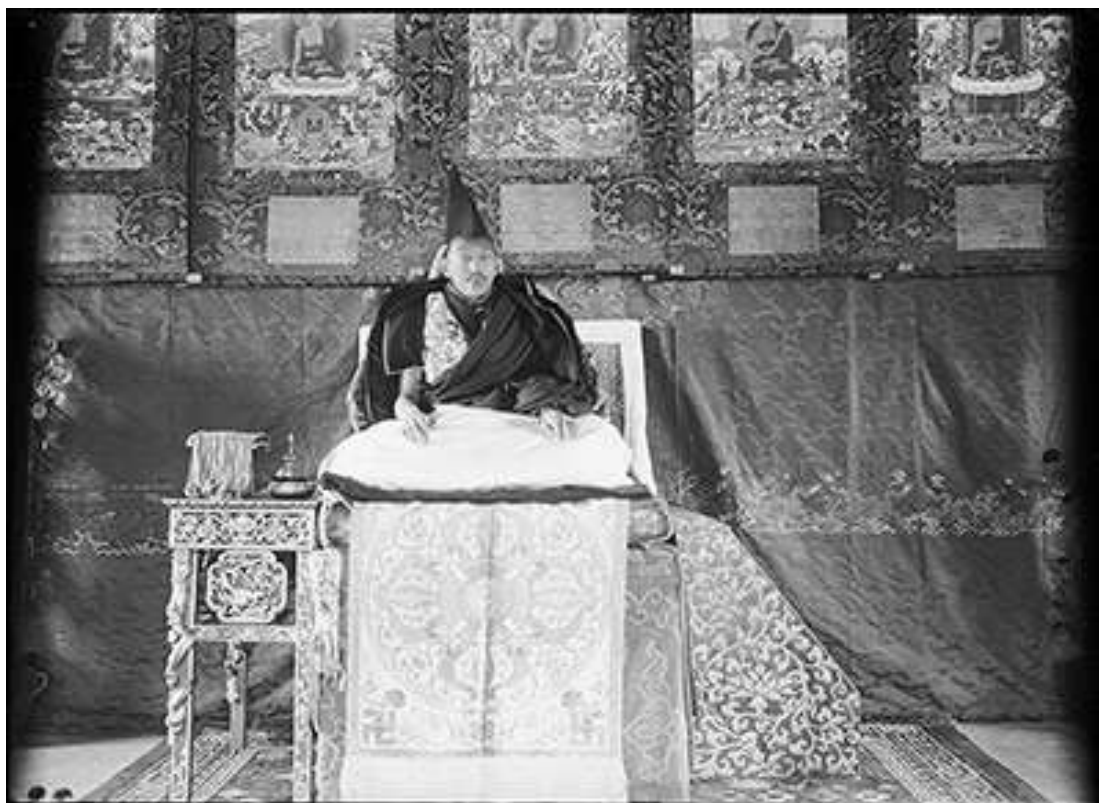


Figure 94 Additional print



Figure 95 Additional print



Figure 96 Additional print

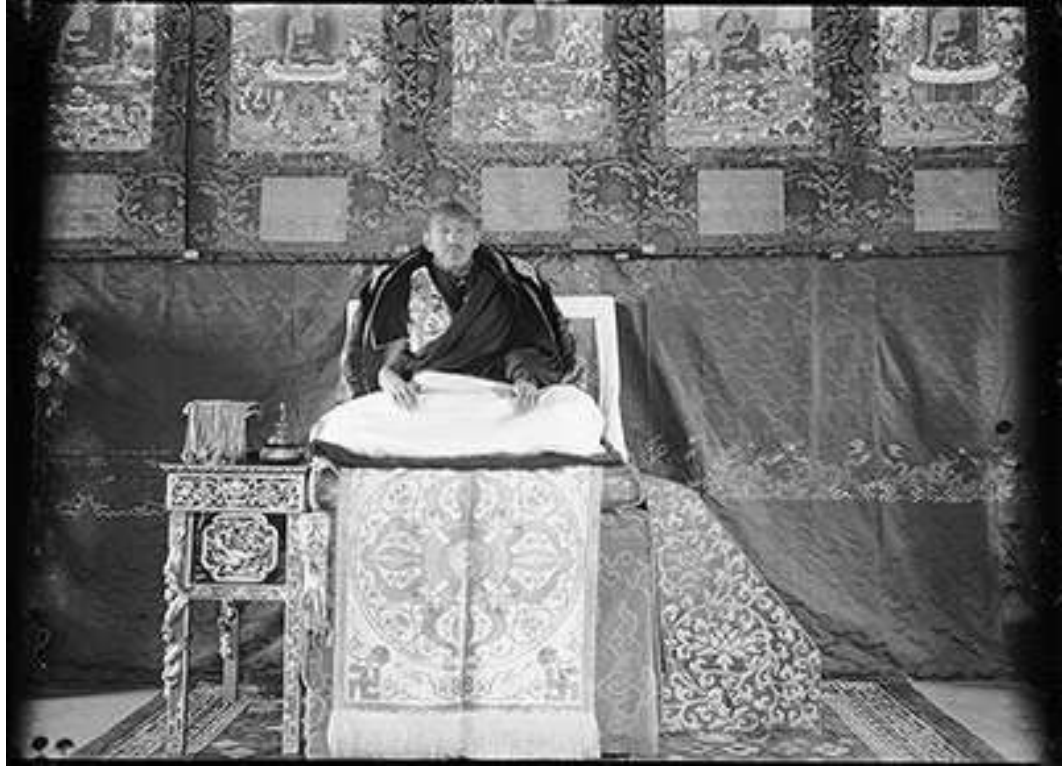


Figure 97 Additional print



Figure 98 Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Leslie Weir, 1932, Collection of Maybe Jehu, London, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005 plate 114





Figure 99 Tenzin Gyatso, age 4; Photographer unknown, Amdo, ca. 1939, Norbulingka Institute, Sidhpur, India, image provided by Norbulingka Institute



Figure 100 Fourteenth Dalai Lama prior to departure to Lhasa; Photographer unknown, Amdo, 1939, Norbulingka Institute, Sidhpur, India, image provided by Norbulingka Institute



Figure 101 Tenzin Gyatso, approx. 10 years old; Photographer unknown, ca. 1945, Norbulingka Institute, Sidhpur, India, image provided by Norbulingka Institute



Figure 102 Tenzin Gyatso during exams; 1958/9, Photographer unknown, Norbulingka Institute, Sidhpur, India, image provided by Norbulingka Institute



Figure 103 Fourteenth Dalai Lama's caravan on flight to Sikkim border; 1950/1, Heinrich Harrer, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich, image provided by Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

