

# *The Mongolia-Tibet Interface*

OPENING NEW RESEARCH TERRAINS IN INNER ASIA



EDITED BY

URADYN E. BULAG AND  
HILDEGARD G.M. DIEMBERGER

# The Mongolia-Tibet Interface



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# The Mongolia-Tibet Interface

Opening New Research Terrains in Inner Asia

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*Edited by*

Uradyn E. Bulag and Hildegard G.M. Diemberger



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*On the cover:* Copy of a painting of Dugan Jaisan by Tsagaan Jamba in the Fine Arts Museum, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia (Caroline Humphrey's private collection; photograph by Don Manning).

*Back cover:* 'Mongolian leading the tiger' in a Tibetan painting, courtesy of Dr. Stephen Hugh-Jones.

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## TOWARDS CRITICAL STUDIES OF THE MONGOLIAN-TIBETAN INTERFACE

HILDEGARD G.M. DIEMBERGER AND URADYN E. BULAG

### INTRODUCTION: IN SEARCH OF THE MONGOLIAN-TIBETAN INTERFACE

On September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2003, a group of scholars from all over the world gathered in Oxford. What brought them together was their common interest in Tibetan culture. Almost as a new ritual, the 10<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (IATS) took place in the quasi-monastic setting of an Oxford college—St Hugh's. There was a tangible feeling of the richness and diversity of the living Tibetan traditions of scholarship, as among the crowd were monks, nuns, tantric priests, bards, writers and doctors coming from many different areas of Tibet and beyond. Moreover, for the first time in the history of the IATS conferences there was also a sizeable contingent of Mongolian and Mongolist scholars who were eager to explore the complex interface between Mongolian and Tibetan cultures.

This volume consists of the papers that were the direct outcome of a four-session panel entitled 'The Tibetan-Mongolian Interface' organised by Hildegard Diemberger and Uradyn Bulag. As a follow-up to 'The Tibetan-Mongolian Interface', a special issue of *Inner Asia* (vol.4, no.2, 2002), edited by Diemberger, this volume has similarly aimed to create a platform to encourage various forms of interfacial scholarship, thereby not only allowing new materials to emerge but also bringing to the fore a variety of different approaches to studying Mongolian and Tibetan cultures and societies.

The panel and the volume build on the work of many scholars who have crossed boundaries of language and culture following the links suggested in historical sources (Geza Uray, Luciano Petech, Elliot Sperling, Leonard van der Kuijp, Dieter Schuh and Christopher Beckwith to name but a few). There has been little research in the West focusing specifically on the Mongolian-Tibetan interface, in terms of major political, social, cultural and religious histories. Perhaps the most substantial work was done by Klaus Sagaster in Germany, a contribu-

tion duly honoured by a devotional volume published recently: *Tractata Tibetica et Mongolica: Festschrift für Klaus Sagaster zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kollmar-Paulenz & Peter [eds] 2002). Most of such works fall into the school of evidential scholarship, examining the religious and literary influences of the Tibetans upon the Mongols. Owen Lattimore's *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (1940), David Farquhar's (1978) and Joseph Fletcher's (1978) studies of Qing governance in Inner Asia remain the rare exceptions.

Sechen Jagchid, a Mongolian-American scholar, originally hailing from Inner Mongolia, wrote arguably the first comprehensive scholarly book on the interface entitled *Studies on the Historical Relationship between Mongolia and Tibet* (in Chinese) in 1978 published in Taiwan. In mainland China, Chen Qingying has been a major writer on the relationship, publishing and editing *A Brief History of the Mongolian-Tibetan Nationality Relationships* (with Wang Furen, 1985, in Chinese) and a multi-volume series entitled *The Great Series of the History of the Mongolian-Tibetan Relationship* (ed. with Ding Shoupu, 2000, in Chinese).

Note the hyphenation of Mongolian with Tibetan—*Meng-Zang* in Chinese. This hyphenation was first introduced in 1912–13 by the inchoate Republic of China, aiming to claim sovereignty over Mongolia which declared independence in 1911 and Tibet which declared independence in 1913. The Mongolian-Tibetan Bureau established in 1912 was changed to a Ministry and then finally incarnated into the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission in 1928, which still exists in Taiwan. In the People's Republic of China, with the integration of Tibet and Inner Mongolia, in a spirit of 'equality', the Commission was changed to the Nationality Affairs Commission, with its English term 'nationality' changed to 'ethnic' around 1995.

The editors of this volume believe that because of historical and political circumstances, the Mongols and Tibetans have been cut off 'conceptually' as well as geopolitically. This conceptual segregation was aided as much by historical communist hostility to religion as by the use of the nation-state as the major reference of scholarship and research.

By this logic, Mongol and Mongolist scholars have been interested in teasing out and consolidating a national Mongolian culture, forgetting, for better or worse, Mongolian imperial history and how that history might have shed light on the current cultural and religious as well

as political processes. Tibetan and Tibetologists are equally interested in delineating a crystal clear boundary. In so doing, their rhetorical target has been 'China', subsuming Manchu and Chinese under the same category. And much of the scholarly and emotional energy has been invested in insisting on the ritual superiority of lamas over temporal rulers. In this process, we detect a sense of Mongolian indifference to Buddhism that is matched by Tibetan hegemony over the Mongols which sees former Mongol rulers merely as instruments promoting Tibetan interest to the detriment of their own Mongolian interest.

After decades of non-communication, the Mongolian-Tibetan relationship began to develop again outside China. The Tibetan diaspora in India and the West have been visiting Mongolia, especially after the democratic revolution of 1990, and *vice versa*. Kalmyks have become the most enthusiastic supporters of Tibetan Buddhism, and have proclaimed that they are "the Only Buddhist People in Europe". The Buddhist revival among the Buryats in Russia is as impressive, if not more so. In these regions Buddhism is now recognised as among the best of their national heritage, constituting their High Culture, although there has been renewed anxiety about its alien origin.

The lively exchanges at Oxford among scholars with diverse backgrounds have cast new light on the Mongolian-Tibetan relationship and on the context in which scholarly traditions relevant to it have developed. Likewise, this volume not only places emphasis on the substantial Mongolian contribution to and engagement with the rich and complex culture of Tibetan Buddhism, but it also deals with Tibetan and Mongolian living cultures, with multiple readings of shared history and religion, with reconstruction of traditions, with issues raised by shifting ethnic boundaries and by the broader political context of the relationship. It therefore aims to transcend not only the artificial boundary between Tibetan and Mongolian Studies, but also the clear-cut separation between the modern and the pre-modern as separate domains of investigation.

#### TOWARDS COSMOPOLITAN 'MONGOLIAN STUDIES'

Mongolian studies, like many area studies disciplines, were developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But unlike many orientalist inquiries, from its inception, Mongolia and Mongols had been studied by scholars from many



countries, which had been profoundly impacted by the Mongolian empire in the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. These studies were, therefore, as much Orientalist inquiries of an important but little understood bygone age and phenomenon as they were investigations of parts of their own respective national histories, often tinged with romanticism, both in its tragic and poetic senses. As such, Mongolian studies had developed not so much as an area studies but as a field that was linked to numerous countries and rendered important for the formation of the modern world.

Since the inception of Mongolian studies, one of the questions that have been confronting scholars and Mongols alike is to what extent the Mongols' lack of unity was caused by external factors and was not endemic to their nomadic and tribal conditions. In the scholarly circle, there has been a romantic view that modern Mongols are homogeneous, thereby glossing over the internal divisions as only temporary aberrations. Mongols themselves are not free from such an essentialised vision of Mongolness, which is as strategic as Orientalist in imagination. These 'Orientalist' and 'internal Orientalist' representations paralleled the hard reality of political, territorial and cultural divisions of the Mongols, enforced by strong Chinese, Japanese and Russian imperial nationalisms. Therefore, just how best to understand the diversity and unity of the Mongols and the romantic fantasy of others remain questions that have yet to be addressed or even acknowledged by the majority of Mongol and non-Mongol scholars alike.

Between the end of World War II and the early 1990s, most of the inquiries about Mongolia and Mongols had been organised according to the vision of 'nation-states' as the formal frame for research. Added to this vision was the anti-communist ideology of the West and the Communist Cold War between the People's Republic of China (China) and the Soviet Union. Thus, in the same period, there was little scholarship in the West about the Mongols in China, and the primary focus had been on the Mongolian People's Republic (Mongolia), looking at it as a hermit state closed to the outside world, or as already integrated into the Soviet Union as its satellite state. An exception to this picture was German (both East and West), Hungarian, and Japanese scholarship, which continued the romanticist tradition, but was shorn of nationalist or imperialist overtones.

In the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and China, the analytical frame was overwhelmingly 'national', giving rise to the discussions and promo-

tions of what is called ethnic processes, i.e. the formations of the Buryat Nationality, Kalmyk Nationality in the Soviet Union, and the Socialist Mongolian Nationality in the MPR and the Mongolian *Minzu* (Nationality) in China. These 'nationalities' were invested with their own 'separate' histories and origin myths, their developmental futures tied to the Soviet Union or China or Mongolia, integrated into the *homo sovieticus*, or assimilated into the Han Chinese, or coalesced into the socialist Mongolian nation centred around the Halh in Mongolia. And not surprisingly, the publications from the Soviet Union and China, and even Mongolia on Mongols were full of barrages of denunciation of pan-Mongolism. Ironically, the 'national' formulaic orthodoxy determined that the Mongol groups could develop 'friendships' or 'national unity' only with Russians or Chinese, but not among themselves.

One important feature of modern 'minoritiness' is the surrender of self-defence and foreign relations to the sovereign state. A minority's prior links with what is deemed foreign are blocked to prevent 'internationalisation', an area of sovereign monopoly of the state. De-internationalisation is thus the unwritten rule in all the minority research agendas. What it institutes is akin to Ernest Gellner's (1983) agrarian feudal model whereby communities were discouraged from communicating horizontally with one another without authorisation from the imperial national centre. But it does not preclude all inter-group communication: forging affinity with or preferably assimilation into the national majority is the overwhelming emphasis. Under such a system, a minority's former foreign relations became a taboo subject unlikely to be broached by scholars of the minority group concerned, but the privileged domain of the 'national' scholars. The upshot of this minoritisation was selective cultural 'ethnic cleansing', bent on producing a seemingly purified and internalised 'minority nationality' with doors closed to many groups within or without the nation, but a door wide open to the majoritarian nation.

The end of the Communist Cold War between China and the Soviet Union in the early 1990s ushered in a new historical era. Once again, both Mongolia and Mongols have returned to occupy an important place in scholarly explication of their place in the world. Jack Weatherford (2004) stated an obvious, though largely ignored (often deliberately), truth that Chinggis Khan and his Mongol empire contributed to the making of the modern world, a conclusion reached independently of the contemporary Japanese deliberation of the Mongolian

empire ushering in 'World History', a strategic intervention to undercut the Sino-centric historiographical hegemony in Japan (Okada 1992; Sugiyama 1997). Lev Gumilev, who became, posthumously, the most popular Russian historian in post-Soviet countries, popularised the fantasy of Eurasianism in post-Soviet Russia and beyond by putting a positive spin on the nomadic, particularly Mongolian, contribution to the greatness of Russian people (see Shnirelman and Panarin 2001). Chinese scholars have similarly developed a taste for anything Mongolian and pastoral as well as wild, not in their own right, but for their 'contribution' or the potential thereof to China (Meng 1999; Jiang 2004; Song and Ni [eds] 1997).

We encounter here an intense romantic representation of the Mongols, with Mongols becoming the object of affection. This is one version of what we may call Inner Asian cosmopolitanism. This passion for signs of Mongol, celebrating Mongolness beyond their own reach, lies in separating the conceptual from the empirical, the expressible from the unrepeatable (cf. Derrida 1974). This romantic cosmopolitanism has been balanced by what may be called an emerging critical cosmopolitan scholarship that aims to capture the empirical and unrepeatable, the transformation of Mongolia and Mongols in the wider geopolitical, ideological, and environmental contexts.

In 1996 Caroline Humphrey and Urgunge Onon (1996) pioneered this vision by examining the political and religious dimensions of the Daur Mongolian shamanism in Inner Asia. Three years later Caroline Humphrey and David Sneath published their comparative studies of environmental discourses and movements as well as the future of nomadism in Inner Asia covering Mongol-inhabited regions of Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang in China, Tuva and Buryatia of Russia, and Mongolia. Uradyn Bulag (1998) studied the current internal Mongolian dynamics involving the Buryat Mongols, Halh Mongols, and Inner Mongols in the new historical and geopolitical condition. Christopher P. Atwood (2002) explored Inner Mongolian nationalism in the wider historical and trans-national context of China and Mongolia. A more historically grounded sober assessment of the tragedy of the Mongols and other peoples as the Qing conquered Inner Asia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century is given by Peter C. Perdue in his monumental study (2005).

Conspicuous in the two versions of Inner Asian cosmopolitan scholarship is the absence of the Mongol scholars rooted in their homelands.



While the reasons may be diverse, we may also make broad conjectures. While the Kalmyk and Buryat Mongols in Russia and Inner Mongols in China continue to experience the 'national' strictures, the weakness of interest and devotion to studies other than 'Mongol' in post-socialist Mongolia perhaps points to the lack of such a tradition, weak institutional and financial support, and more importantly, to an overwhelming enthusiasm for the 'revival' of national cultures and histories. Socialism is understood as an erasure of Mongolian culture, and post-socialism is a moment of 'revival' and 'salvation'.

But there is one crucial difference between this new Mongolian national project and the earlier socialist Mongolian effort. Unlike the socialist national scholarship which was futuristic and seeking alliance with the Soviet Union, the new post-socialist Mongolian national renaissance, although initially intended for recovering things 'Mongolian', has turned to many things that had been discarded as alien or backward or perhaps even evil: imperial histories interlinked with much of the Eurasian landmass; Tibetan Buddhism; nomadic pastoralism. Today, they have been elevated to form a Mongolian 'civilisation', as an alternative to a Euro-centric capitalised civilisation. This civilisational discourse represents a unique native Mongolian strain of cosmopolitan scholarship. But it is not without potential problems.