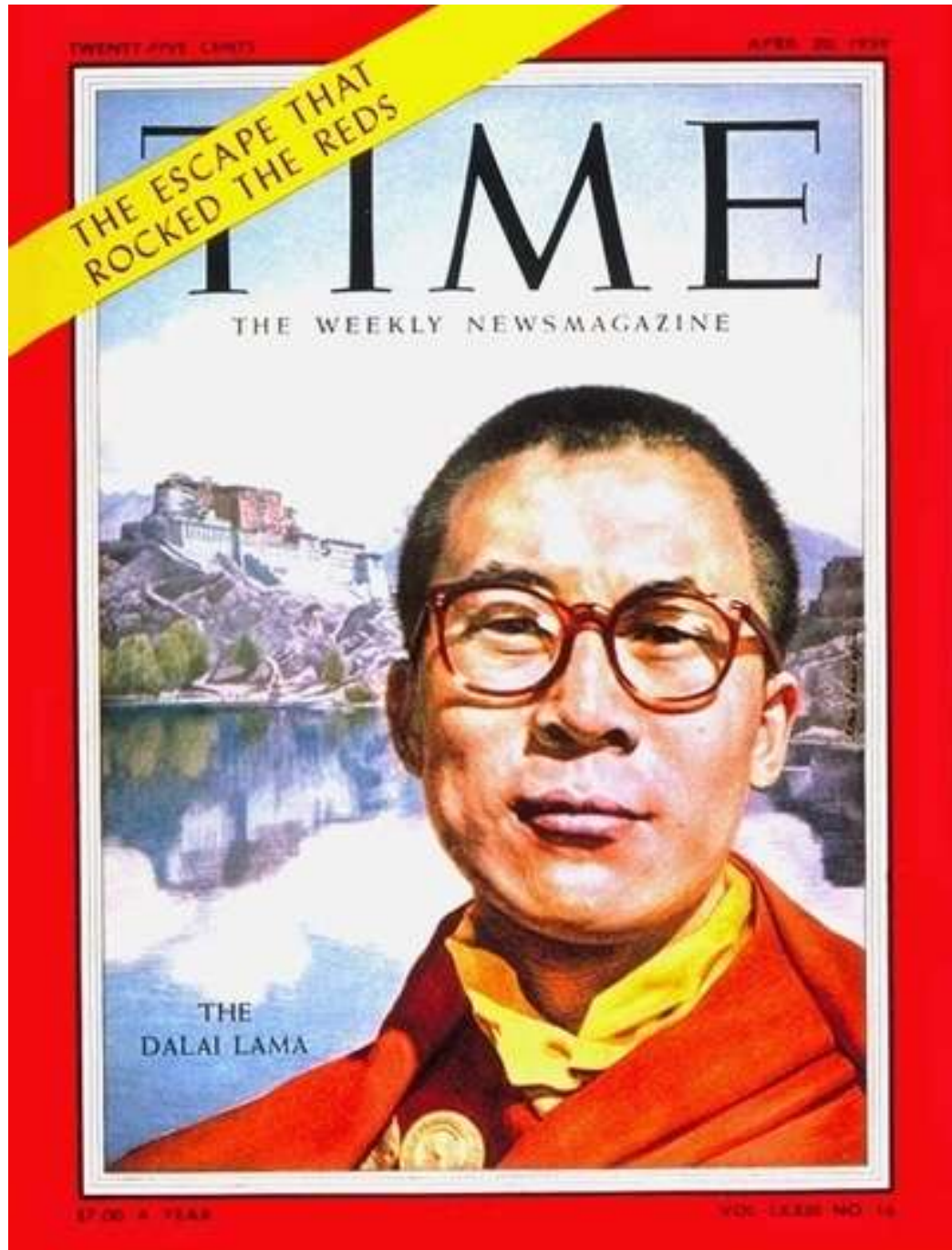


Figure 104 Time Magazine Cover of Tenzin Gyatso; Boris Chaliapin, April 20, 1959, as reproduced on <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19590420,00.html>



Figure 105 Tenzin Gyatso and his mother, Time Magazine; Photographer credits: Bettman/CORBIS, April 20, 1959, as reproduced on <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601590420,00.html>



Figure 106 Tenzin Gyatso; Martin Brauen, Dharamsala, India, 1972, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 189



Figure 107a and 107b Dalai Lama in Dharamsala; 1970's, Archives of the Norbulingka, Sidhpur, India, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 190/191

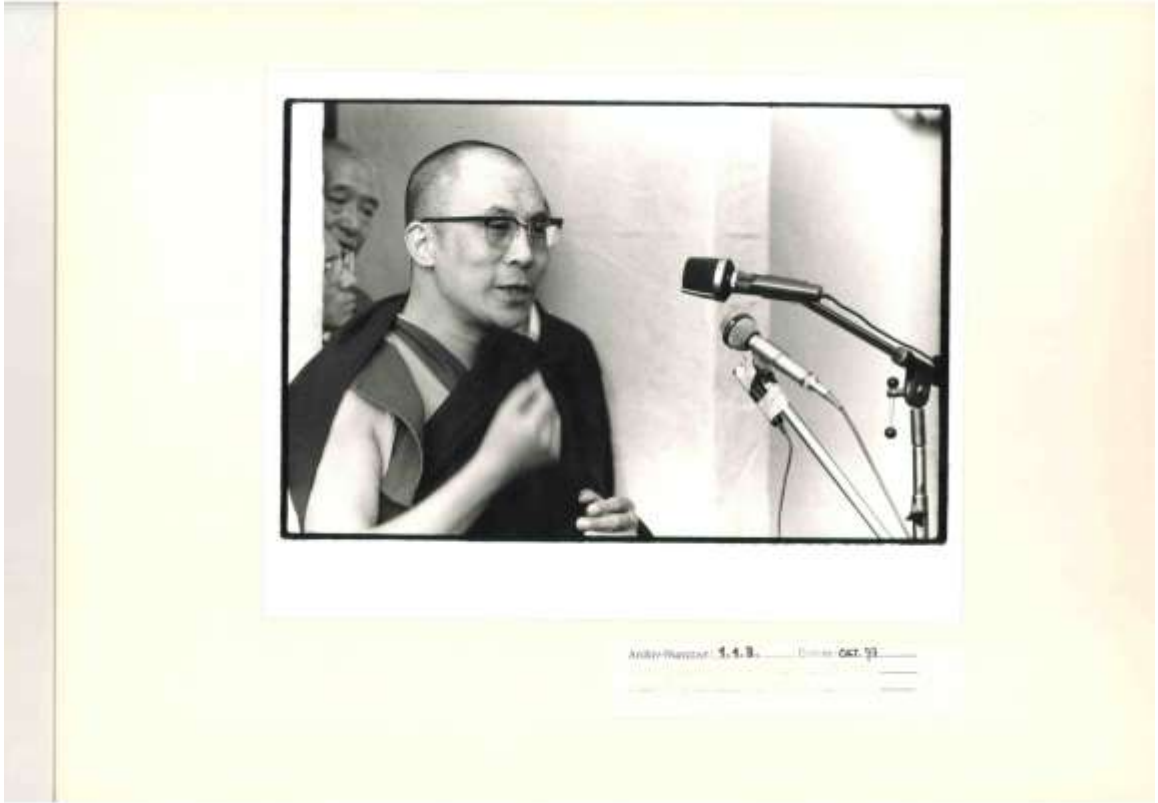


Figure 108 Dalai Lama bei der ansprache; Photograph by Weber, October 1973, Tibet Institute, Rikon, Switzerland, image provided by Tibet Institute





Figure 109 Ansprache des DL vor dem ti; Photograph by Weber, October 1973, Tibet Institute, Rikon, Switzerland, image provided by Tibet Institute



Figure 110 Dalai Lama in gebet; Photograph by Gottingen, November 1973, Tibet Institute, Rikon, Switzerland, image provided by Tibet Institute



Figure 111 Der Dalai Lama in Festzelt; Photographs by Jacques Kuhn, November 1973, Tibet Institute, Rikon, Switzerland, image provided by Tibet Institute



Figure 112 Dalai Lama in freien vor den Tib. Inst.; Photographs by Jacques Kuhn, November 1973, Tibet Institute, Rikon, Switzerland, image provided by Tibet Institute

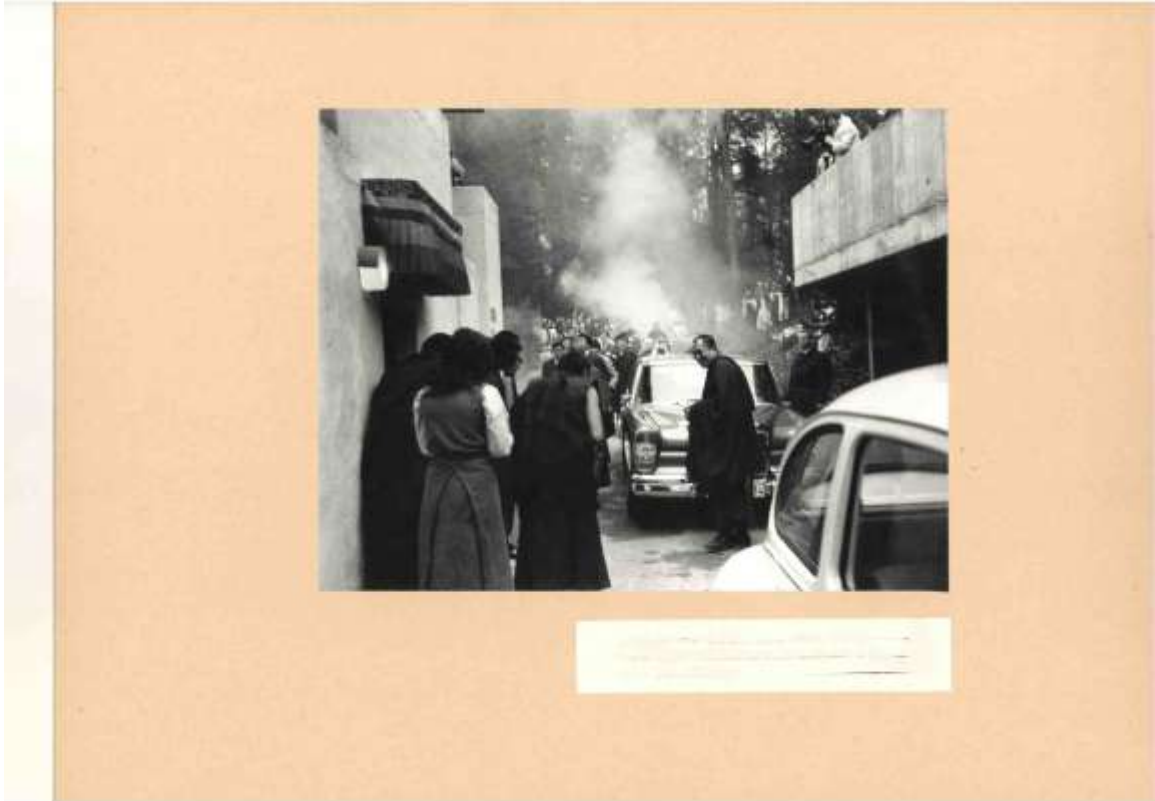


Figure 113 Ankunft des Dalai Lama an Tib. Inst.; Photograph by Gottingen, November 1973, Tibet Institute, Rikon, Switzerland, image provided by Tibet Institute