Tibetan Buddhism, for instance, by virtue of its central position in constituting the 'high culture' of the Mongols, now attaining the all but declared position of 'national religion' in post socialist Mongolia, provides a poignant case of this paradoxical Mongolian cosmopolitanism. It challenges our received wisdom that takes 'nation' or 'society' as bounded—serving both as our analytical unit and as an ideal 'being'—thereby inducing physical or cultural 'ethnic cleansing'. Yet, since, as noted, attempts to transcend national boundaries can also create many injustices, we should caution against elevating this native cosmopolitanism to the level of ideology. This does not mean we are paralysed; what is needed is precisely critical cosmopolitanism: studying any individual culture in a larger context taking stock of the internal and external influences, as this volume intends to do.

## TOWARDS COSMOPOLITAN 'TIBETAN STUDIES'

Scholars of Tibet have faced comparable challenges in understanding the diversity and unity of the Tibetans. Feelings of a shared Tibetanness can be traced back to pre-modern times as forms of 'proto-nationalism' (Dreyfus 1994: 205–18), that have emerged at least since the thirteenth century, with the emperor Songtsen Gampo as the most ancient and renowned historical hero of the Tibetans (Pasang Wangdu 2002: 17–32). And yet, the complex interplay among competing regional networks and discrepancies in the Tibetans' own understanding of what exactly is meant by 'Tibet' have notoriously had an enormous impact on Tibetan history and politics (see for example Goldstein 1994: 76ff). These have also been important factors in the tortuous and often controversial process by which Tibetanness has been defined and redefined within the political and administrative setting of China's nationalities policy. The life of Baba Puntshog Wangyal with his political vision of Tibet shattered by China's *realpolitik* attests to this in the most dramatic way (Goldstein, Dawei Sherap and Siebenschuh 2004).

Ethnic boundaries between Tibetans and Mongols have also been rather complex, complicated by a subtle game of sameness and difference. Both in historical sources and among contemporary communities we find that on the one hand Tibetan Buddhism has often been used as a unifying factor transcending ethnicity but on the other, ethnic differences have been emphasised as a tool to assert local interests (Bulag 2002; Shinjilt in this volume).

Added to this intricate situation is the role that Buddhism has played in defining Tibetan identity and its relations with the wider world; a complication that points to different intersecting interests in the construction of Tibet as an object of academic investigation: firstly, the fact that Tibet had become the spiritual centre of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and as such was recognised by believers of different ethnic groups; and secondly, the fact that Tibet had turned into a critical element in relation to the larger multi-ethnic polities it became part of or it came to associate with (Mongolian empire, Qing empire, British empire and modern China). The scholarship that emerged over the centuries within the framework of Tibetan Buddhism has blended in with the work of Tibetologists who developed their expertise and tools of investigation as part of the broader network of western 'Orientalists' (British, French, German, Italian and Hungarian scholarships had a leading role in this

context). In this process both traditions were informed by the broader cultural and political setting in which they had developed and which left significant legacies in contemporary Tibetan Studies (see for example MacKay 2001). Some of the difficulties in understanding the Mongolian contribution to the construction of Tibetan Buddhism as a great Inner Asian tradition or the controversial use of contrasting notions such as Mongolian Buddhism, Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhism or Tibetan Buddhism can be seen against this background.

Even though in this context cross-boundary research may seem not only indispensable but also obvious, placing the emphasis specifically on the geographical and cultural confines of 'Tibet' turned out to be an important phase in the construction of Tibetan Studies as an academic discipline. In 1973 a few Tibetologists who had gathered in Paris under the framework of the International Congress of Orientalists (from then on re-named ICANAS) decided to establish its own specific conference, in honour of the Hungarian pioneer of Tibetan Studies Csoma de Kőrös; making thereby a crucial step towards establishing the study of Tibetan culture as a specific discipline. This was soon to be followed by the establishment of the International Association of Tibetan Studies in Oxford in 1979. In 1990 a conference held in London to establish "the study of modern Tibet in its own right" (Barnett and Akiner 1994; Shakya 1994: 1–14) reflected the opening up of new avenues of investigation that had been previously neglected, as Tibetan Studies had been focusing mainly on pre modern Tibet and textual research. This development also brought to the fore a critical reflection on the historical context and the colonial legacies behind the particular interest in Tibet that emerged from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards in the West. More generally, it meant a move towards a more self-reflexive and politically aware form of scholarship.

In the process of constructing Tibetan Studies as an academic discipline the tension between specialised forms of scholarship based on in-depth research with specific methods and the need to cross regional and disciplinary boundaries to achieve a broader and contextualised picture has always been present but has gradually become more acute. This is due not only to the increasing specialisation of research but also to the consequences of the great changes in the political and cultural scene: Tibet's unprecedented accessibility to fieldwork since the 1980s; the emergence of a new generation of scholars from the Tibetan areas, especially in China; the discovery of huge Tibetan and Mongolian

archives and libraries that have survived the Cultural Revolution and socialist purges. This has prompted a dramatic change in the field of investigation and in the forms of scholarship dealing with it. New research into the living culture of the region became possible and many textual scholars have engaged increasingly not only with the texts but also with the context of their use, preservation and access. Meanwhile new forms of international co-operation have been developed.

#### OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The volume comprises eighteen papers. They address different themes and reflect different traditions of scholarship. For practical reasons we have subdivided them into five groups: history and politics, religion and culture, genealogies and biographies, ethnicity, language.

The first group of papers addresses the understanding and the political role of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolian history, the different interpretations of historical figures and events and local histories of Mongolian enclaves in Tibetan areas.

Uradyn Bulag's paper "From empire to nation: the demise of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia", based on archival materials, studies the Inner Mongolian nationalist movement in the early 1930s and the role played by the 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama and the 19<sup>th</sup> Janggiya Khutughtu. It was a crucial moment; because it was when Tibetan Buddhism figured prominently, perhaps for the last time, in the Inner Mongolian political movement. It is a study of how that 'disconnection' between Mongols and Tibetans in modernity came about and a questioning of the concept of a Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhism both from a historical and a social anthropological perspective.

Johan Elverskog's paper "Tibetocentrism, religious conversion and the study of Mongolian Buddhism" addresses the understanding of Mongolian Buddhism, and its transformations, by unravelling how the Mongols have understood and interpreted the process of Tibetanisation. By providing a historical overview of the Mongol interpretation of Tibetanisation, this paper tackles the issue of historical shifts and cultural transformations that shape any form of Buddhism, and thus may elucidate the larger issue of being Buddhist in the trans-national context.

Gerhard Emmer's paper "Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang po and the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war of 1679–84" builds on the work by Luciano Petech and sheds further light on this historical episode. In particular, as a social anthropologist, the author explores the current significance of the Mongolian general Dga' ldan Tshe dbang and his military enterprise for the people in Western Tibet and Ladakh; both refer to this historical figure in different ways and with a different impact on their collective identity.

The second group of papers deals with religion and culture by looking comparatively at Mongolian and Tibetan rituals and myths as well as by exploring various forms of revivals of traditions.

Hildegard Diemberger's paper "Festivals and their leaders: the management of tradition in the Mongolian/Tibetan borderlands" is based on anthropological field research in the community of 'Sogpo' (Henan Mongolian Autonomous County) and focuses on cadres and the organisational aspect of certain festivals and rituals in a mixed Mongolian-Tibetan rural area of Qinghai after 1980. It looks first at the extent to which the modern *xiangs* (administrative unit below county) reproduce pre-revolutionary administrative settings, and goes on to contrast the organisation of two closely related collective festive events; the Mongolian festival of *naadam* and the Tibetan style festival *Tsendiri latse* that were first re-instituted in 1984 following a long ban after the founding of the People's Republic. Contrary to conventional understanding, that a communist government would introduce a radically different leadership from the traditional one, local cadres in minority nationalities' areas often seem to serve their community by juggling various sources of legitimacy: community and the Party, tradition and modernity.

David Sneath's paper "Ritual idioms and spatial orders: comparing the rites for Mongolian and Tibetan 'local deities'" explores common themes in the conceptualisation and organisation of political space in Tibetan and Mongolian history at two levels. Firstly, at the local level, there are striking parallels between the notions of territory and social order that are expressed in rituals such as the Tibetan *lha rtse/la rtse* and Mongolian *oboo* rites. Secondly, the history of the administrative architecture of Inner Asian polities reveals common trends in the conceptualisation of political space, which may also have been reflected in ritual.

Caroline Humphrey's paper "Vital Force: the story of Dugar Jaisang and popular views of Mongolian-Tibetan relations from Mongolian perspectives" explores Mongolian views on the popular theme of "the Mongolian leading the Tiger" (Tib.: *Sog po stag khrid*). According to these Dugar Jaisang magically enslaved a tiger, which became his supernatural weapon against the wrong believers (in various versions these are Bonpo or Karmapa). This story is held by Mongols to be a 'reminder' to the Tibetans that Gelugpa Buddhism was rescued by a Mongol warrior. In general Tibet appears as the deeply respected 'high' (*deed*) country, in contrast to the 'lower' (*door*) lands of the Mongols; these terms refer to more than mere geography. Nevertheless, folk accounts indicate that Mongolian peoples felt the qualities of Mongolness to be fundamental to the constitution of Tibet. A pure militancy, which contained its own supernatural power, was intrinsic to the upholding of the true religion.

Morten Pedersen's paper "Tame from within: landscapes of the religious imagination among the Darhads of Northern Mongolia" is based on anthropological fieldwork among Darhad hunters and pastoralists in the Darhad Depression of Northern Mongolia, and suggests that this environment constitutes a total cognitive form from within which Darhad social life is imagined. The highly explicit contrast between steppe and taiga zones in the Darhad Depression is perceived in the form of an asymmetrical opposition between a homogeneous centre and a heterogeneous margin. This opposition between a 'singular centre' and a 'multiple margin' is replicated across a range of different aspects of Darhad social life. The Darhads perceive themselves to consist of two different 'sides', a Buddhist 'yellow side' (*shar tal*) and a shamanic 'black side' (*har tal*), and these two aspects of Darhad personhood are homologous to the asymmetrical environmental contrast in question.

Nasan Bayar's paper "On Chinggis Khan and being like a Buddha: a perspective on cultural conflation in contemporary Inner Mongolia" explores the cult of Chinggis Khan on the basis of historical and contemporary textual sources, as well as on the basis of ethnographic observation of current practices. The author, a social anthropologist from Inner Mongolia, examines the historical trajectory according to which the shrine to Chinggis Khan at Ihe-Juu has been shaped and reshaped; focusing on the social political contexts in which the transformations of the rite have taken place. During these processes of ritu-



al change, two kinds of shift in the identification of Chinggis Khan are highlighted: the shift in political status from the founder of the Mongol empire to a hero of the Chinese nation, and the shift in religious recognition from being the ancestor of the Golden Lineage to being the reincarnation of the religious figure, Ochirvani (Vajrapani) embodying Buddhist values.

The paper by Hanna Havnevik, Byambaa Ragchaa and Agata Bareja-Starzynska "Some practices of the Red Tradition in contemporary Mongolia" is a preliminary overview over the Mongolian revival of what has been called the 'Red Tradition' of Tibetan Buddhism as opposed to the dominant 'Yellow Tradition'. Although various forms of the 'Red Tradition' tended to be marginal in Mongolian areas its revival seems to have gained a particular momentum and is, so far, very little studied. Among the popular rituals of the red tradition revived in contemporary Mongolia is that of *luzhin* or *gcod*. *Luzhin* (*lus sbyin*), which means 'to offer the body' is a ritual sequence of *gcod* established and made popular by Machig Labdron (Ma gcig Lab sgron) and Padampa Sangye (Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas) in Tibet in the eleventh-century. The authors describe four *luzhin* traditions in Mongolia, which were adopted by the Mongols in the past and have been revived today probably due to their superficial similarities to indigenous Mongolian shamanism. They suggest that the present popularity of the red tradition is an answer to the needs of an inclusive tradition, which permits lay religious specialists of both genders.

The third group of papers focuses on particular biographies and genealogies that concern the Mongolian-Tibetan interface.

Lce nag tshang Hum chen's paper "Brief introduction to Ngag dbang dar rgyas and the origin of Rnying ma order in Henan county (Sogpo), the Mongolian region of Amdo" focuses on an important 18<sup>th</sup> century figure in Rnying ma pa religious history of eastern Tibet. This spiritual master was not only the teacher of great religious personalities like Shab dkar ba but also one of the rulers of 'Sogpo' (Henan) and his sympathy for the Rnying ma pa tradition attracted serious hostility on the part of the Dge lugs pa representatives. It is a first hand account written by a main protagonist of the current Rnying ma pa revival in Qinghai who is at the same time a practicing tantric priest, a scholar and a journalist. He describes the life and the tradition of his main master and also provides an insight into his significance for the contemporary religious community.

Hamid Sardar's paper "Danzan Ravjaa: the fierce drunken lord of the Gobi" is based on the biography of this great Mongolian master. Danzan Ravjaa (Tib. Bstan 'dzin rab gyas; 1803–1857) was the 5<sup>th</sup> incarnation in the lineage of the Gobi Noyons, whose monastery was the centre of a political and artistic renaissance at the crossroads of Tibet, Mongolia and China in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Danzan Ravjaa is significant for his eclectic religious outlook which combined both the reformed 'Yellow Hat' and the unreformed 'Red Hat' sects of Tibetan Buddhism. Besides his unique religious orientation he was a polymath who left a legacy of scores of operas, poems and medical treatises. During the suppression of Buddhism in Mongolia under the socialist regime, Danzan Ravjaa's works were hidden in the mountains along the Gobi desert and have been unearthed after the transition to democracy in 1991.