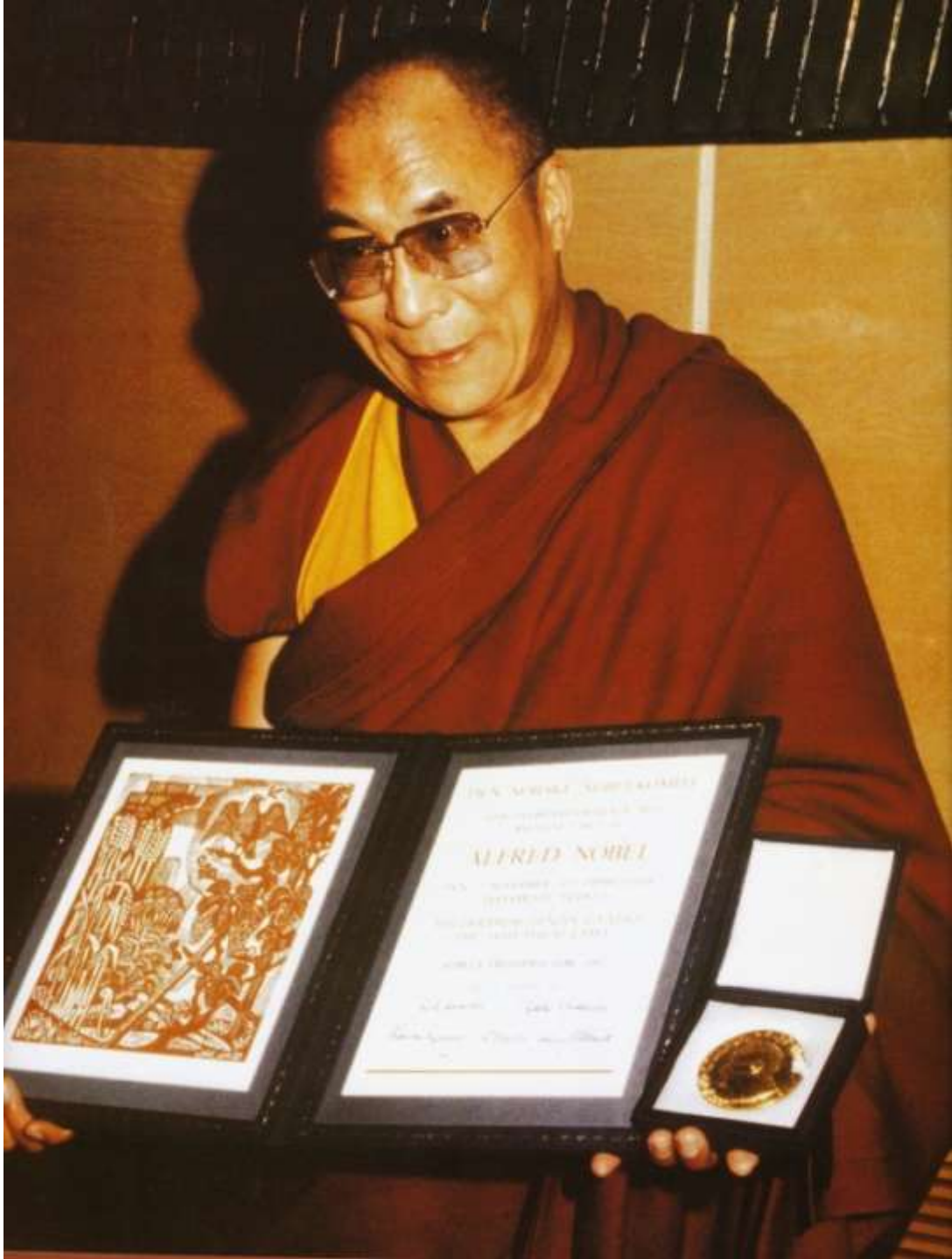


Figure 114 Nobel Peace Prize ceremony; 1989, photograph by Jan Andersson



Figure 115 Fourteenth Dalai Lama; Artist unknown, 20<sup>th</sup> century *thangka* (mineral pigment on cotton), 88x63cm, Musee d'Ethnographie, Geneva, Switzerland, as reproduced in Martin Brauen's *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications) 2005, plate 124



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Figure 116 Series of Fourteen Dalai Lamas; top row 1-6, middle row 7-12, bottom row 13-14, 1990's, Norbulingka, Dharamsala, India, as reproduced in Thubten Samphel and Tendar's *The Dalai Lamas of Tibet* (India: Roli and Janssen) 2000, 12-13





Figure 117 Detail of Fourteenth Dalai Lama; 1990's, Norbulingka, Dharamsala, India, photograph by Eric Huntington



Figure 118 Altar in the Tibet Institute; Rikon, Switzerland, July 6, 2009, photograph by author

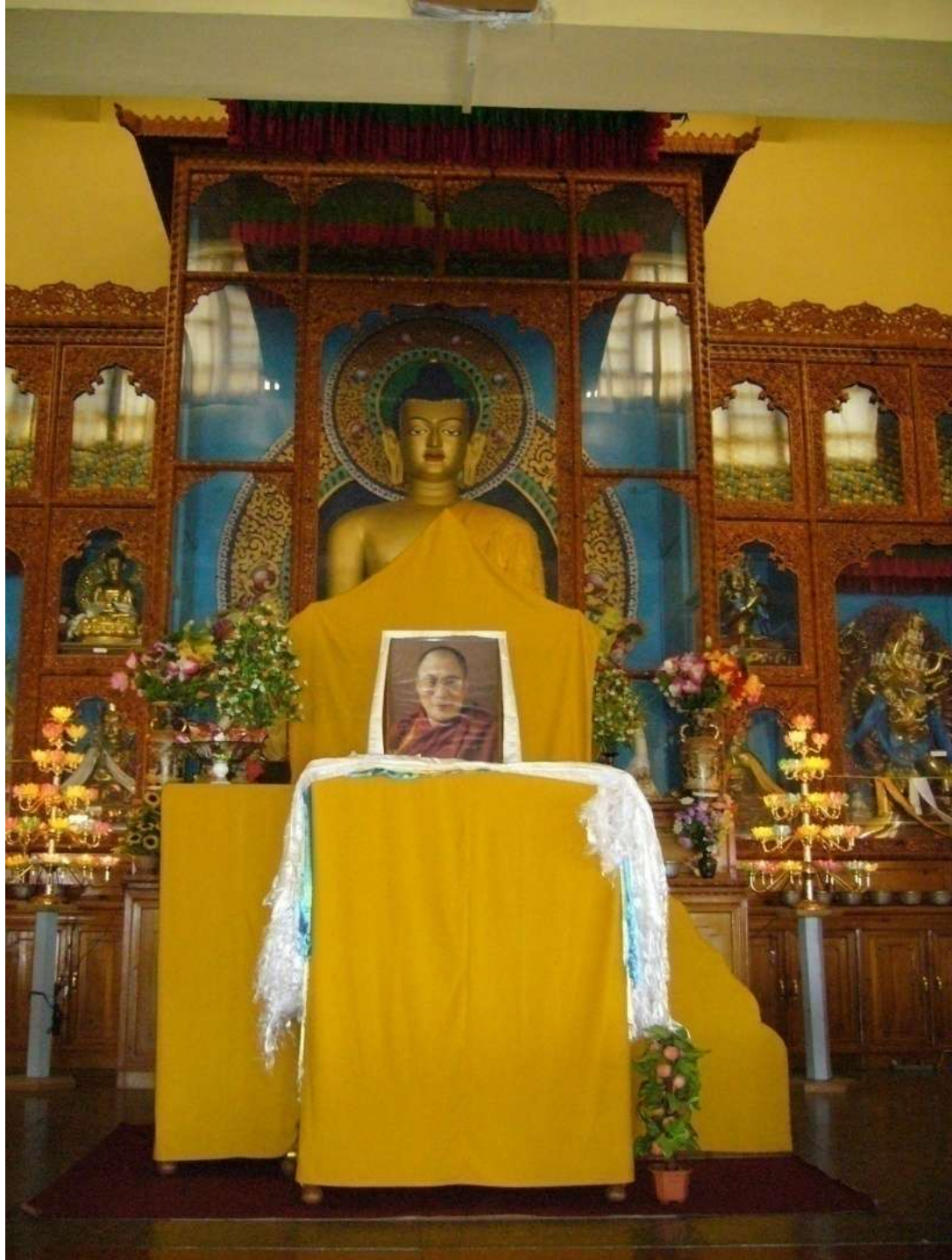


Figure 119 Altar with image of Fourteenth Dalai Lama; Sidhbari, India, August, 2008, photograph by author



Figure 120 Tenzin Gyatso giving Kalachakra initiation; Santa Monica, 1989, photograph by Don Farber

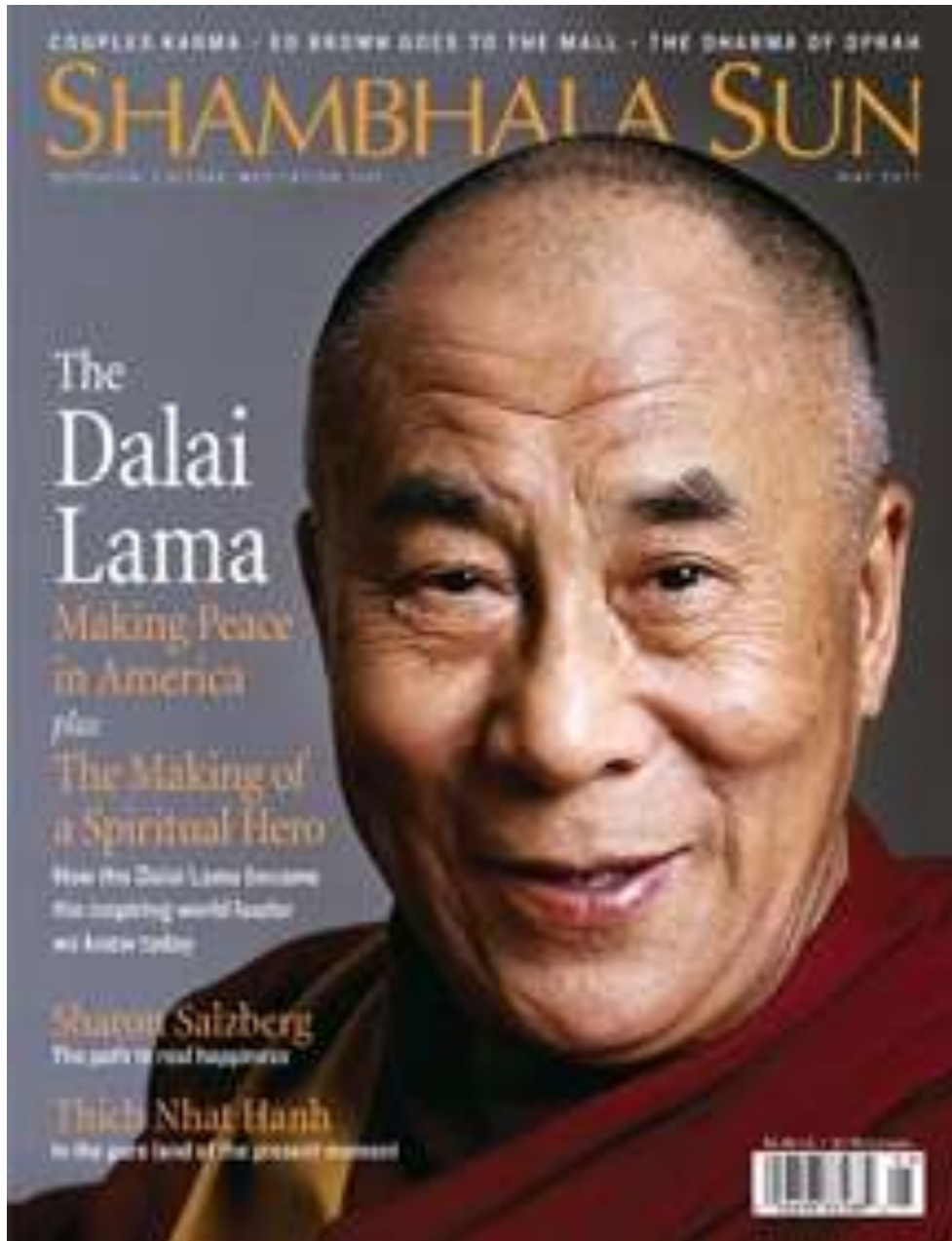


Figure 121 Tenzin Gyatso, cover of Shambhala Sun; May 2011

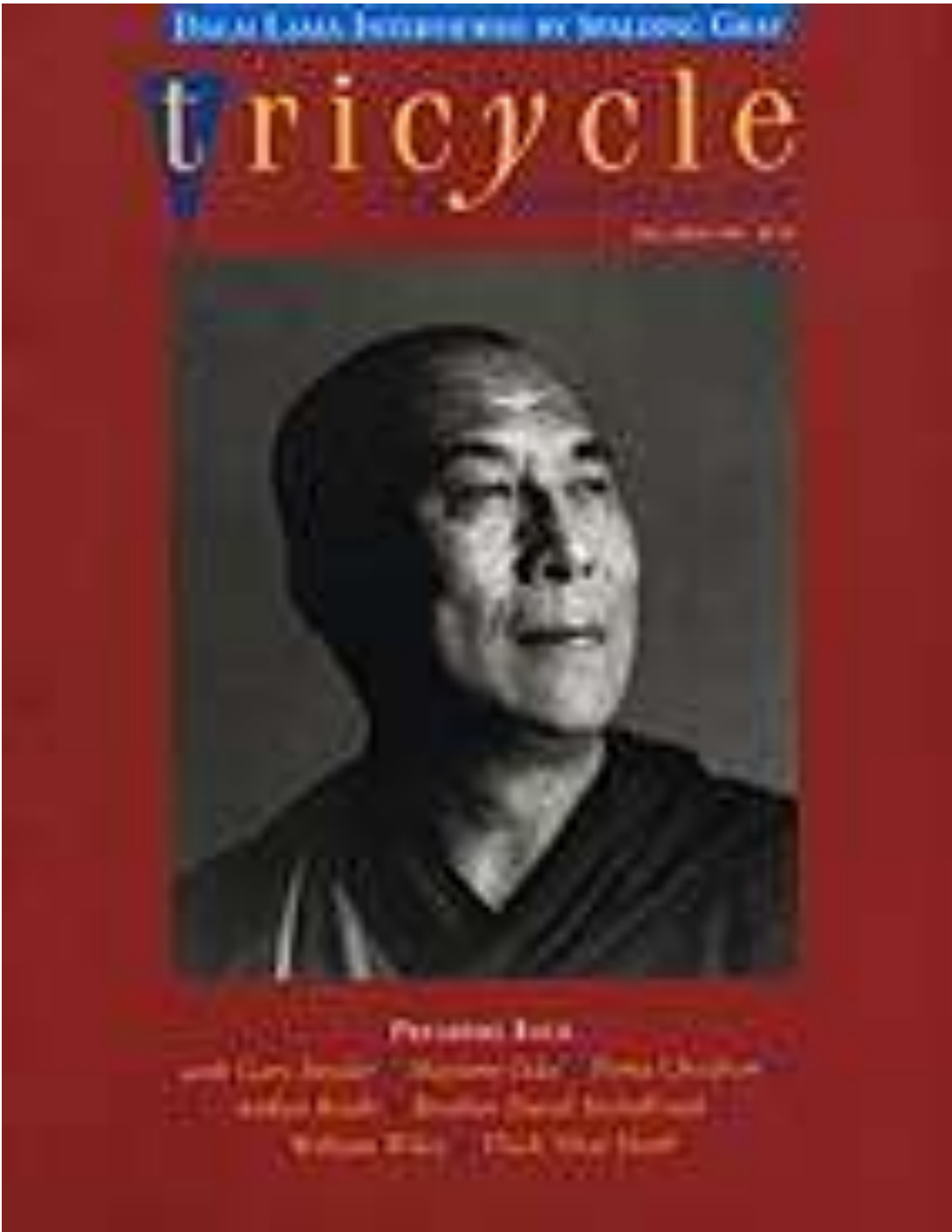


Figure 122 Tenzin Gyatso, cover of Tricycle; Fall 1991



Figure 123 Tenzin Gyatso in Apple advertisement; as reproduced on <http://creativecriminals.com/print/apple-think-different/>