Jalsan's paper "On the so-called secret biography of Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho" presents new materials from the Baruun Heid monastery concerning the life of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. The author, who is the 6<sup>th</sup> Lamatan of the Baruun Heid monastery in Alasha (Inner Mongolia) and the reincarnation of Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, challenges the definition of 'secret biography' attributed to the text *thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang chos grags rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar ba phul du 'byong ba'i mdzad pa bzang po'i gtam snyan lha'i rgyud kyi tam bu ra'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so* written by the Mongolian author from Alasha, Nang dbang lhun grub dar rgyas or Lha btsun Dar rgyas no min han. He shows instead how the earliest version of this text, preserved at Baruun Heid, was indeed considered the actual biography of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama; he also provides information on how the reincarnation line was established in Alasha after he passed away there in 1746.

Erdenibayar's paper "Sumpa Khenpo Ishibaljur: a great figure in Mongolian and Tibetan cultures" describes the great 18<sup>th</sup> century Mongolian scholar Ishibaljur (Tib.: Yeshe Paljor), who was born in the Kokonor region and became famous as Sumpa Khenpo. The author, a Mongolian researcher specialising in the study of Mongolian authors writing in Tibetan, gives us a remarkable portrait of Ishibaljur on the basis of his autobiography and of his collected works. Ishibaljur was not only a prominent religious figure but was also renowned for his competence in history, medicine, literature and many other spheres of knowledge: since his childhood he had acquired a perfect command of

Tibetan culture and language and yet his writing shows an interesting awareness of ethnicity of which he had first hand experience being born in the Mongolian-Tibetan borderlands and having become a cosmopolitan scholar within the Qing empire. The author also shows how Ishibaljur has become a very significant figure in the revival of Mongolian culture in China since the 1980s.

The fourth group looks in particular at the construction and use of ethnicity in the Mongolian-Tibetan borderlands.

Kesang Dargyay's paper "The origin of Malho Mongolian County" provides us with an introduction into the history of a Mongolian community in Qinghai: the people of 'Sog po' currently known as the Henan or Malho Mongolian Autonomous County. The author, a historian who was born in this area, gives an account of the different Mongolian groups that gave rise to this community as they are recorded in Tibetan and Chinese sources. Most importantly, he describes the lineage of local rulers who descended from Gushri Khan and became famous as patrons of the monastery of Labrang.

Shinjilt's paper "Pasture fights, mediation, and ethnic narrations: aspects of the ethnic relationship between the Mongols and Tibetans in Qinghai and Gansu" analyses the 'ethnic conflicts' concerning pastures between the Mongols of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County and the neighbouring Tibetans. The author, a social anthropologist from Inner Mongolia, focuses on the narrations of the people concerned, and interprets why and how they speak about and understand ethnicity in pasture fights. He also investigates the effects of arbitrations by communal authorities such as Buddhist lamas and state officials and shows how an ethnic category may become an important factor when people narrate about the fight processes or judge the fairness of the arbitrations. This anthropological study casts new light on how the reality of an 'ethnic conflict' is shaped and perceived by the people concerned, and provides some new ethnographic information on an important and controversial aspect of the relationships between Mongols and Tibetans.

Denlhun Tsheyang's paper "Mongol cultural sites and customs in modern 'Dam gzhung (Tibet Autonomous Region)" describes a Mongolian community known as 'the Eight Mongolian Banners of 'Dam gzhung' that is located to the north of Lhasa in the Tibet Autonomous Region. On the basis of historical textual sources, recent local publications in Tibetan and Chinese and ethnographic research

this Tibetan scholar provides us with an introduction to the area of 'Dam gzhung, its early history and the political changes that occurred during the Hoshod rule (1640–1720), the Qing Amban and the Tibetan government (1720–1912) and the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In addition she gives us some insight into how the community was organised as the Eight Mongolian banners of 'Dam gzhung and describes the Mongolian cultural sites and the customs of modern 'Dam gzhung.

Finally Burnee Dorjsuren's article, which focuses broadly on issues of translation between Tibetan and Mongolian, provides an overview over the production of dictionaries between the two languages. These became an indispensable tool for the work of translation between the two languages and over the context in which these were produced. Throughout this volume Tibetan terms are given as they are pronounced or in transliteration according to the Wylie system. Mongolian terms are given according to the conventions that are relevant to the discussed areas.

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# FROM EMPIRE TO NATION: THE DEMISE OF BUDDHISM IN INNER MONGOLIA<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION: FROM TIBETAN BUDDHISM TO TIBETO-MONGOLIAN BUDDHISM

Nationalism, argues Benedict Anderson (1991), is a secular movement, which reduces the scale of imagined community from the universal religious community to a sovereign and limited political community. In this definition religion serves as an instrument of empires, but modern nationalism prescribes a separation of religion from the state. The transition from a religious community to a political community in Mongolia (including Inner Mongolia) was, however, complicated by the fact that top Buddhist leaders often hailed from Tibet or outside of Mongolia, a system imposed by the Qing Empire. Therefore, any study of Mongolian nationalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century must address the questions of the 'Tibetanness' of Mongolian Buddhism. Indeed, one of the most important transformations in Inner Asia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the disconnection between the Mongols and the Tibetans. Hitherto, there has never been any explanation of how this disconnection came about, except to conjecture that Buddhism was destroyed by Communism and thereby the link between the two Buddhist peoples was severed.

Recent scholarships on the Qing Empire and its collapse, focussing on themes of empire, religion and nationalism, have not been particularly illuminating in this regard. Challenging the Sino-centric model of Confucian cultural unity or assimilationism, recent Qing historians (Crossley 2000; Elliott 2001; Rawski 1998), following the lead of David Farquhar (1978), emphasise an imperial mode of governance. In this model there were distinct ethnic communities, separated and ruled by

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Mark Selden and Li Narangoa for valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.



the universal Qing emperor who was manifested as a Confucian sage king to the Chinese, as the Bodhisattva Manjushri to the Tibetans, as Chinggis Khan reincarnate to the Mongols and so on. The communal separations were not only territorial, but also genealogical. The emerging picture is largely Gellnerian (Gellner 1983): these communities did not interact with each other except through the mediation of the Qing emperor and the imperial state bureaucracy. What emerges is a structural clarity of the Qing Empire that is said to have been destroyed towards its end, when the racial-nationalist Chinese ran amok trampling the imperial realm.

This model is, however, as misleading as it is illuminating because it ignores the entanglements of ethnic communities within the Qing Empire and conceals the ways in which those entanglements might have obstructed the nationalist efforts of some communities and reinforced colonising efforts of those more powerful in the wake of the collapse of the Qing Empire. I illustrate this point by listing only a few important communal entanglements of the Qing with regard to the Mongols.

To the Manchus, the Mongol link was marital and military (Zhang 1997; Du 2003). Through extensive marriage alliance among aristocrats, Mongols were subjected to the rule of hypergamy. As kinsmen or privileged subjects, Mongols were obliged to assist the Qing court in conquest and suppression of rebellion throughout the empire. The structure of Qing military power drew heavily on Mongol forces, to police and expand the empire. Indeed, there is a mythology that the Mongols were the junior partners of the Manchus in conquering and ruling China.

To the Chinese, the Mongol link was economic (Sanjidorj 1980). Although a clear border was enforced along the Great Wall preventing the Mongols from transgressing into Chinese territories, the Qing court allowed Chinese traders in Mongolia to monopolise the sale of badly needed commodities which the Mongols themselves did not produce. Meanwhile, the economically motivated Chinese migration to Manchuria and Mongolia and the Qing resettlement of famine-stricken Chinese farmers on Mongolian land led to the formation in the final decades of the Qing of large colonies of Chinese settlers who soon outnumbered Mongols in their own homeland.

To the Tibetans, the link was religious (Moses 1977). Although the Mongolian-Tibetan religious link preceded the Qing, the Qing trans-



formed the political relationship between the two. Beginning in the seventeenth-century, the Qing did not allow reincarnate lamas to be found in Mongolia, especially within Chinggisid noble families, but only from Tibet and Qinghai (Kokonor). This assured that no powerful Mongolian political-religious leadership could emerge to challenge the Qing. Mongol access to Tibet and its spiritual centres was controlled and regulated by the Qing. Tibetan Buddhism was adored by the Qing court not for its intrinsic spiritual superiority, but for its value in controlling the Mongols. In a political and instrumental sense, this Buddhism is better called Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism rather than Tibetan Buddhism.

These multiple entanglements were among the techniques instituted by the Qing court to facilitate control of the Mongols: techniques that bound the Mongols to the Manchus, that subjected the Mongols to Chinese economic exploitation, and that prevented the emergence of a unified Mongol political-religious leadership. In all these ways, boundaries defining Mongol relationships with neighbouring peoples were selectively opened, and the Mongols were selectively 'subordinated'. On the other hand, a feudal system was instituted, where loyal princes and 'Living Buddhas' were granted high titles and territorial jurisdiction, so that they were more autonomous of one another than of the Qing court.

Following the spirit of these Qing imperial entanglements, in this essay I suggest hyphenating Tibetan Buddhism as Tibeto Mongolian Buddhism. There are two strategic advantages in this proposal to this hyphenated linkage. First, this hyphenation enables us to recognise the fundamental transformation of the Mongolian polity from one that embraced religious differences to one that became a zealous supporter of Tibetan Buddhism. Although originally the conversion to Buddhism was largely a Mongol initiative to rally the often fragmented Mongol groups, Manchu and Chinese leaders of the Qing empire and the Republic of China were quick to recognise the potential advantages that could flow from the ability of Tibetan Buddhist leaders to use religious symbolism to subjugate the Mongols. Instead of severing the deep historical religious link between Mongolia and Tibet, all powers sought to strengthen that link, but they differed on the nature of the hyphenation. While the Mongols insisted on their own initiatives and were determined to organically link Buddhism with the royal Chinggisid family, the Manchus and the Chinese insisted on the supremacy of Tibetan

Buddhism over the Mongols, including their princes. Over time, four 'Living Buddhas' held ultimate institutional prominence in Mongolia and Tibet: the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu in Outer Mongolia and the Janggiya Khutughtu in Inner Mongolia; the Dalai Lama in the U area of Central Tibet and the Panchen Lama in the Tsang area of Central Tibet. Their prominence is attested to by the leadership assumed by the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutughtu in Mongolian independence and by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Tibetan independence movements, as well as the powerful challenges they received from the Sixth Janggiya Khutughtu and the Ninth Panchen Lama in their respective national domains.

Second, the hyphenation highlights the ambivalence towards 'Tibetan Buddhism' on the part of some Mongol intellectuals and politicians, especially in the twentieth-century. Influenced by modernist ideas of power, religion and national essence, many modern Mongol leaders concluded that Buddhism was alien, and that it had been harmful both to Mongol reproductive capacity and military prowess. Moreover, modernising Mongol elites were frustrated at the supremacy of Tibetan language in the Mongol practice of Buddhism, which was seen as an obstacle to developing modern national culture.

The demise of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia has often been attributed to Chinese communist suppression, but this essay challenges this purported truism. I argue that its demise, or rather the de-hyphenation of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism may be more fruitfully explored in the context of Mongolian modern nationalist thinking; especially the failure of Mongol nationalists to harness Buddhism or its high reincarnate lamas for the cause of Inner Mongolian autonomy or independence. This frustration was derived from the resignification of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism in the complex relationships between Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, China, Japan, and Russia and the attempts by the Chinese and the Japanese to manipulate the situation to their own ends: China to squash Outer Mongolian independence and/or Inner Mongolian aspirations for autonomy, and Japan to win over the Mongols to their side in their struggle to ensure the survival of Manchukuo and to secure a hegemonic position in China. The four greatest lamas of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism were all involved at one time or another in this great game: the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama in Tibet, the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu and the Janggiya Khutughtu in Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia respectively. I will

however pay particular attention to the Janggiya Khutugtu, the Inner Mongolian Buddhist pontiff and the 'Imperial Teacher', and the Ninth Panchen Lama who arrived in Beijing in 1925, having fled Tibet in late 1923 and remained, for the most part, in Inner Mongolia until 1934 prior to his death in 1937. The extensive involvement of these two lamas and others in the nationalist and imperialist struggles of Inner Mongolia also provides a unique perspective on the transition from empire to nation in China and Mongolia, revealing how Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism figured in the transition.

#### FROM EMPIRE TO 'EMPIRES' THROUGH LAMAS

On December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1911, the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu of Outer Mongolia, the third ranking lama in the Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist hierarchy, originally hailing from Tibet, was 'elevated by all' as the theocratic leader—Bogd Khan (Holy Khan)—of a new independent Mongolian empire, Bogd Khan Mongolia.<sup>2</sup> The lama's ascendance was emblematic of the Qing's effective management of Mongolian aristocrats. Made more or less equal to each other, but subordinate to the emperor and reincarnate lamas, these Chinggisid aristocrats could work together only by 'elevating' a reincarnate lama to become the Holy Khan when the historic moment of independence arrived.

The new Mongol empire with a Holy Khan was more nationalist than the name implied, for it was founded on large-scale rebellions against the betrayal of Mongol interests by the Qing's 'New Policies' in Mongolia (1902–1911), and fear over the implications of the Chinese revolution against the Qing in October 1911 (Lan 1999). Thus the road to Mongol nationalism to 'protect the race and religion' was via the establishment of a Mongol empire shorn of the Chinese.

After the collapse of the Qing Empire, Inner Mongolia became a contested terrain between the Bogd Khan Mongolia and the Republic of China (ROC), both sides promising high titles to win the loyalty of the Inner Mongolian princes and both unleashing persuasive powers of high lamas. In Bogd Khan Mongolia a number of heroes were hon-

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<sup>2</sup> This state has been variously called *Ikh Mongol Uls* or *Ikh Mongol Tör*, which may be translated as 'Great Mongolian Nation' or 'Great Mongolian Dynasty', or *Bogd Khant Mongol Uls*, the 'Holy Khanate of Mongolia' (see Onon and Pritchatt 1989: 16).

oured with high titles such as 'Forefront Hero' (*Manglai Baatar*) to Damdinsuren, a Barga Mongol, 'Thoughtful Hero Duke' (*Bodolgot Baatar Gung*) to Tsende, a Daur Mongol, and so on. Even a Swedish trader Frans August Larson was awarded the honorary title 'Duke' (*Gung*).<sup>3</sup>

In August 1912 China's inchoate republican government hastily drafted a nine-article law preserving the Qing system of Mongol aristocracy. Moreover, the republican government promised to award nobles with higher titles and higher salaries than they received under the Qing or from the Bogd Khan, should they support the republic. Accompanied with military expeditions, these measures proved exceedingly effective and numerous Inner Mongolian princes and dukes had their ranks elevated, while some non-aristocratic Mongols were also ennobled.

The Chinese government also mobilised high-ranking Buddhist leaders, the Sixth Janggiya Khutughtu (1891–1958), in particular. The Janggiya Khutughtu, born in 1891 among the Monguors,<sup>4</sup> was the most senior among the high-ranking lamas of Inner Mongolia, as his lineage had a tradition of being the 'Imperial Teacher' and the head of numerous monasteries in Inner Mongolia, Beijing and Wutaishan in Shanxi province. His allegiance to the Republic came swiftly on August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1912, about four months after Yuan Shikai's inauguration as president of the Republic (Fang and Wang 1990: 20). In his first meeting with Yuan Shikai, the twenty one year old lama "urged Yuan to give equal protection to Buddhism of every sect and suggested that the problem of Mongolia and Tibet could be solved through religion" (Welch 1968: 174).

His value was clearly recognised by Yuan Shikai who issued an order on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1912, awarding him the title 'Great State Master with Complete Benediction and Radiance' (*Hongji guangming da guoshi*), superseding the various titles he had accrued from the Qing emperors, a typical example of what Duara calls 'superscribing sym-

<sup>3</sup> Larson was better known in the West as the Duke of Mongolia (Lattimore 1962: 116).

<sup>4</sup> The incarnation series of Janggiya, spelt Lcang skya in Tibetan, came almost exclusively from the Monguor people in Qinghai. Tibetanised Mongol remnants of Yuan garrisons, the Monguors are also known as Chagaan Mongol, White Mongols to Mongols, and as Tu nationality in official Chinese classification today. During the Qing, the Janggiya Khutughtus were considered to be ethnic Mongols, not Tibetans.

bols' of previous eras (Duara 1988). Less than two weeks later, on October 30<sup>th</sup>, the lama was given a salary of 10,000 yuan per annum in recognition of his profound spiritual power and great contribution to the Republic. On November 12<sup>th</sup>, the president awarded titles of nobility to his parents, his younger brother, and his religious teacher, all in recognition of the Janggiya's support of the Republic. In 1915 the lama reciprocated by offering Yuan Shikai a statue of the Buddha of Longevity (Shi 1997: 115–17). Yuan was known to be a nationalist and "the most active promoter of modernizing reform" in late imperial China and in early republican period (Duara 1995: 96), but he apparently adopted a double standard toward the Mongols.

The Janggiya's opposition to Mongolian independence may be understood in the structural relationship among Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist leaders set by the Qing Empire and its subsequent overhaul. The rise of nationalism in a Buddhist country induced both a clash between national and religious loyalty and a conflict among religious leaders over their respective spheres of influence. In an independent Mongolia the Janggiya would have had to subordinate himself to the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, deprived of an important source of income and prestige. A divided Mongolia, with the Jebtsundamba's authority confined to Outer Mongolia, was certainly beneficial to the Janggiya who could maintain his religious authority over Inner Mongolia and his privileged relations with the Chinese state. In fact, his followers were suspected of being behind the death of the Fourth Kanjurwa Khutughtu, the head lama of the imperial temple Yonghegong in Beijing in 1913, who was known to be sympathetic to the Mongolian independence movement. Yuan Shikai initially entrusted the Kanjurwa, a senior lama, not the young inexperienced Janggiya, with the authority over Inner Mongolian Buddhist affairs and the Beijing Lama Seal Office, the traditional ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Janggiya (Iyer and Jagchid 1983: 32–33, 161–62). Janggiya's (mis)recognition of the ROC as an imperial patron was certainly the source of his steadfast opposition to the Mongolian independence; and for that service he was frequently and profusely rewarded, both in monetary terms and in political and religious rank.

In 1915, following the tripartite treaty between China, Russia, and Mongolia, the independent Bogd Khan Mongolia collapsed. The hard-won imposition of suzerainty over Outer Mongolia and incorporation of Inner Mongolia with its princes and 'Living Buddhas' enjoying



higher titles of nobility, *inter alia*, clearly had an impact on the very polity of the ROC. For almost three months, beginning in January 1916, Yuan Shikai ruled as emperor with revived imperial rituals. Peter Zarrow convincingly argues that Yuan's enthronement was not so much a deranged mind nostalgic for imperial grandeur as a search for "immediately useful techniques of rule". At the beginning of the Republic, writes Zarrow:

... the new regime under Yuan Shikai faced the twin tasks of retaining control over the territories of the Qing (partly in the name of a hegemonic Chinese nationalism that had blamed the Manchus for betraying China to the imperialist powers) and asserting its authority over the centrifugal tendencies of Chinese society itself. Since the imperial state claimed suzerainty over diverse peoples, it should be no wonder that Yuan turned to what I have loosely labelled imperial rituals (Zarrow 2001: 179).

Although Yuan's emperorship was short-lived and the Chinese republic was swiftly restored, it did not spell the end of 'useful techniques of rule'. On July 21<sup>st</sup>, 1916, a few weeks after Yuan's death, the new Chinese premier, Duan Qirui, immediately added 1,000 yuan to the Janggiya's salary, and the Army Ministry assigned a cavalry unit as his bodyguards (Shi 1997: 118). This was to reward his contribution to the Chinese republican government's successful attempt to re-title the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1916 as 'Outer Mongolian Holy Jebtsundamba Khutughtu Khan' (Zhang 1995: 300–02), following the 1915 tripartite treaty, which abrogated Mongolian independence and created an 'Autonomous Outer Mongolia' within the ROC. In 1919, as the Chinese republican government took advantage of the revolution in Russia and intensified its effort to abolish Outer Mongolian autonomy, the Janggiya was put in charge of Gelugpa Buddhism to "persuade Outer Mongolia to submit to China's sovereignty" (Shi 1997: 118). To be sure, the prayer power of the Janggiya had to be accompanied by military strength, as Mongolian autonomy was in fact abolished in November 1919 by Xu Shuzheng, a ruthless Chinese general.

The Chinese victory was, however, ephemeral, for the ritual handing over of authority to the Chinese was deeply humiliating to the Mongols, as it included "the kowtowing of all officials to Hsü [Xu] and the personal reverence of the Khutuktu [Khutughtu] to the Chinese flag" (Bawden 1989: 205), prompting them to rebel once again and establish a revolutionary People's Government in 1921, with Jebtsundamba

Khutugtu as a constitutional monarch. In 1924 the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) was proclaimed, upon the death of the Khutugtu.

#### THE PANCHEN LAMA AND THE DEMISE OF BUDDHISM IN THE MPR

The newly founded MPR was initially ambivalent about Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. Its initial policy may be characterised as anti-clerical but not anti-religious. The organised power of the Buddhist clergy was the target of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), and the high lamas began to organise resistance from late 1924 (Bawden 1989: 266–67). Despite or, perhaps, because of this resistance, in April–May 1925 the MPRP sent a ten-man delegation headed by Amar, then the MPR's First Deputy Prime Minister, to Beijing to establish links with the Chinese Nationalist Party (GMD) due to the latter's recent pro-Soviet turn. In Beijing, the delegation had an audience with the Ninth Panchen Lama. A primary aim of the mission was apparently to pay respects to the Panchen Lama and sound out his attitude toward the new Mongolian government (Atwood 2002: 328–29, 334; Lattimore and Isono 1982: 131).

The Panchen fled Tibet in November 1923, after disputes with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over the latter's modernisation programmes. After arriving in western China, he was invited to the capital by the Chinese president. On the way, a coup in Beijing produced a new provisional government headed by the former premier Duan Qirui, who also welcomed the Panchen by sending a large delegation of Mongol princes and the Janggiya Khutugtu to Taiyuan where the Panchen had arrived (Chen 1948: 3–4).

Duan Qirui's interest in the Panchen Lama derived from his difficult political situation. His provisional government was opposed both by rival warlords and by the GMD and the CCP, with their differences often settled in the battlefields. Amid all these troubles, he also had an ambition to take back Outer Mongolia which had recently proclaimed the MPR upon the Bogd Khan's death. According to Gray Tuttle, early in 1925 Duan Qirui sponsored a tantric ritual led by a Mongolian lama Bai Puren at Yonghegong, the former imperial temple. Bai Lama led 108 of the temple's residents in a twenty-one day Golden Light Dharma ritual based on the Sutra of Golden Light, a Tang dynasty quasi-esoteric



scripture. A portion of this Buddhist sutra was known for bringing the celestial kings of the four directions (also known as world-protectors) to protect one's country and other this-worldly interests (Tuttle 2005: 81). Duan apparently initiated a new Chinese tradition of holding public Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist rituals to save the nation, a tradition different from the Manchu court patronage, which was to protect the imperial household.

Arriving in Beijing in early February 1925, the Panchen was accommodated in Zhongnanhai, the former imperial palace. On March 11, soon after the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Mongolia, the Panchen met with Duan Qirui, counselling that

Outer Mongolia is China's territory; now that the Russian army in Mongolia has left, it is opportune for our country to take over Outer Mongolia. Please hurry to negotiate with the Russian Ambassador Karakhan to ensure our country's complete sovereignty over Outer Mongolia (Han and Jiang 1997: 300).

On August 1<sup>st</sup> of the same year Duan Qirui formally bestowed on the Panchen a four character title—'Propagator of Honesty, Savior of the World' (Xuancheng Jishi)—and gave him a certificate printed on plates of gold and a golden seal as symbols of his new honour (Li and Wan 1992: 5). This replicated the Qing court's recent treatment of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama: "...the Qing court, by imperial decree, conferred on him an additional title, inscribed in a gold leaf album" (Ya 1991: 263).

The fugitive lama became somebody whom the Chinese and Mongolian governments, as well as Mongolian and Chinese revolutionaries, wished to win over. The value of the Panchen in attracting large numbers of Mongols was clearly appreciated by an MPR Mongolian revolutionary Buyannemekh, who was working extensively with the Inner Mongolia People's Revolutionary Party founded in October 1925. Christopher Atwood writes:

When he saw peddlers selling *utulga* (fragrant herbs for censuring) and *jangggiya sakhigusu* (scarves or threads worn around the neck) blessed by the Holy Panchen, Buyannemekh saw his opportunity and labeling the party publications "Testaments of the Holy Panchen" (Wangchin Bogdayin jarlig) distributed them free to believers (Atwood 2002: 318).

Feng Yuxiang, the Christian warlord who led the coup in Beijing in late 1924 to expel the former Qing emperor Pu Yi from the Forbidden City,

and who was contemptuous of Buddhism, was all too happy to assist Mongol pilgrims to go to Beijing, offering his trucks:

There were many people from Outer and Inner Mongolia going to Beijing to venerate him [the Panchen], in groups of three or five hundred or even one or two thousand. Whenever a batch passed by Zhangjiakou, I would prepare transportation to send them (Feng 1981: 423).

He, too, contemplated taking over the MPR in order to increase his political capital in his struggle against other warlords for controlling China.

Soon, however, the Panchen Lama got involved with the Japanese. Holmes Welch wrote that the Panchen and the Janggiya were both members of Japanese-Chinese Buddhist associations that were flourishing in China, without specifying the exact period (Welch 1968: 171). Apparently the Japanese invited him to attend a pan-Asian and anti-Bolshevik assembly in Nagasaki in September 1926, and he did attend a follow-up Mukden (present-day Shenyang) conference on fighting Bolshevism in Mongolia, hosted by Zhang Zuolin and some conservative Inner Mongolian princes (Atwood 2002: 599).<sup>5</sup> Zhang Zuolin was a warlord in Manchuria, who by 1926 also controlled Beijing. The Panchen's blessing must have been important for realising his bigger ambitions, including taking over the MPR.

In Mukden, Zhang Zuolin designated the Huangsi Monastery as the Panchen's temporary headquarters. From there, the Panchen traveled throughout Mongol banners until March 1931. At the invitation of Mongol princes, the Panchen held several Kālacakra initiation rituals, each time attracting huge crowds of Mongols from all over the steppe, bringing him much prestige and many donations. According to Burensain Borjigin (2001), the Panchen's tours and each ceremony he conducted in Inner Mongolia attracted tens of thousands of Mongols. Mongol princes, unhappy with the Chinese land grabbing, sought to make use of the Panchen's prestige to negotiate with Zhang Zuolin and other warlords. The warlords were, in turn, intensely suspicious of the Panchen and the Mongol princes, spying on their every step and eavesdropping on their conversations for any sign of anti-warlord plots.

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<sup>5</sup> Lattimore wrote that the Panchen "visited Japan at least once after the founding of the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932" (Lattimore 1962: 132). This claim cannot be verified in any other sources.

The Panchen's arrival in Inner Mongolia also sent a stir among the Buddhist clergy in the MPR, which had been under attack from the MPRP and the Comintern. Rumours abounded that the Panchen was preparing for war against Mongolia with the backing of Japan. In response, the Mongolian government attempted to limit, if not prohibit, high-ranking clerics from going to China. By January 1927, the Comintern was already instructing the MPRP to move against the Buddhist establishment:

The lamas objectively must (*sic*) oppose the Party and the People's Revolutionary Government, and through the well-known political situation in the south might establish contact with the militarists of China and particularly with Chang Tso-lin [Zhang Zuolin] and the Japanese imperialism which stands behind him. From this point of view there is a great political danger of the union of the internal with the external counter-revolutionary forces of Mongolia now represented in the Mukden-Japanese Buddhist assemblage in Peking with the attraction of the Panchen Lama (quoted in Rupen 1964: 201).