Figure 124 Advertisement on billboard; as reproduced on [http://www.aef.com/exhibits/awards/obie\\_awards/2005/01/pf\\_printable](http://www.aef.com/exhibits/awards/obie_awards/2005/01/pf_printable)





Figure 125 Tenzin Gyatso in advertisement for The Foundation for a Better Life; Denver International Airport, August 2008, photograph by author



Figure 126 Tenzin Gyatso in Rainforest video; photo still from video on <http://news.yahoo.com/nphotos/slideshow/photo//090505/481/9f665d1f004740319a48e026a0129392/>  
Video online at <http://firstlinemedia.com/epk/rainforestSOS/>



Figure 127 *His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Monks* (detail); Richard Avedon, 1998, gelatin silver print, 20x24", as reproduced in *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware) 2006, page 9

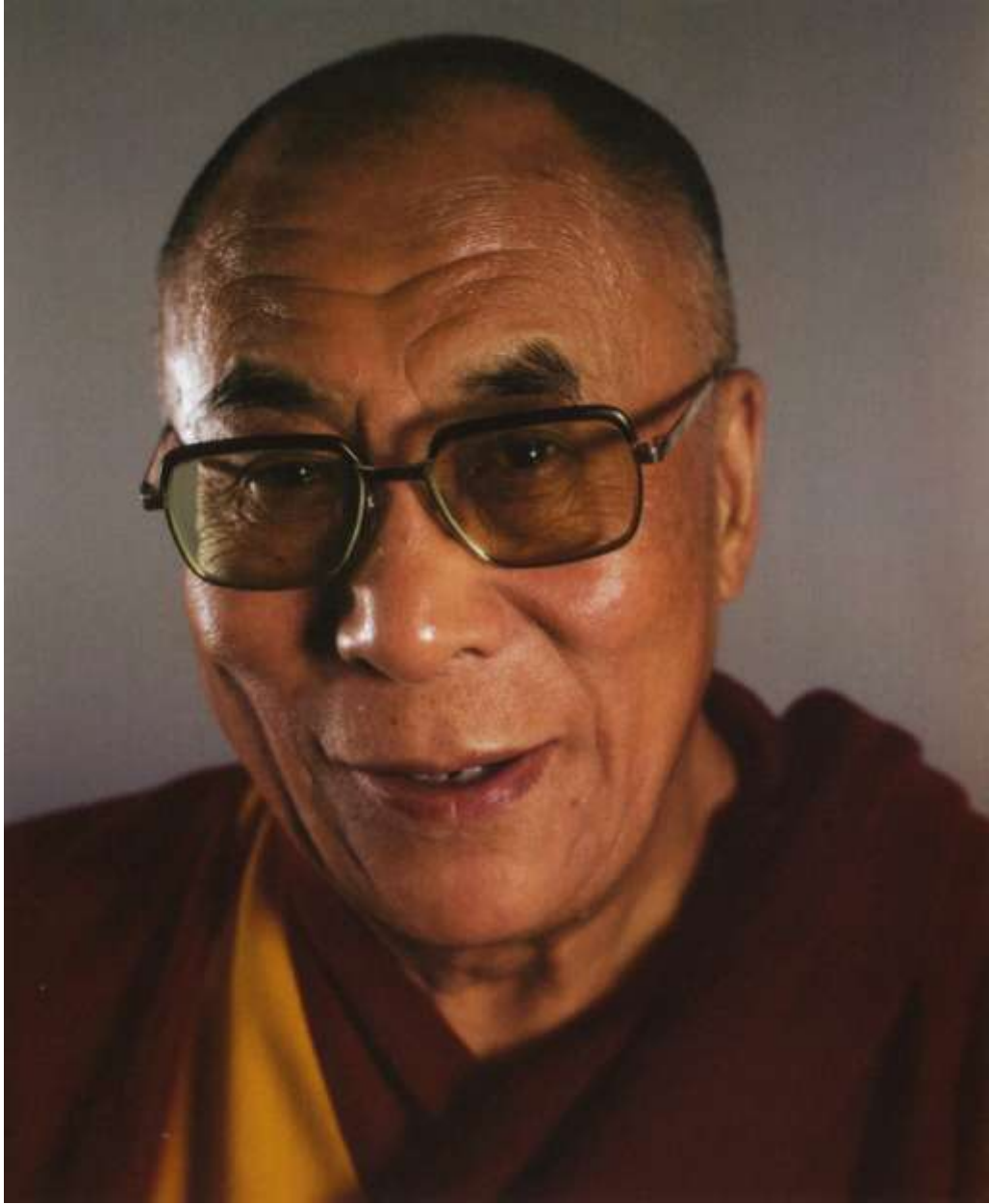


Figure 128 *The Dalai Lama*; Chuck Close, 2005, digital pigment print, 50x40", as reproduced in *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware) 2006, page 11