On August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1927 the Comintern advisor M. Amagaev, a Buryat Mongol from Russia, wrote that he had warned Ts. Jamtsarano, Mongolia's most prominent scholar-politician, of the danger of inviting the Panchen Lama, as it would strengthen the Buddhist clergy and would endanger the Mongolian effort to establish diplomatic relations with the Tibetan government headed by the Dalai Lama. Jamtsarano was criticised for hoping to use the Panchen's prophecy (*lunden*) to gain support from Mongol clergy for the new Mongolian regime (Dashdawaa and Kozlov 1996: 157). Jamtsarano was indeed developing a theory trying to synthesise Buddhism with Communism by promoting a Pure Buddhism, a theory best conveyed in the following passage:

Seeing that the basic aims of our Party and of Buddhism are both (*sic*) the welfare of the people, there is no conflict between the two of them. They are mutually compatible.... *It is a special case that in Russia religion is the opium of the people.* What our lord Buddha taught cannot be equated with aggressive religions like Mohammedanism and Christianity, and though the [C]ommunist [P]arty rejects religion and the priesthood, this has nothing to do with our Buddhist Faith. Our Party wants to see the Buddhist Faith flourishing in a pure form, and approves of lamas who stay in their lamaseries, reciting the scriptures and faithfully observing their vows (quoted in Bawden 1989: 286, original emphasis).

In 1928, when the Diluv Khutughtu, a prominent reincarnate lama from Mongolia, applied for a permit to make a pilgrimage to see the Panchen Lama, some Mongolian officials including Jamtsarano were sufficiently interested in the idea, and considered sending him on a mission. But this plan was aborted when Jamtsarano and his colleagues were denounced as Rightists and removed from Party leadership at the VII Party Congress in late 1928 (Lattimore and Isono 1982: 177). The same conference also banned the search for the reincarnation of the Jetsundamba Khutughtu.

The decisive turn in the Mongolian government's opposition to the Panchen came on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1929, when the Mongolian Prime Minister Genden reported to the meeting of the Political Secretariat of the Comintern. Genden denounced Japan's Pan-Asianism, noting that the Japanese militarists used Chinese warlords, émigré Mongol feudal aristocrats and the Panchen Lama as 'weapons' against Mongolia under the slogan "Asia for the Asians". And he called on unearthing pro-Panchen elements among Mongol clergy and princes (Dashdawaa and Kozlov 1996: 307–08). What resulted was a brutal attack on the Buddhist establishment, provoking huge uprisings throughout Mongolia. Between 1930 and 1932, more than 30,000 people from 7,542 families crossed the border into Inner Mongolia (Baabar 1999: 310). Owen Lattimore found many of them making pilgrimage to the Panchen at an Oboo Ceremony in the Sunit Right Banner (Lattimore 1975 [1941]: 243–71). The lamas' fancy about the Panchen was surreal:

Rumours flew about, for example, that he and the Japanese would come to liberate Mongolia after having overwhelmed Russia and captured Moscow. The retinue of the Panchen Lama... was said to command eight ten-thousands of soldiers and eighty-eight paladins.... [T]he herdsmen of Mongolia also looked to the arrival of another high pontiff, the unmilitary Jangjia Khutuktu [Janggiya Khutughtu] of Peking, with an army of Chinese, to free their country.

Bawden wrote that the Mongol rebels sent letters to the Panchen Lama in 1929, in which they

declared that they wanted to see the Russians expelled from Mongolia, and Mongolia reintegrated as a province of China. They asked the Panchen Lama for troops to secure the northern frontier against the return of the Russians, and promised that the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu

[Khutughtu] would be re-installed and the whole church apparatus built up again to what it had been.

The Panchen Lama also corresponded with the conspiring lamas in Mongolia, and

in 1932 gave his specific approval to the revolt in the west and to the names of those elected to lead it, and promised to appear in Mongolia in person in the autumn and smash the people's revolution wherever it might be found (Bawden 1989: 317–18).

The lamas' rebellions were brutally suppressed in 1932.<sup>6</sup> With the collapse of the Buddhist church, socialist Mongolia erased perhaps the last vestige of empire or imperial entanglement with China and Japan, only, however, to be more firmly controlled by a new imperial power, the Soviet Union. The destruction of Buddhism as an institutional force certainly deprived both China and Japan of a means to win over Mongolia peacefully.

#### TIBETO-MONGOLIAN BUDDHISM TO RESCUE NATIONALIST CHINA

After conquering Beijing and north China in the Northern Expedition of 1927–28, the GMD's national government established several provinces in the Mongol territory, immediately threatening the banner and league system that came down from the Qing Empire and the accompanying aristocratic privileges. The Chinese Nationalist party-state was now poised to destroy any ethnic traces and, explicitly following the American melting pot model, to assimilate the four non-Chinese nationalities into a re-imagined and reconstituted primordial Chinese Nation (*Zhonghua minzu*) based on the Han Chinese.

The politically astute Janggiya Khutughtu was quick to respond to the change of government in China; for as early as 1927 he sent an envoy to Nanjing, the new capital of the Republic. Appointed a member of the new Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, the Janggiya set out to shore up the much tattered Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism in China, and to re-establish his own religious authority, both of which

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<sup>6</sup> But the final move against the lamas came between 1937 and 1939 when a Great Purge was carried out, targeting political leaders, lamas, and Buryats as Japanese spies. According to the notebook of Choibalsang, who carried out the Purge, "By the 11<sup>th</sup> month [November] of the 29<sup>th</sup> year [1939], the number of lamas killed was 20,356. Among them were 600 high lamas, 3,174 mid-level lamas, and 13,120 low-level lamas" (quoted in B. Baabar 1999: 369).

suffered in the radical anti-religious, anti-feudal movements of the 1920s. In 1929 he wrote a letter to the new government offering his service. Of interest is the statement which outlines his credentials:

I, the Khutughtu, ever since the founding of the Republic, have been wholeheartedly centripetal (*neixiang*), and have never ceased persuading the Mongolians (to be loyal to China), [even though] Outer Mongolia has been lured away by the Russians and Tibet has been oppressed by the English. For more than a decade, only Inner Mongolia has been spared even a single problem. Although I cannot claim the credit for myself alone, the service I rendered is not too small to record. This is the reason why I am candid to the whole world. Moreover, I have been loyal to the party-state (*dang guo*) and have never betrayed my original conviction. (Zhongguo 1984: 149).

He further stated that he had been propagating Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, Nationalist China's foundational ideology: democracy, nationalism and livelihood, in spite of many difficulties. He argued that only after these principles took root could they replace religion. The reconstruction of Mongolia and Tibet, and the reform of the aristocratic system depended on how much the Mongolian people understood the ideology of the Three People's Principles. It is remarkable that this Buddhist pontiff offered to propagate Chinese nationalist ideology among the Mongols precisely to replace Buddhism and pave the way for Chinese national government control of the Mongols. But for this long-term purpose, he requested that he be given religious authority over Inner Mongolia through replacing the Beijing Lama Seal Office with a Yellow Faith Committee (*Huangjiao weiyuanhui*).<sup>7</sup> Further, the lama seal offices in provinces such as Hebei, Shanxi, Rehe, Chaha'er, and Suiyuan, the six leagues of Inner Mongolia, Hulunbuir, Western Tumed, Alasha and Ööld should be designated as branches of the Yellow Faith Committee, and he should be authorised to appoint members of the branch committees (*ibid.*: 149).

However, to Chinese Nationalist revolutionaries, fresh from victories in the battlefields, the suggestion to propagate the Three People's Principles by Buddhist means must have sounded ludicrous, if not offensive. Instead of establishing a national Yellow Faith Committee, the national government contemplated abolishing the old lama seal offices and transferring the Mongolian monasteries and lamas to the

<sup>7</sup> *Huangjiao*, Yellow Faith, comes from the Yellow-Hat Buddhism, a popular designation for the Gelugpa sect of Buddhism.



jurisdiction of Mongolian banners. On May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1930, the Janggiya sent a telegram to the national government reporting that lamas throughout Inner Mongolia came to his monastery in Wutaishan saying that they would all go to Outer Mongolia should the Chinese government go ahead with its plan. He warned that

the government mustn't desire one-time satisfaction only to ruin the whole situation.... If something happens in Inner Mongolia, this State Master will not be responsible (*ibid.*: 43).

The Panchen's allegiance to the new national government came on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1928 when he sent a telegram from Inner Mongolia to the new government offering congratulations and begging it to rescue the dying Tibetan people, saying he would rejoice if Tibet was brought under the flag of the GMD, i.e. under Chinese jurisdiction (Li and Wan 1992: 6).

The Nationalist party-state soon relented. After initial violent campaigns, the new policy to the Mongols and Tibetans emerged as 'Respect Princes and Dukes', and 'Revere the Living Buddhas' (*zunzhong wanggong, congxing huofuo*) (Wulanshaobu 1987: 310). In early 1931 Li Peiji, the chairman of Suiyuan province, proposed:

If the state wants to implement the new policy and promote the livelihood of the Mongols so that they are not lured by the red Russians and Outer Mongolia, and they are to enjoy the benefit of political equality, [we should] still grant dukes' titles and vainglory (*juewei xurong*), in order for them to maintain banner affairs and consolidate the frontier (*ibid.*: 238).

Shi Qingyang, the Commissioner of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs, set forth the new diagnosis of the role of Buddhism:

There is almost no single Mongol or Tibetan who does not believe in Buddhism, their thought and culture all centre around Buddhism.... After thousands of years, these bellicose warriors suddenly transformed themselves into benign lamas...with the frontier trouble in the northwest and southwest not only diminishing daily, but the Mongols and Tibetans having all attained gentle and amiable signs.... Such a history of Tibetan Buddhism in totally transforming Mongolia, Tibet and China's frontiers deserves great respect and research (*ibid.*: 238).

Much of this new policy consensus was promoted by Dai Jitao, Sun Yat-sen's confidential secretary, one of the lyricists of the Nationalist Chinese anthem *Sanmin Zhuyi*, a Japanese-educated one-time pan-Asianist. Unlike the mainstream GMD view that saw the minorities as

in decline, Dai wanted to make Chinese citizens of them. Converted to Buddhism after a failed suicide, Dai was also instrumental in changing the GMD's anti-superstition and anti-religion policies, and managed to make Buddhism a legal and national entity, different from superstition. The new 'Chinese Buddhism' was expanded to include Tibetan Buddhism. According to Duara, this change was a shift from party ideology to state building.

The strategy had the effect of protecting organised religions with authoritative texts, especially organised Buddhism. Both organisationally and doctrinally, these religions had the virtue of being historically susceptible to state control (Duara 1995: 109).

Dai argued that Buddhism was the only real link that joined the Chinese to the borderland peoples in Manchuria, Mongolia and Tibet, and he insisted that the country's continued existence could only come through saving Buddhism in China and linking up with the borderland peoples through the ethics of religion. It is interesting that Dai's pan-Asianism identified not Japan, but China as

the leader of nations of Asia; this is already commonly acknowledged throughout the world. Internally, the regions of Mongolia, Tibet, Qinghai and Kham, and externally, the regions of Indo-Burma, Thailand and Indonesia—these nations are united really by having Buddhism as their centre.... [If] we don't respect Buddhism, who will respect us? (Tuttle 2005: 167).

Thus, it was Dai who, in 1930, extended the official invitation to the Panchen Lama to teach Buddhism and rescue the multitudes in the capital, and the Lama came to Nanjing in May 1931 to attend the National Assembly (*Guomin huiyi*). In June 1931, Dai arranged for the Panchen Lama to teach at a monastery outside Nanjing dedicated to the protection of the country (*Huguo shenghua longchan si*). At the first of the many ceremonies that ensued, Dai and his wife took esoteric initiations and received Buddhist names from the Panchen, thereby calling themselves his disciples (*ibid.*: 263–64).

On June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1931, shortly after the Panchen's public teaching, the government, upon Dai's recommendation, bestowed on him a new title: 'Protector of the Nation, Propagator of Transformation, Great Master of Infinite Wisdom' (*Huguo xuanhua guanghui dashi*). The title was accompanied by a jade seal, a jade album, an annual salary of 120,000 yuan, and a monthly stipend of 30,000 yuan for office expenses (Li and

Wan 1992: 26–27), an exorbitant sum, much more than the annual fund allocated for Mongolian and Tibetan education.<sup>8</sup> On July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1931, eight days after the inauguration ritual, the Panchen set off for Inner Mongolia, arriving at Hulunbuir on the 29<sup>th</sup>, and immediately preached on Buddhist equality to the Russians and the Japanese and on the unity of five nationalities and protection of national territory to the Mongols (Danzhu Angben 1998: 642).

As the frontier situation worsened for China, especially after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1931, the northern frontier once again became a central concern for the GMD government. In an urgent effort to keep the Inner Mongols within China and to thwart the Japanese threat to build a Manchu-Mongolian state, the Chinese national government quickly passed its first law pertaining to the organisation of Mongolian leagues, tribes and banners (*Menggu meng bu qi zuzhi fa*) on October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1931. The law stipulated that the league, tribe, and banner system would be retained, equivalent in status to provinces and counties, and princely titles and privileges would remain. Nationalist China finally ‘went imperial’ to frontier non-Chinese, precisely at the moment when the latter credibly threatened to secede with foreign assistance.

In early April 1932, as the government fled to Luoyang, the auxiliary capital, in the wake of Japanese bombing of Shanghai, a National Tragedy Conference (*guonan huiyi*) was convened, with the Janggiya Khutughtu elected as honorary chairman. At this conference, the Janggiya made a passionate speech in Mongolian exhorting the Mongols to be loyal to China. He also introduced a bill to restore the Lama Seal Office or build a Yellow Faith Management Office. His justification of the bill spelt out what Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism could achieve for China at this time of national tragedy:

The Mongolian nationality (*minzu*) is still in the nomadic era, people making a living by pursuing water and grass, roaming without regular pattern. Moreover, they are unenlightened (*minzhi bu kai*), with shallow political ideas, but the Yellow Faith has long been popularised, the people’s belief in it is rather deep. The core of their society is still religion. Therefore, during this period of national tragedy, if you want to make the

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<sup>8</sup> The budget for Mongolian and Tibetan education in 1931 was 500,000 yuan, but it had never been allocated. Nor was the 240,500 yuan for the 1933 budget year actually distributed. In 1934 the budget for Mongolian and Tibetan education dwindled to 120,000 yuan (Wulanshaobu 1987: 311).

people sincerely centripetal, you must use the religious instrument to persuade and advise, so that they believe in the Three People's Principles along with religion.... *Now that the national tragedy has begun, it is more imperative that we not let the monks run loose and be lured and taken advantage of by others.* We must quickly abolish the Lama Welfare Office and restore the Lama Seal Office or change it to the Yellow Faith Management Office, to exercise the religious power. With the restoration of the old tradition, the common people, after observation, will focus their belief, so that we can unify propagation and persuasion (*xuanhua*), so that the frontier people will psychologically have something to rely on. This is the only way to consolidate the Mongolian and Tibetan regions, to defend the Centre, and to resist the foreign bully (Huang 1938: 427, emphasis added).