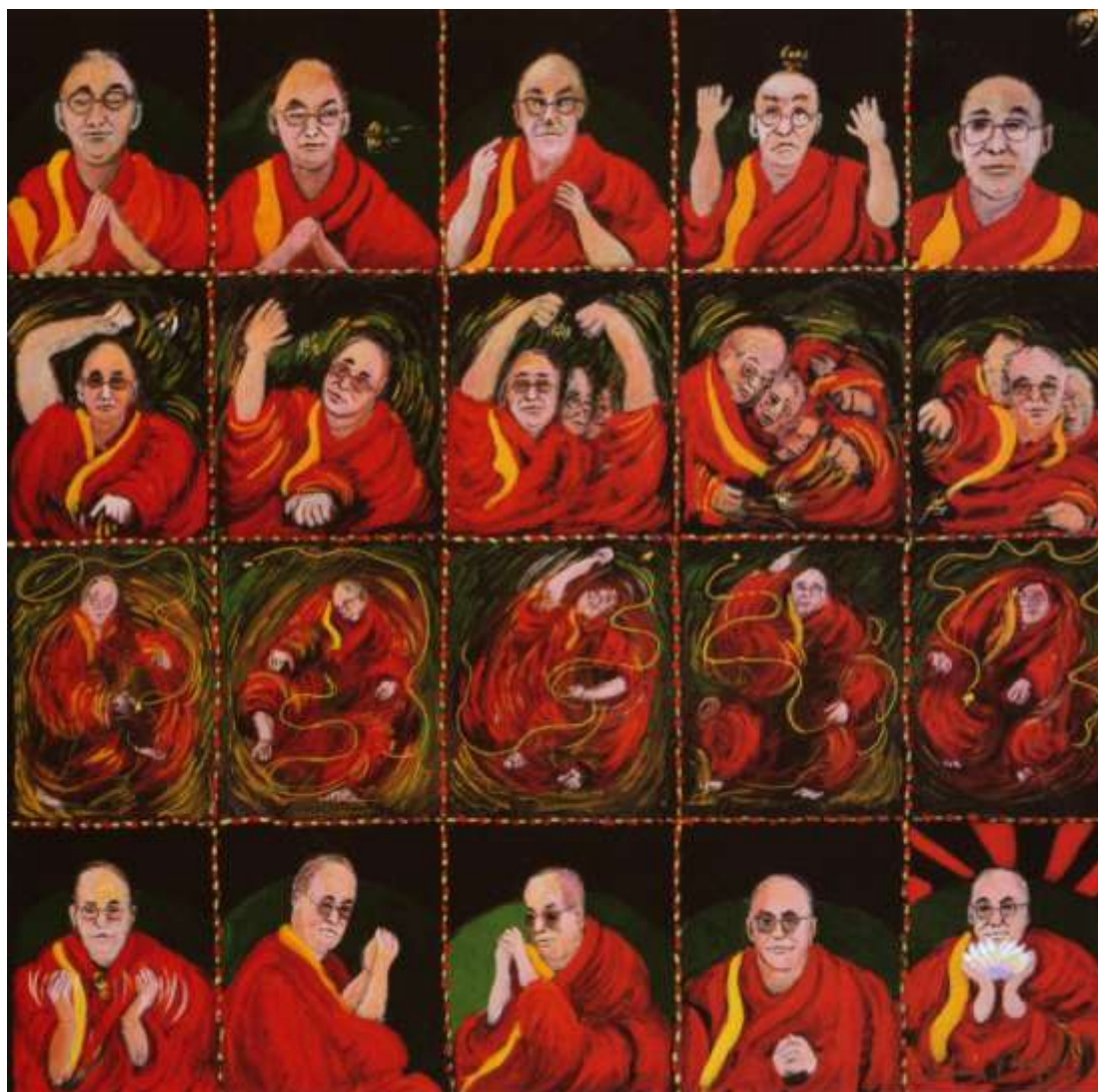


Figure 129 *His Holiness and the Bee (How a Little Annoyance Can Bring Great Joy)*; Guy Buffet, 2005, acrylic on canvas, 48x48", as reproduced in *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware) 2006, page 53



Figure 130 *Reincarnation*; Salustiano, 2005, pigment and acrylic on canvas, 4 ½ x 10 feet, as reproduced in *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware) 2006, page 76



Figure 131 Detail



Figure 132 Tenzin Gyatso, *Ocean of Wisdom*; Losang Gyatso, 2005, acrylic on canvas, 30x36", as reproduced in *The Missing Peace: Artists and the Dalai Lama* (San Rafael, CA: Earth Aware) 2006, page

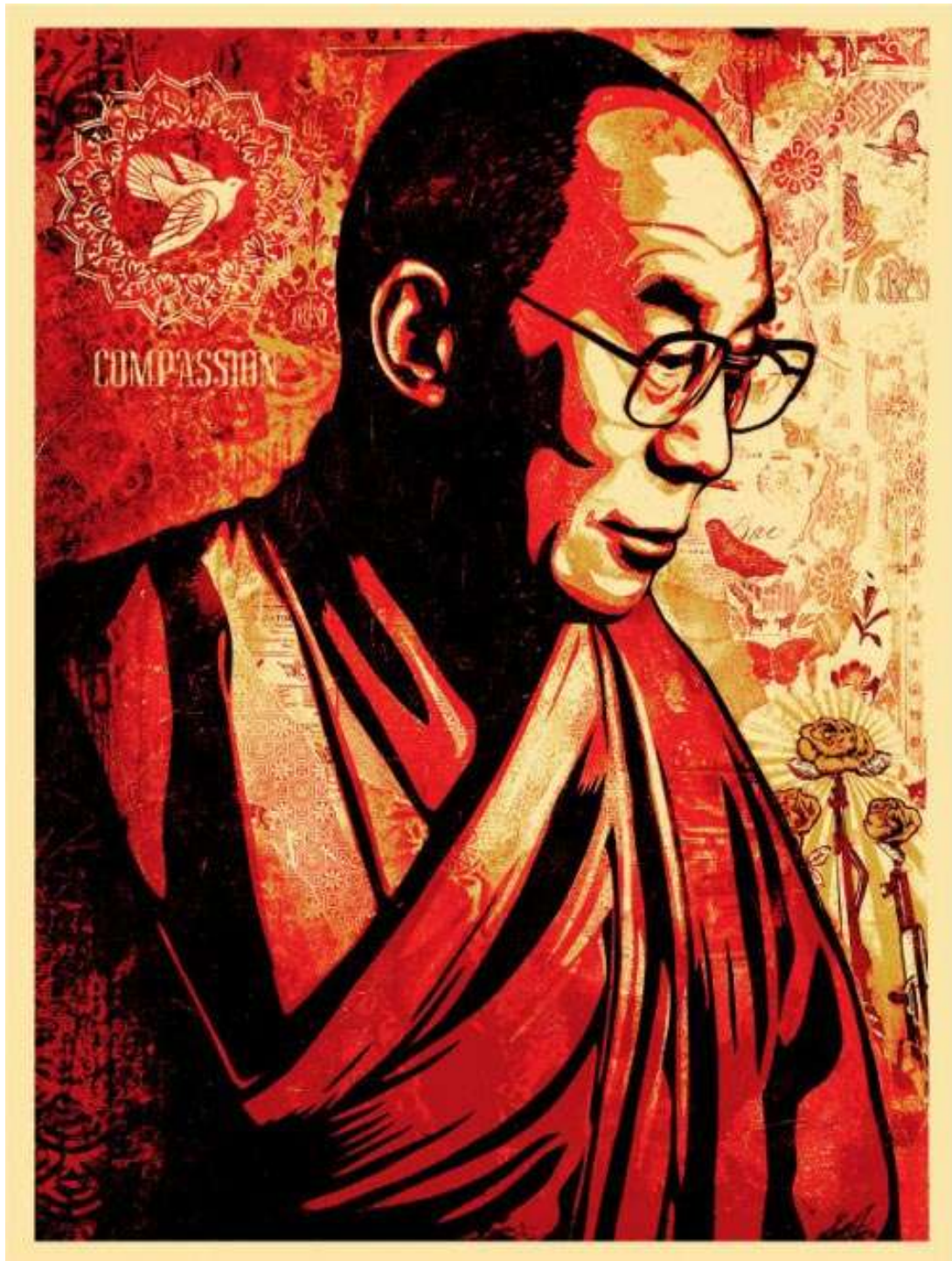


Figure 133 *Compassion: His Holiness, the Dalai Lama*; Shepard Fairey, 2010, 24x18", as reproduced on the artist's website: <http://www.obeygiant.com/prints/compassion-his-holiness-the-dalai-lama>





Figure 134 Tenzin Gyatso with Barack Obama; CNN July 16, 2011, as reproduced on <http://www.cnn.com/2011/POLITICS/07/16/dalai.lama.white.house/index.html>



Figure 135 Tenzin Gyatso with George W. Bush; November 9, 2005, as reproduced on [http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/11/images/20051109-2\\_p110905pm-0129jpg-515h.html](http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/11/images/20051109-2_p110905pm-0129jpg-515h.html)



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Figure 136 Tenzin Gyatso receiving the Congressional Gold Medal; (insert: Congressional Gold Medal), Washington, D.C., October 17, 2007, AP Photographer



Figure 137 Tenzin Gyatso with Desmond Tutu; February 10, 2012, Press Trust of India, PTI, as reproduced on <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2099572/Dalai-Lama-honours-old-friend-Archbishop-Tutu.html>



Figure 138 Tenzin Gyatso with Nelson Mandela; September 29, 2011, AP photo, as reproduced on <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15117833>



Figure 139 Tenzin Gyatso with Richard Gere; Bodh Gaya, India, 3/18/10, AP photographer, as reproduced on [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/01/10/richard-gere-gets-blessed\\_n\\_417681.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/01/10/richard-gere-gets-blessed_n_417681.html)



Figure 140 Tenzin Gyatso and Oprah Winfrey on *O Magazine* cover; August 2001, Photograph by Nancy Jo Johnson

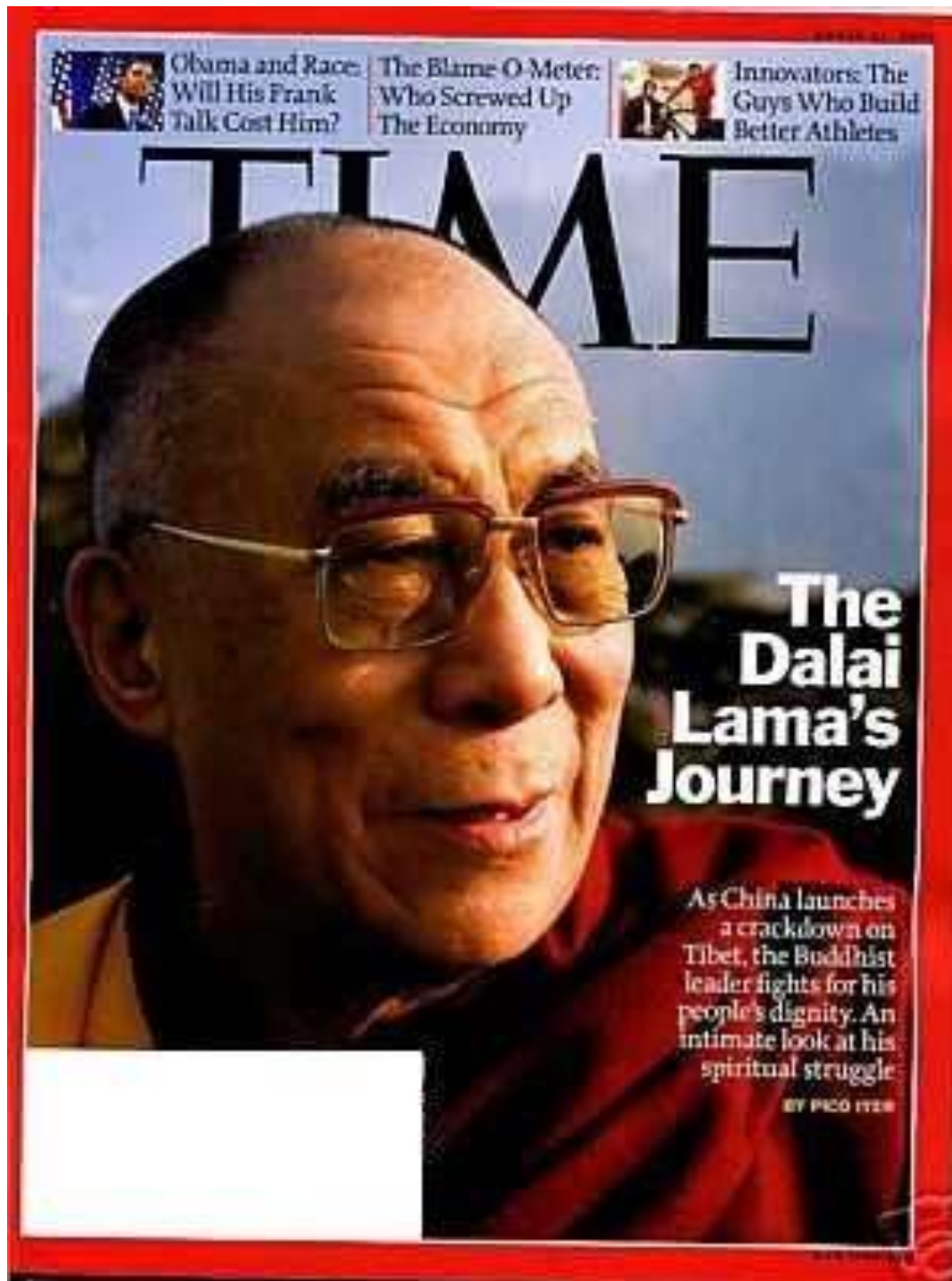


Figure 141 Tenzin Gyatso on Time Magazine cover; April 1, 2008

OCTOBER 10, 2011

**Cuba's Catholic Church makes a comeback**

**Why dietary supplements aren't worth it**

**How Glasgow is beating its gang problem**

**MUSIC**  
**Noel Gallagher on Efe after Oasis**

# TIME



Why resistance to China will flare, not fade, when the Dalai Lama dies  
*By Hannah Beech*

## TIBET'S NEXT INCARNATION



www.time.com

Figure 142 Time Magazine cover; October 10, 2011



Figure 143 Protest in Dharamsala, India; August 2008, photograph by author





Figure 144 Protests in Dharamsala, India; August 2008, photograph by author



Figure 145 Protest of Chinese Olympics in Milwaukee; August 2007, photograph by author



Figure 146 Dalai Lama, Sadaksari Avalokitesvara and Panchen Lama at the Potala; Postcard sold on the Barkhor, Lhasa, 1993 (prior to ban), as reproduced in Clare Harris' *In the Image of Tibet: Tibetan Painting after 1959* (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd) 1999, plate 44



Figure 147 Caricature from China Daily; August 15, 1996, as reproduced in Thomas Heberer's "Old Tibet a Hell on Earth?" in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications) 2001, page 146



Figure 148 Image of illegal display of Dalai Lama image; July 2011, as reproduced on <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=29809&t=1>



Figure 149 Hidden image of Dalai Lama; Tibet, 2000's, photograph by Ian Cumming

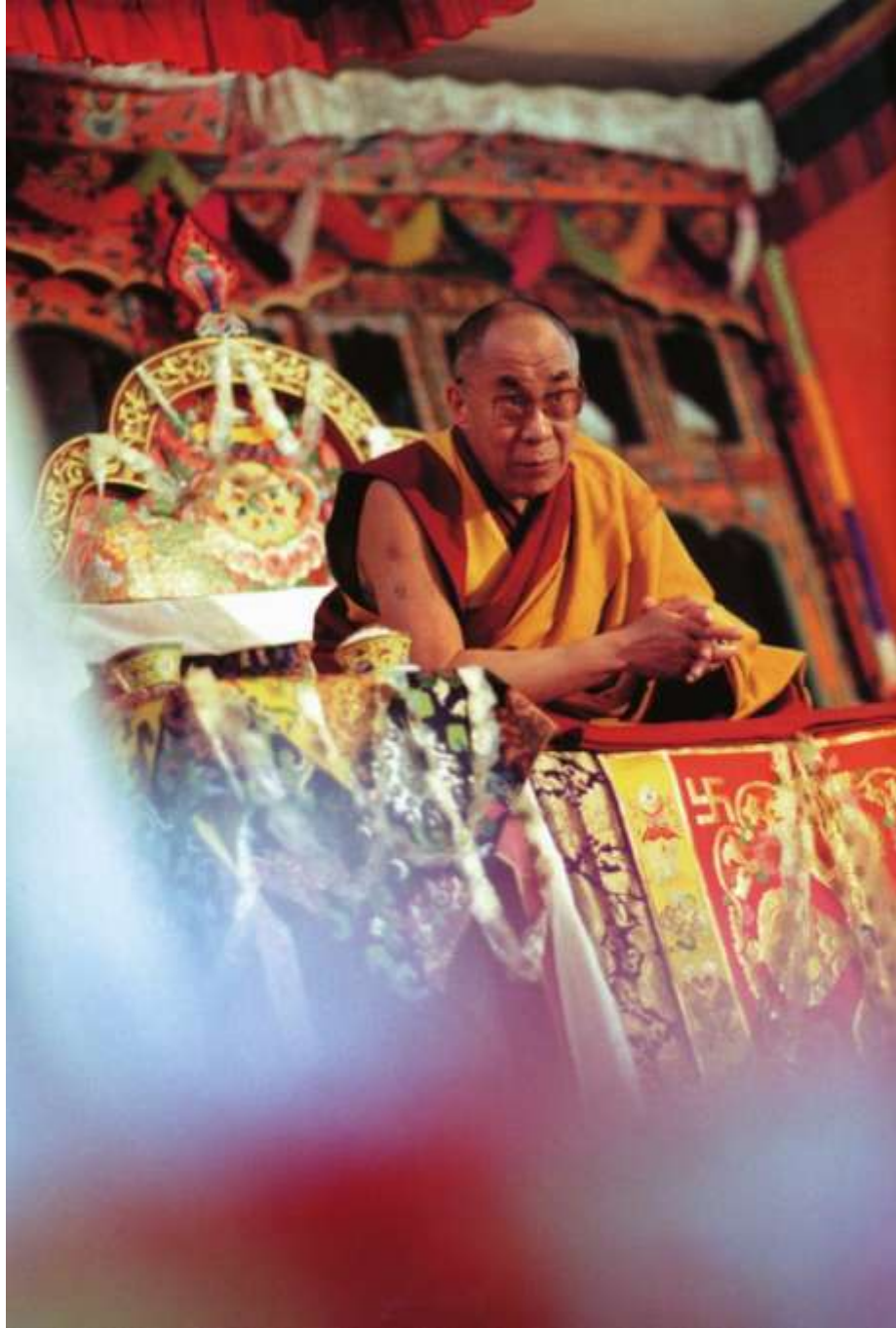


Figure 150 Fourteenth Dalai Lama; Manuel Bauer, June 2002, Thubten Dorje Dak Monastery in Himachal Pradesh, India, as reproduced in Manuel Bauer's *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo) 2005, plate 80