To be sure, whenever a community suffers a catastrophe it needs religion to console its wounded heart. Perhaps since Confucianism was not considered a religion, popular religions inspired by Taoism were suppressed, and Islam and Christianity were regarded as foreign, only Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism was now considered 'national' as part of the new Chinese Buddhism. Perhaps it was also institutional enough to perform the twin tasks of consoling and unifying the Chinese nation by pacifying the Mongols and Tibetans. His consistent pro-China stance clearly made the Janggiya tailor-made for a leadership role.

Towards the end of the conference, on April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1932, the Janggiya Khutughtu was awarded four additional characters 'Pure Enlightener and Promoter of Religion' (*jingjue fujiao*) to his already monstrously long title, for his support of the national government, for his leadership in offering solace to alleviate national crisis at the National Tragedy conference, and for his loyalty and promotion of a pro-China religious tradition.<sup>9</sup>

During the conference, the two lamas were appointed with government titles: 'Western Borderlands Propagation Commissioner' (*xichui xuanhua shi*) to the Panchen and 'Mongolian Banners Propagation Commissioner' (*mengqi xuanhua shi*) to the Janggiya. The Panchen was then in Inner Mongolia, but the appointment was designed to enable him to move to Qinghai to mediate the disputes between Tibetans and the local Chinese administrations in Qinghai and western Sichuan. Two inauguration rituals were held, first for the Panchen on

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<sup>9</sup> Adding words to a title was a Chinese tradition of recognising the meritorious services of both gods and sentient beings (see Bulag 2002; Duara 1988; Hansen 1990).

December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1932, and second for the Janggiya two days later, both at the Great Hall of the national government. The rituals were essentially the same for both, attended by prominent members of the GMD and government. Both rituals included singing the party anthem, performing three bows to the party flag and the portrait of Sun Yat-sen, and other standard GMD rituals. The Centre's instruction (*xunci*) delivered by Zhang Ji, the vice president of the Judicial Yuan, to the Panchen was a plain exhortation to propagate the Three People's Principles and the virtue of the Centre among the Tibetans, "so as to promote the construction of national defence, and assure that all the cultural efforts in the frontier are politically supported by religion" (*shi zongjiao zai zhengzhi shang de weida zhuli*) (Huang, 1938: 453). The Panchen's oath was also a solemn promise to fulfill his task, or incur 'the severest punishment' (Chen 1948: 22).

More interesting are the Centre's instructions delivered by Zhang Ji to the Janggiya and the latter's response, both of which deserve quoting at length:

Previously I had talks with the two great masters Janggiya and Panchen, discussing the relationship of Tibet with China. People like us think we are somewhat knowledgeable, but we forget the importance of history and are ignorant of past glory. It is known that the relationship between China and Tibet originated in the Tang dynasty. At that time there was a princess. After she, arriving at the foot of the Himalaya Mountains crossing the great snow mountains from Sichuan, *married down* to Tibet and took root in Tibet, this was the origin of the transplantation of Chinese culture in Tibet. At the time, Tibetans also accepted Indian culture, absorbing it thoroughly, forming a great national culture. Four generations later, another princess *married down* to Tibet, giving birth to a boy, who later became '*lianhua dashi*' (lotus master), i.e. the founder of 'Red Faith' (*hongjiao*). The name of the Red Faith came from the color of the hats and clothes of the dowry senders, which were red, thus redness was emphasised, gradually becoming the Red Faith. In Suining of Gansu [i.e. today's Hulusai of Gansu] during the Ming, which is the home village of the Great Master Janggiya, the Yellow Faith developed, forming a major sect of religion today.... Henceforth, we should all unite and endeavour to carry out psychological construction, so as to understand the great culture of our country. This time, the government invites the Great Master Janggiya to take up the job of Envoy for Pacifying and Enlightening the Mongolian Banners, for he made many contributions in connecting the central government with the Mongolian banners. In the future unity will be even more solidified (Huang 1938: 455).

The Janggiya's answering speech demonstrated how he would use his psychological power:

I shall sincerely follow the will of the Centre to appease the frontier, to pacify the frontier people, to propagate the Three People's Principles, to enlighten them to be loyal, and to make sure they are sincerely united with one heart against humiliation. I shall choose an opportune moment to tour Mongolia, to propagate the virtue of the Centre, and with the determination of our religion's tradition of entering the world to save the masses, to enlighten them...so that a patriotic Mongol people will become ever more loyal, so that the ruthlessly and fiercely powerful invaders will be exhausted in their schemes, and so that the spirit of the five nationality union will be carried forward. Here is my promise, which will be resolutely carried out (*ibid.*: 456).

As is clear, the national government invented a new psychological weapon, rewriting China's national genealogy to organically tie the founder of Red Hat Buddhism (Nyima) to ancient Chinese royalty, which was said to have transmitted not only Chinese blood, but colour symbolism along with Buddhism to Tibetans. Made both 'familiar' and 'familial' by this genetic link, the two highest pro-China Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist leaders were conferred with high titles, appointed to government posts, paid handsomely for their services, and charged with the responsibility of winning the hearts of Mongols and Tibetans for China. This was indeed psychological construction *par excellence*.

Title or entitlement is a double-edged sword: it not only demonstrates the power and ability of the princes and Buddhist leaders, but this power is manifest both to the Chinese government, and to their own people. By accepting the national government titles, these leaders surrendered an important element of sovereign power: their importance in the eyes of the Chinese government hinged not on representing their own people, but on their ability to mis-represent them, to bring them under the subjugation of the Chinese government.

Along with granting titles to Buddhist leaders was the revival of the Qing guest ritual (cf. Hevia 1995) of summoning the entitled or prospective nobles and lamas from Outer and Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Amdo, and Kham regions to Nanjing, the capital. The national government made a list of which princes and 'Living Buddhas' should come when, and allocated fixed sums for travel. This resuscitation of the imperial heritage, however, required a language change, replacing *chaojin* (implying audience with the emperor) with *zhanjin* (presenting



oneself before the national authority). The nobles and religious leaders of Mongolia, Tibet, and the Muslim lands would be received for one month between December 21<sup>st</sup> and January 21<sup>st</sup>, with a specified daily itinerary: The ritual visit would start on December 24<sup>th</sup> with a pilgrimage to the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, led by the commissioner and deputy commissioner of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs. The frontier guests would then be escorted to meet various leaders of the government, attend banquets to receive gifts and listen to instructions (*xunci*), followed by sightseeing (Huang 1938: 462–511).

Because of the growing momentum of the Mongolian autonomy movement, following the Japanese penetration deeper into Inner Mongolia, the Panchen Lama decided to work on Inner Mongolia, instead of his own designated mission in the volatile western borderlands of Gansu, Qinghai, and Xikang, and in Tibet itself. Since Inner Mongolia was the Janggiya's area of responsibility, the Panchen's stay there was bound to clash with his interests. The Chinese calculations and ecclesiastical competitions had, however, to contend with Mongolian efforts to use these two ambitious lamas for their own nationalism. This triangular relationship played out in full vigour in Inner Mongolia between 1933 and 1934.

#### INNER MONGOLIA: A BATTLE GROUND OF LIVING BUDDHAS

Among the many hosts of the Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia, Prince De of the Sunit Right Banner of Silinggol League was perhaps the most important. In April 1929 he and other Silinggol princes sponsored the Panchen's third Kālacakra tantra ritual in Inner Mongolia, attracting 70,000 people (Danzhu Angben 1998: 639). In September 1929, when the Panchen went to Mukden at the invitation of Zhang Xueliang, Prince De went along. As usual, the Panchen attracted a large Mongolian crowd in Mukden, and this time even Merse, a founding member of the Inner Mongolia People's Revolutionary Party, who was then serving as Zhang Xueliang's secretary and the principal of the Northeastern Mongolian Banners' Teachers College in Mukden. It is interesting to note Merse's advice to Prince De on this occasion:

Situations in Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia were more or less the same, but why did Outer Mongolian independence succeed? It's because

they had this religious leader Jebtsundamba, who formed a focal belief among the Mongolian masses. Looking back at the failures of the repeated resistance to land reclamation or independence movements [in Inner Mongolia], it is because each person had his own turf, like a plate of loose sand, without focal belief, leading to failure of every movement. Now I heard the Panchen's abbots are requesting the central government to escort the Panchen back to Tibet militarily, but I am afraid it is not to be realised in the foreseeable future. Using this opportunity, [we] should combine all the banners and collect funds to build a monastery in a Mongolian place, ask the Panchen to stay in Inner Mongolia to become the religious leader, and to form a focal belief, which will be of some use to the undertaking of Mongolian work (Demuchukedunlupu 1984: 7).

It is surprising that the advice came from a radical revolutionary who had earlier opposed feudalism and Buddhism. It is also interesting that given his interest in education to enlighten the people, a condition he had raised in surrendering to Zhang after a failed uprising, Merse proposed using a high Tibetan lama to garner political support for 'Mongolian work'. But the large crowd the Panchen attracted must have inspired Merse to realise the potential value of the high lama for the Inner Mongolian nationalist movement. Indeed, even the radical MPR government had hoped to win the Panchen's blessing, as described above.

Prince De gladly accepted Merse's advice, for he had been worrying about the opposition of conservative princes to his inchoate movement to build a unified Inner Mongolian autonomy against the Chinese provinces built on the Mongolian territory in 1928. Although he was the vice-governor of Silinggol League, he was then still a junior prince. Soon, after obtaining support from all the princes, he and Merse went to see the Panchen in Beiping and offered to build him two monasteries, one in Silinggol League and another in Jirim League. Building temples, as Sherry Ortner (1989) writes, is essential for political leadership in Buddhist societies.

As mentioned above, the Panchen went back to eastern Inner Mongolia in July 1931 immediately after he was given the title 'Protector of the Nation, Propagator of Transformation, Great Master of Infinite Wisdom'. On September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1931, the same day that Japan invaded Manchuria, he held a ritual in the Kanjur Monastery close to the MPR border, attracting many Halh and Buryat Mongol pilgrims from the MPR. There, he was almost kidnapped by Comintern agents posing as pilgrims (Chen 1948: 14). The Japanese invasion of

Manchuria and their rapid advance towards eastern Inner Mongolia put the Panchen to flight from Hulunbuir into Silinggol in October 1931, and Prince De immediately invited the Panchen to his own banner in November. In early March 1932 during his sojourn in Silinggol League, the Panchen sent telegrams to Chiang Kai-shek and Dai Jitao reporting his anti-Japanese propaganda work among the Mongols, requesting the government to pacify the Mongols. On April 14<sup>th</sup>, while he was still in Inner Mongolia, the national government granted the Panchen the additional political title 'Western Borderlands Propagation Commissioner' (Danzhu Angben 1998: 643, 644).

What is interesting is that during this period, in addition to the two propagation commissioners, the Chinese government also decided to appoint a pacification commissioner to Mongolia (*Menggu xuanfu shi*). On May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1932 Mongol officials and princes in Beiping and Nanjing unanimously recommended Prince De for the job, warning against appointing a Chinese on the model of Xu Shuzheng's failed effort to pacify Outer Mongolia more than a decade earlier. A day later the Panchen Lama's Office in Beiping joined in recommending Prince De. The official appointment came on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1932. The Chinese government now went thoroughly imperial in Inner Mongolia (Zhongguo 1984: 87, 88).

However, Prince De had his own plan. Instead of becoming a Chinese agent to 'pacify' the Mongols, Prince De decided to launch a trans provincial movement to establish an autonomous Mongolian government. For this purpose, he turned to the Chinese government's two newly appointed propagation commissioners for help.

Prince De first went to the Janggiya. In his youth he became a personal disciple of the Janggiya, and took a religious vow with him. Indeed until 1933, the two were close allies in their common opposition to more secular and non-aristocratic Mongol officials in the Chinese government who were planning to change the Inner Mongolian banner and league system (Jagchid 1999). In spring 1933, just after the Janggiya returned from Nanjing and was poised to carry out his propagation mission, Prince De went on a pilgrimage to Wutaishan with his mother, as cover for a meeting with Janggiya. He prostrated himself and offered a large sum of alms. After blessing the prince by touching his head with his right hand, the Janggiya entertained the prince with a

sumptuous 'Complete Manchu-Chinese Banquet' (*Manhan quanxi*). When the prince indirectly alluded to his autonomy movement, the Janggiya immediately poured cold water on the project, saying:

...the situation in the Inner Mongolian region is complicated, a matter of great importance; everything must be reported to the central government. Take your time in reaching a decision. Absolutely don't act rashly, and never act without authorisation.

A disappointed Prince De never contacted him again (Wuyungaowa 1997: 220; Fang 1934: 52).

Failing to obtain the Janggiya's support, Prince De then turned to the Panchen Lama. After attending the inauguration ritual in Nanjing in December 1932, the Western Borderlands Propagation Commissioner Panchen Lama left Nanjing on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1933, arriving ten days later at the Bat Khaalga Monastery (or Bailingmiao in Chinese) of Ulanchar League, where he prepared his westward journey. However, the Chinese Military Council notified him that financial difficulties had forced a delay in forming his army escort (Chen 1948: 26). While at Bat Khaalga, he was ordered to investigate the rumour (possibly spread by the Janggiya) that Silinggol League was plotting to secede from China with the backing of Japanese. Interestingly, Prince De, the target of the rumour, invited the Panchen to visit his banner on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1933. Perhaps concerned about the Panchen's safety, the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commissioner Shi Qingyang advised him not to go. The Panchen decided to venture forth nonetheless, fearing that his refusal would offend the Prince thereby pushing him away from China toward Japan. To his surprise, after his safe arrival at Silinggol, he found the rumour baseless as the region was quiet as usual. He immediately reported his finding to the government (*ibid.*: 29). On June 2<sup>nd</sup> he then proceeded eastward to Ujimchin Banner close to the Japanese occupied eastern Inner Mongolia. At each stop, he was said to have preached to Mongols to unite against the Japanese, support the Centre and defend China (Danzhu Angben 1998: 647; Chen 1948: 28–29).