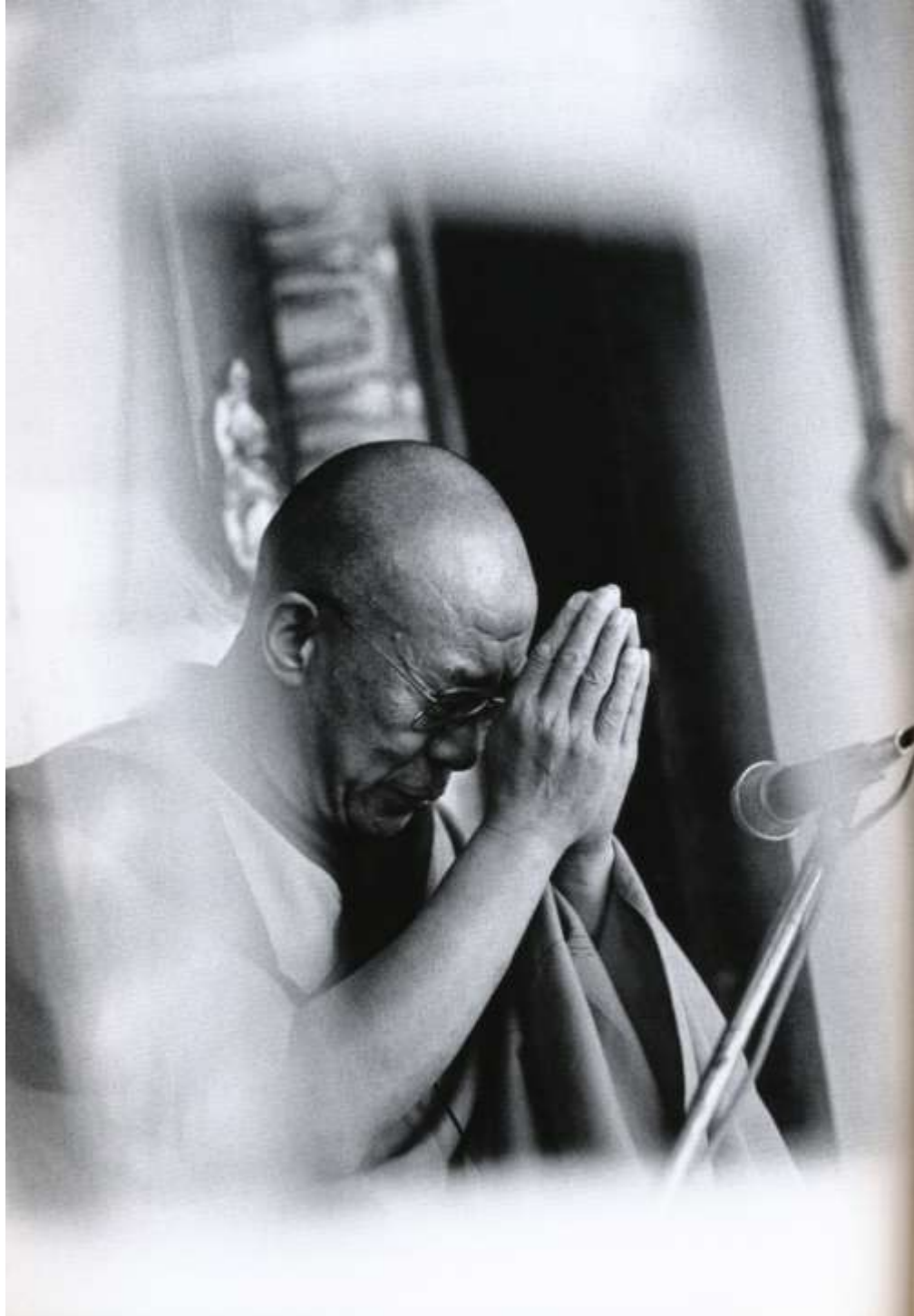


Figure 151 Fourteenth Dalai Lama at Jonang Monastery; Manuel Bauer, June 12, 2002, Himachal Pradesh, India, as reproduced in Manuel Bauer's *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo) plate 90



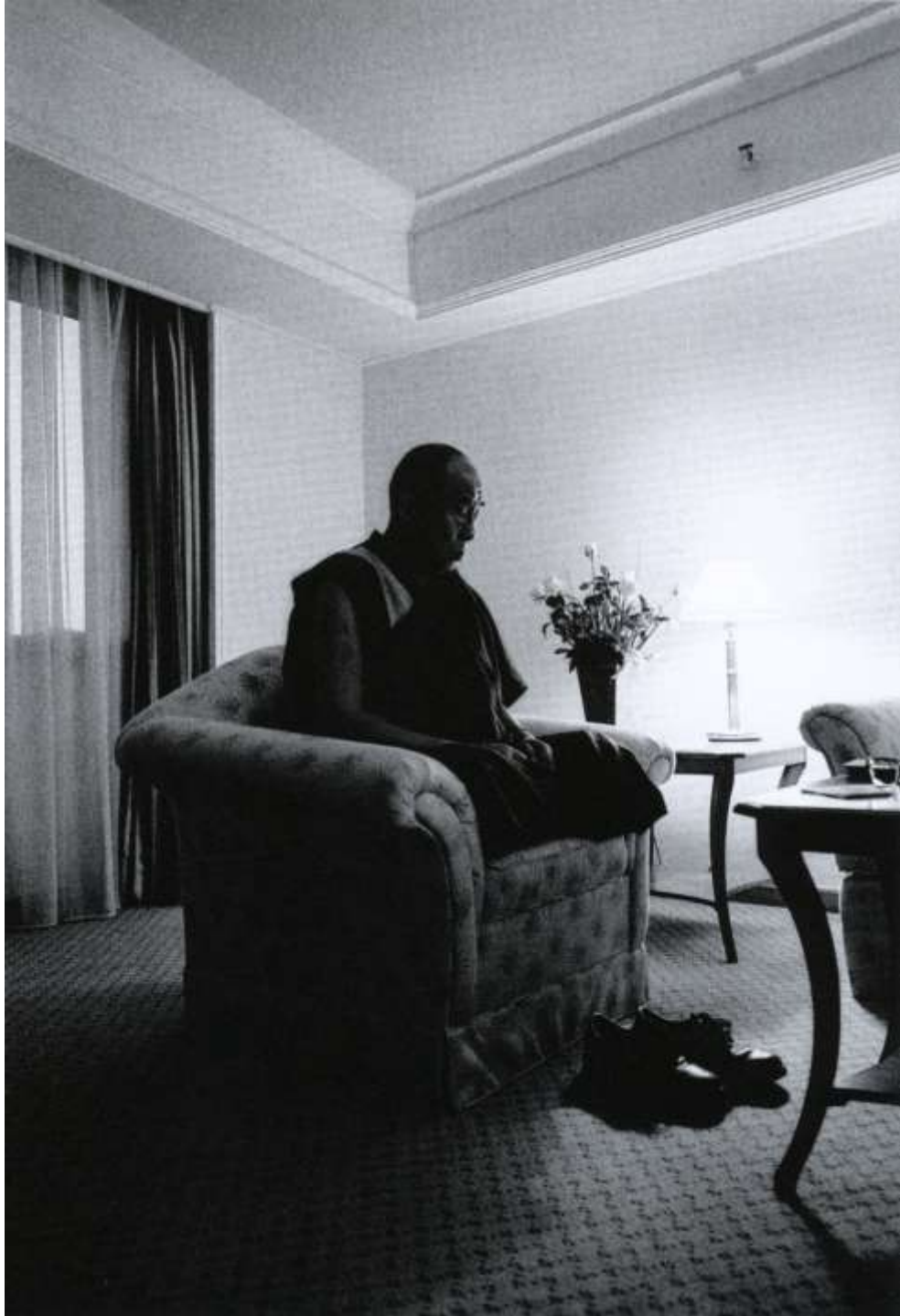


Figure 152 Fourteenth Dalai Lama at the Sharaton Hotel; Manuel Bauer, July 8, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia, as reproduced in Manuel Bauer's *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo) plate 122



Figure 153 Fourteenth Dalai Lama at the Sharaton Hotel; Manuel Bauer, July 8, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia, as reproduced in Manuel Bauer's *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo) plate 170



Figure 154 Residence of Dalai Lama; Manuel Bauer, August 15, 2004, Dharamsala, India, as reproduced in Manuel Bauer's *Journey for Peace* (New York: Scalo) plate 230



Figure 155 Facebook Page of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama; August 31, 2010, accessed by author



Figure 156 Twitter page of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama; August 31, 2010, accessed by author