'Unity' was exactly what the Mongols most lacked but badly needed at the time. It was during this trip that Prince De sought the Panchen's support:

The current situation is tense, I want to combine the Silinggol, Ulanchar and Yekejuu leagues to defend the leagues and banners. Please do your best to help bring this about.

The Panchen was said to have replied:

Didn't I tell you before? The best way to defend Mongolia is for your various Mongolian leagues and banners to unite. Moreover, you are Mongolian patrons (to us); Mongolia and Tibet are intimately related, I will certainly pray to the Buddha to bless you. However, things pertaining to Mongolia, which are also political things, should be done by yourselves. I cannot do them in your place.

With this blessing, Prince De urged other irresolute princes to seek enlightenment from the 'Living Buddha', who obligingly replied:

Previously Prince De told me that he would like to contact the Silinggol, Ulanab and Yekejuu leagues to discuss Mongolian affairs. This is good. This is the right time. Just do it actively (Lu 1998: 25).

According to Sechin Jagchid (1999), once Prince De's secretary, the Panchen was popular among the Mongols because he tacitly supported the Mongolian autonomy movement. Jagchid even claims that a secret agreement existed between Prince De and the Panchen that the latter would support the movement by counselling doubters that the movement was legal under Chinese laws. Whatever his sympathies may have been, however, the Panchen publicly preached Mongol loyalty to China and urged them to resist Japanese, a public stance made all the more urgent by rumours that he was himself secretly in touch with the Japanese.

The rumour, allegedly spread by the Japanese, apparently arose when he was in Ujimchin Banner, and failed to promptly report his activities to the Centre. Maybe he was partially to blame for this rumour, for the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commissioner had advised him not to go there. The Ujimchin Banner was too remote, and his five-watt electric generator was too weak for his telegram to reach Nanjing. The agonised Panchen later sent two telegrams to his office in Nanjing explaining to the national government that he went to the Ujimchin banner "following the Centre's order to propagate in the Mongolian borderlands", and that he could not resist the persistent invitation by the princes, clergy and the masses. So he went to pray, simultaneously propagating the Centre's virtue against the enemy (Chen 1948: 29).

In a telegram on August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1933 to the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission summing up his half-year's mission among the Mongols, the Panchen reported that he had met with secular and religious leaders, "explaining in detail the virtue of the central government, and the

conspiracy of the savage Japanese". He added that the Mongol leaders swore fealty to the national government and vowed to defend the homeland and frontier. Short of weapons and money, he wrote: "they are unable to carry forward the spirit of Chinggis Khan of the past". He advised the national government to support the Mongols to resist the Japanese. Otherwise, "I am afraid that Inner Mongolia might not be able to resist the pressure of the savage Japanese" (Li and Wan 1992: 67).

The Panchen's support of Prince De's military build-up was partially due to his own disappointment at the Chinese government's refusal to organise a private army for him. By this time, Prince De offered to train for the Panchen a cavalry force consisting of 1,000 soldiers (Huang 1935: 73). Perhaps unwittingly, the Panchen became a supporter of Inner Mongolian autonomy, as his recommendation to the Chinese government for military aid was consistent with the Mongol argument that autonomy was essential for self-defence against the Japanese.

Interestingly, in his telegram, the Panchen did not mention that the Mongol princes had met in the Bat Khaalga monastery on July 26–27<sup>th</sup>, 1933, after which they had telegraphed their demand for a high degree of Mongolian autonomy (*gaodu zizhi*) to the GMD Executive Committee, the Executive Yuan, the Military Council, and the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission (Lu 1998: 27–28). It was not until early September, after the Mongols decided to hold a second meeting at Bat Khaalga to prepare a concrete plan for Mongolian autonomy, that the Panchen secretly sent a telegram to the Chinese government describing the Mongol plan for autonomy and his opposition (Chen 1948: 32).

The Chinese government did everything it could to wreck the second Mongolian conference. Yekejuu League and Chahar League, under the strict control of Suiyuan and Chahar provinces respectively, were unable to send their representatives (Zhongguo 1984: 100; Lu 1998: 30). A telegram on September 26<sup>th</sup> from the chairman of Chahar province, Song Zheyuan, was remarkably forthright in displaying the Chinese government's 'imperial' designs:

Prince De has long been ambitious, regarding himself as Chinggis Khan. The Japanese then used his fancy to instigate autonomy.... First, the Centre should bless Prince De with a title of distinction, invite him to serve in the capital, so as to keep him under control (*jimi*), and change his heart. Second, the Centre should send a powerful official who is



informed of Mongol affairs to appease [the Mongols], and state in unequivocal terms the gains and losses—this is a measure for taking the firewood from beneath the cauldron (Zhongguo 1984: 97).

At the same time, the Janggiya descended from Wutaishan and arrived in Taiyuan on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1933. From there, the Janggiya sent a telegram addressed to all Inner Mongolian leagues and banners telling Mongols not to 'go astray' (Fang 1934: 86). He also sent two secret telegrams, one to the Executive Yuan, Military Committee and the Mongolian Tibetan Affairs Commission, and another to Chiang Kai-shek.

It is clear from his telegram to Chiang that the Janggiya conveyed an image of confidence to the Chinese authorities that since he and the Mongol princes were in a special relationship of master and disciples, they might listen to his admonition and abandon their quest for autonomy. From the Janggiya's perspective, the greatest obstacle to realising his mission was the presence of the Panchen Lama. He said in unequivocal terms that the Panchen was responsible for the Mongols' quest for autonomy, and complained that the Chinese newspapers mis-praised the Panchen for winning over the Mongols (Zhuo 1935: 51). It would be difficult for him, not to say futile, to attempt to preach to the princes while the Panchen was there, because of the latter's greater prestige and higher status.<sup>10</sup>

The Panchen was not initially present at Bat Khaalga but in the Durben Khuukhed Banner when the conference officially started on October 9. Prince De and other conference delegates invited him to the conference to offer guidance (*zhidao*), and brought him over to the monastery three days later (Chen 1948: 33–34; Lu 1998: 30). As Jagchid writes:

...the presence of the Panchen Lama would attract thousands of Mongols

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<sup>10</sup> Apparently the Panchen, especially his large entourage, became quite unpopular among the Mongols by this time. Fu Zuoyi, who was closely monitoring the Panchen's activities in his Suiyuan province, reported to the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1933, saying that the Panchen's unexpected long stay had caused huge financial burdens on the local banners, and only the Darhan Banner was still willing to support him. Moreover, his department heads and secretaries, especially those of the Manchu and Chinese stock had "extremely bad bureaucratic habits" (*guanliao xī taisheng*), rousing ire of the local Mongol and Chinese residents. What particularly angered the Mongols was that his people even raped Mongol women; "Therefore, the Panchen's long stay has become a nuisance" (*gu Banchan zhi jiu zhu yi sheng taoyan zhiyi yi*) (Zhongguo 1984: 93).

to Beile-yin sume [Bat Khaalga] to pay homage and attend the ceremonies, and that would increase the momentum of the movement (Jagchid 1999: 70).

This was a brilliant strategic move, for the presence at the meeting of the Panchen, both in his capacity as 'Propagation Commissioner' and the second most important 'Living Buddha' in the Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist hierarchy, could be seen as both governmental endorsement and spiritual blessing. His physical presence not only attracted otherwise reluctant or timid princes to the conference, but more importantly deterred intervention by the Janggiya who was hostile to any form of Mongolian autonomy.

The Panchen had three meetings with the princes and delegates, advising them to postpone the establishment of the autonomous government until the national government sent its envoys. Surprisingly, the princes flatly rejected his advice, insisting on "the separation of politics and religion" (Fang 1934: 86). The national government, despite the Janggiya's secret report, was more appreciative of the Panchen's propagation work. On October 18<sup>th</sup> the government issued an order to praise his bravery in working in dangerous Inner Mongolia to cultivate loyalty to China (Li and Wan 1992: 71).

On October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1933, the Panchen addressed the recalcitrant princes, clearly showing his frustration:

Before the arrival of the envoys Huang and Zhao sent by the central government, I strongly urge you to be patient, so that the autonomy discussed by you who have gathered together by no means exceeds the scope of local autonomy. Moreover, such autonomy must obtain the Centre's support, and be confined to various institutions; only then will the Mongols enjoy the real benefits of autonomy. I hold political and religious power in Ulterior Tibet (*houzang*); I don't think anyone is unaware of this. However, the reason for my stay in inland China (*neidi*) and within Mongolian territory for almost ten years without returning to Tibet is no other than to demonstrate to our compatriots that I seek the sincere unity of the five nationalities, so that all can survive and enjoy glory together. I hope that everyone here can show sympathy for this small wish and carry it out. If so, it is not just my fortune (*ibid.*: 72).

The Panchen's protracted stay at the Bat Khaalga monastery deterred the Janggiya's own mission. During his sojourn in Beiping, Mongol students, fearful that the Janggiya might wreck the meeting in Bat Khaalga, threatened to do bodily harm should he dare go there. Indeed, this was not the isolated sentiment of a few reckless youth, but a view

shared across a wide spectrum of Mongols. When the Chinese envoys, Huang Shaohong, the Interior Minister, and Zhao Peilian, the deputy Commissioner of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs arrived at Beiping on October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1933, three Mongol associations in Beiping petitioned the Chinese envoys. They were unanimous in their opposition to the Janggiya's involvement in the Mongolian autonomy movement. The petition of the Mongolian Commoner Students Association in Beiping condemned the Chinese government for failing to develop concrete plans to promote a Mongolian polity, to develop education, and to carry out construction. It was criticised for being content to get by, "using religious belief to keep people's hearts under their control" (Zhuo 1935: 52). The Mongolian Welfare Association's petition was a warning echoed by the Mongolian Native-Place Association in Beiping:

The lamas' responsibility is to read sutras and worship Buddha, not to get involved in political activities. Moreover, they have lost the confidence of the Mongolian people. However, the Janggiya's obstruction of autonomy particularly angers the entire people. *If he continues to maintain his old view, it will inevitably provoke an incident.* If the central government follows what he says, it really contravenes the will of the Mongolian people, and it is an added mistake. Please pay particular attention (*ibid.*: 54, emphasis added).

Sechin Jagchid, then one of the young vigilantes in Beiping, exaggerated the power of the student threat by saying that the Janggiya went back to Wutaishan and never dared return to Inner Mongolia again (Jagchid 1985: 67). Certainly he may have been shocked by this first open defiance of his authority by the Mongols, but above all, because there was no sign of the Panchen leaving Inner Mongolia, so the Janggiya returned to Wutaishan instead, dispatching a deputy to the conference and distributing some propaganda pamphlets.<sup>11</sup>

It was not until December 17<sup>th</sup>, 1933 when the Dalai Lama died, that the Janggiya finally found a chance to remove the Panchen from Inner Mongolia. On December 25<sup>th</sup>, the Janggiya sent a telegram to the national government advising it to send the Panchen to take over Tibet

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<sup>11</sup> The Janggiya's power over the princes seemed to be credible. Someone asked a few princes who had attended the conference: "If the Janggiya had come, and personally tried to persuade you not to organise autonomy, what would you have done?" Their answer was simple: "In order to keep the oath between the master and disciple, we would have had to obey him" (Jagchid 1985: 67).

immediately. On the same day, he also sent a telegram to the Panchen in Bat Khaalga, exhorting him to return to Tibet:

My master is the first hand in Buddhism, the political leader, and Tibetan affairs must be under your wise consideration. The Sino-Tibetan good fortune (*zhongzang zhi xing*) is the good fortune of the state, which only my master can secure (Fang and Wang 1990: 23).

Of course, the national government did not need the Janggiya's prompting, as it had its own calculations. After arriving in Nanjing in early January 1934, the Panchen made the following statement to the press on his Mongolia mission:

As for the question of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, I did not know when it first happened. After arriving in Bat Khaalga, I immediately urged various league and banner princes that they must obey the Centre's will with respect. Then the Centre dispatched Minister Huang to Mongolia, meeting with me in Bat Khaalga. After meeting and talking with the princes in the monastery, thanks to my strong mediation, the autonomy question was resolved, and the princes dispatched representatives to the capital to express their gratitude for the Centre's virtue (Li and Wan 1992: 72–73).

Clearly the Panchen was not shy in claiming credit for the resolution of the conflict between the Mongol princes and the Chinese government. This statement was also a rebuke to the Janggiya's innuendo that the Panchen was encouraging Mongolian autonomy, and another milepost in the complex, ambiguous and doubtless shifting position of the Panchen on Mongolian autonomy.

In this less than hidden fighting between the Panchen and the Janggiya, the former always had the upper hand, and he was repeatedly praised by the Chinese government for his propagation mission among the Mongols. The Panchen was appointed Commissioner of National Government (*guomin zhengfu weiyuan*) in late January 1934 on the occasion of the fourth plenary meeting of the Fourth Congress of the GMD. The appointment text reads in part:

In the past many months, the great master has been carrying out propagation work in the northern land, earnestly and tirelessly exhorting the Mongolian league and banner princes. He has been extremely diligent, and the government deeply relies on his effort (Huang 1938: 457).

With this exalted post, the Panchen was now ready to return to Tibet, but not without engaging in numerous tantric rituals in the capital Nanjing, Hangzhou and Shanghai, reciting the 'Scripture for the

humane king who wishes to protect his country'. In what would be his last major public ritual in China proper, he lectured in Shanghai to an audience of 300,000 on the topic 'Mongolia and Tibet are China's important frontiers' (Ya 1994: 284).

In the end, the missions carried out by the Panchen and the Janggiya were total failures. Prince De soon turned to the Japanese for support, and the Chinese had to engage in military attacks, starting in 1936 to reassert Chinese sovereignty (Bulag 2006). In 1937 the Janggiya fled to Chongqing, China's wartime capital, in the wake of Japan's invasion of China. The Panchen himself died on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1937 on his way back to Tibet. On November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1937, eleven days before the Panchen's death, Chiang Kai-shek sent him a telegram, again beseeching him to persuade the Inner Mongolian princes to obey the Chinese Centre and not to become independent. On his deathbed, the Panchen performed his last service to China by ordering his general secretary to send a telegram to Mongol princes (Danzhu Angben 1998: 667).

#### TOWARDS A CONCLUSION: FROM BUDDHA TO CHINGGIS KHAN

Prasenjit Duara (2003), in a recent attempt to study the interface between imperialism and nationalism in Manchukuo, argues that empire, far from disappearing in the age of nationalism, was actually integral to nationalist logic. Indeed, the rise of nationalism and formation of nation-states simultaneously set off intense competition among formative (and would be) nation-states for external colonisation, as exemplified both by Japan (long recognised as a colonising power), and by the ROC, which has been viewed essentially as the victim of imperialism(s).

Japanese imperialism was supported through its promotion of popular religions, Buddhism and other spiritual institutions, each having its own spiritual world connecting the individual directly with the universal and bypassing the geobody of the nation or the state. Japan tried to harness these religions for its own imperial purposes; by transforming them discursively into an alternative, essentialised, Eastern civilisation. This "new civilisation opposes the Civilisation of imperialism, but also depends on it in the way that it authorises this opposition for nations" (Duara 2003: 96). Thus, this alternative civilisation is a double-edged sword, as it not only assists building a national essence in opposition to

Western imperial civilisation, but also authorises an Eastern power to intervene legitimately in another Eastern nation's affairs. This Eastern power was none other than Japan which, after the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–5, began to believe that it was the only Asian nation capable of rescuing Asia and harmonising Eastern and Western civilisations. The conviction emphasised close cultural and racial ties between the Japanese and other Asian peoples. This process was best demonstrated in Manchukuo, a nation founded by an imperialist Japan. Prasenjit Duara writes:

The Manchukuo regime was forced, by the circumstance of being an imperialist power in a nation form, to exaggerate the transnational, civilisational source of its ideals (Duara 2003: 90).

Such Japanese imperialist use of civilisations for nationalist purpose had profound consequences in China and elsewhere. Timothy Brook (1996) suggests that the indigenisation of Christianity in China was more the result of the Japanese occupation of China than of Chinese volition. Duara (2003), similarly, argues that the Japanese utilisation of popular religions and redemptive societies forced the Chinese government to compete over them. One result was the legitimisation of certain religious organisations under the supervision of the government.

Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism, thanks to its transnational character, was amenable to extensive manipulation especially with an aim to control the Mongols as documented above. Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhist lamas were by no means hesitant in seeking strong political patrons from outside their communities. Indeed, the Chinese nationalists had been complaining endlessly about Buddhist intrigues, ranging from the Jebtsundamba's becoming a theocratic ruler of Mongolia 'lured' by the Russians, to the Buryat Mongolian monk Dorjiyev's mission to Lhasa on behalf of Tsarist Russia (cf. Shaumian 2000) in the first decade of the twentieth-century. As noted above, the Janggiya warned in 1932 that the lack of a unified Buddhist organisation made the despondent monks vulnerable to enticements offered by enemies.

The powerful grip of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism on the Mongols was both a blessing and a threat to powers, including Chinese, Japanese, Russian and Mongol leaders, who sought to control the Mongols through it. The Japanese were deeply ambivalent toward Buddhism initially. Japanese policy towards Buddhism went through two phases, first hostility and then utility, reflecting internal debate



among the Japanese. In December 1932, the newly established Hinggan Office in Manchukou issued a document entitled: "Prohibition on the Political Involvement of Lamas". The law in fact did not prohibit using religion for national purposes *per se*; rather it prohibited secular leaders from succumbing to the will of the lamas. In other words, it was less a separation of religion and state than an attempt to stiffen the backs of secular leaders, making religion serve politics, rather than the other way round (Delege 1998: 203–04).

Soon, however, the initial Japanese anti-Buddhist stance changed. One particular use to which the Japanese put Buddhism was to pit it against communism and to attract Mongols from the MPR, a goal shared by the Chinese government. For this purpose, the Japanese tried to find the reincarnation of the Jebtsundamba through the Diluv Khutughtu, a refugee from the MPR (cf. Lattimore and Isono 1982), installed the Noyan Khutughtu, a Khalkha noble lama, and managed to have him recognised by the Tugan Khutughtu, probably the most senior and most respected Khutughtu resident in Beiping (present-day Beijing) under the Japanese control (Delege 1998: 211–12).

The transnational character of Buddhism proved to be both an obstacle and a blessing to the Japanese. Aiming to make Japan, instead of Tibet, the holy land of Mongolian Buddhism, the Japanese army brought prominent Mongol Buddhist leaders to Japan to impress them with the Japanese Buddhist model (cf. Li 1998). This pressure of Japanisation, one that was designed to de-hyphenate Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism and re-hyphenate it as Japanese-Mongolian Buddhism, was an affront to both Mongol political and religious leaders in the Japanese-supported Mongolian Borderland Coalition Autonomous Government (*Mengjiang Lianhe Zizhi Zhengfu*) under the leadership of Prince De. To the political leaders, this was another attempt by a foreign power to use Buddhism to control the Mongols, and they strongly resented it. Buddhist leaders were neither impressed by Japanese Buddhism, nor were they happy to see any changes made to their doctrines. It was this Japanese factor that finally pushed Mongolian Buddhist leaders to reconcile with their political leaders in the nominally autonomous Mongolian borderland. And in their common interest in staving off Japanese interference, they began a short-lived, though historically significant, reform.

In this reform, Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism would be de-hyphenated and nationalised, i.e. Mongolised. 'Mongolian Buddhism' would subsequently treat Buddhist communities in Tibet, Manchukuo, Japan, and China as equal national corporate branches of world Buddhism. A new holy center in Inner Mongolia, rather than in Tibet or Japan, would be created, and Mongolian Buddhism would be subject to the political leadership of the Mongolian borderland government.

Interestingly, during the same period, the Chinese also lost interest in using Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism to control the Mongols. Of course, the Panchen and the Janggiya's missions failed to halt the Mongolian autonomous movement. Indeed, their missions may even have been counter-productive. Besides, with the departure of the Panchen from Inner Mongolia in 1934–5 and his death in 1937 in Amdo, and with the exile of the Janggiya to Chongqing in 1937 along with the Chinese government, there remained no prominent Buddhist leaders either capable or even willing to serve the Chinese government against Mongol interests.

The loss of interest in Buddhism on the part of both Mongols and Chinese could be identified in their attitudes to the Bat Khaalga monastery. In November 1936, soon after Fu Zuoyi<sup>12</sup> undermined the Local Mongolian Political Council by splitting it into two councils, one under Suiyuan province, another under Chahar province, he invaded and destroyed the Bat Khaalga monastery. The demise of the monastery actually preceded its physical destruction, for as early as 1934 Mongol students and intellectuals successfully opposed its use as the seat of the Council. The last stroke came in February 1936, when hundreds of officers and soldiers of the garrison army of the Local Mongolian Political Council defected to Fu Zuoyi (Bulag 2006).

The de-hyphenation of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism deprived both the Chinese and Japanese of one of their imperial means to crush or indeed hijack Inner Mongolian nationalism for their purposes. However, other imperial legacies remained as important as ever, or

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<sup>12</sup> Fu Zuoyi (1895–1974), a native of Shanxi province, had occupied the western part of Inner Mongolia, an area known from 1928 as Suiyuan province. A subordinate of Yan Xishan, the warlord ruler of Shanxi, Fu ruthlessly suppressed Mongol demands for autonomy, deprived Mongols of their land, and established Chinese-style counties on Mongolian banner territories. If Fu was a quintessential Chinese oppressor to the Mongols, after the Japanese helped Mongol nationalist leader Prince De to establish an autonomous Mongolian military government in 1936, Fu became a national hero to Chinese by staging a stiff resistance.

indeed their significance increased as the conflict intensified. Chinggis Khan, for instance, became central to the triangle relationship between Inner Mongolia, Japan and China. In the 1920s, under the spell of pan-Asianism, the Japanese resurrected and promoted the ancient legend of the Japanese military leader and tragic hero Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159–1189) escaping to Mongolia and becoming Chinggis Khan. The Chinese too began to think of Chinggis Khan as ‘Our Great Khan’ (Bulag 2002). But these appropriations or literary representations became institutionalised ‘imperial’ techniques not so much to fight the racial war against the Whites as for the Japanese and the Chinese to compete over the Mongols fighting for independence.

In February 1936 Prince De chose Ujimchin Banner to hold the inauguration of the Mongolian Military Government, a crucial move towards ‘independent autonomy’ (*duli zizhi*) from China. Chinggis Khan, rather than Buddhism, figured most prominently in this inauguration ritual.

At the inauguration, Prince De adopted the birthday of Chinggis Khan as the start of a new calendar of Mongolia, making 1936 the 731<sup>st</sup> year of Chinggis Khan. In a large Mongolian yurt, reminisced the prince, the ceremony

followed exactly the ritual of Chinggis Khan Sacrifice; in the middle of the yurt hung a portrait of Chinggis Khan, with a very long ceremonial scarf draping over it. Under the portrait were nine boiled sheep carcasses and other offerings. On two sides of the yurt door were inserted two Mongolian flags.

At the beginning of the ceremony, Prince De led all the Mongol officials to prostrate themselves before a portrait of Chinggis Khan. After the ritual, Prince De read his oath in the capacity of the 30<sup>th</sup> descendant of Chinggis Khan, the main content of which, as he recalled, was:

I swear to carry forward the great spirit of Chinggis Khan, to recover the original land of the Mongols, and to complete the great mission of national revival (Demuchukedunlupu 1984: 23).

The Chinese reaction to this new signification of Chinggis Khan as a symbol was characteristically ‘imperial’. In order to cultivate the loyalty of pro-China Mongols, Fu Zuoyi promised to give titles to those aristocrats who joined his Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council. To further keep the Mongols subordinate to China, in 1937, as Guisui was lost to Prince De, the Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council was evacuated to

Ejen Horoo, the site of Chinggis Khan's shrine in Ordos. In 1939, upon hearing rumours that the Japanese and Prince De might seize the Chinggis Khan shrine, the Chinese government pre-empted this by carting the shrine to a secure base in Gansu province. In 1944 the Japanese, in turn, acceded to the request of Manchukuo Mongols to build a temple to Chinggis Khan in Wangiin Sume (Wangyemiao, present-day Ulanhot) to placate Mongol resentment against the Japanese (Bulag n.d.).

A new age of Chinggis Khan dawned. It was perhaps a logical development to choose the foremost world conqueror, rather than the foremost world renouncer to shore up nationalist-imperialist struggles, for the differences between the Mongols and Chinese could now be resolved only through the barrel of a gun, rather than through Buddhism's power of persuasion. Chinggis Khan, the ultimate symbol of empire, became appropriated both by aspiring empire-builders and nation-builders to engage in continuing battles of conquest, a war raging through the second half of the twentieth-century into the new millennium.

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## TIBETOCENTRISM, RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND THE STUDY OF MONGOLIAN BUDDHISM

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In 1578 Altan Khan went to Kökenuur to meet the sixteenth abbot of Stag lung monastery. Although they had not previously met one another, representatives from the Stag lung, a Bka' brgyud subsect, had visited Altan Khan's court two years earlier. The meeting had presumably gone well. According to the abbot's biographer, Altan Khan was pleased with the teachings given by the Stag lung representative, the Rje dpon Kun dga' dpal bzang pa, and he presented him with an 'inconceivable' offering of gold, silver, silk and other items. It was also at this meeting in 1576, which the abbot Rgyud ba kun dga' bkra shis zhabs could not attend due to illness, that the outlines of the forthcoming meeting with the abbot were presumably organised.<sup>1</sup> Thus in the early winter months of 1578 the Stag lung abbot set out from central Tibet in order to meet Altan Khan. In the fourth month he arrived at the headwaters of the Yangtze. There he met Altan Khan's envoys, who escorted him to the Khan's encampment on the southern shores of Kökenuur. The Khan promptly gave an audience, at which the abbot not only taught the Dharma, but he performed miracles as well. Altan Khan was greatly pleased, and he presented the lama with a great many gifts. Shortly thereafter they parted company, for the following month the Khan was to receive Bsod nams rgya mtsho, the soon to be anointed Dalai Lama.

The Khan's famous meeting with the Dge lugs pa hierarch did not, however, end his engagement with the Stag lung abbot. The following year, 1579, the Khan and the abbot met again, and this time Altan Khan gave him a silver seal, along with official documents, hats and clothing, as well as a large amount of silver. But more importantly, the Khan bestowed on him the title 'Tathagata', which was the same title the Yongle 永樂 Emperor had bestowed on the Sixth Black Hat Karma pa.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On this early meeting and the envoy Taglung Nangso see JTS: 139.

Furthermore, according to the 1607 history of Altan Khan and his descendants, the *Jewel Translucent Sutra* (*Erdeni Tunumal*, JTS), this was not to be the end of the Stag lung abbot's engagement with the Mongols. It records:

In the Tiger Year [1590], the Khan, Queen and others, personally invited the Wonderful Taglung Chöje Lama<sup>3</sup> to come to Chabchiyal Monastery. Compassionately they greatly and immensely presented merit paramita, Thus they heard various types of teachings based on the outstanding sutras and tantras.

Afterwards in the first month of the White Rabbit Year [1591] at Bull River, The Supreme Taglung Chöje and the Yellow and Red Hat Samghas gathered.

They were extensively presented with an infinite merit paramita, Thus they all made great and immense merit and prayers (JTS: 197–98).

To put this into context, we need to recognise that this passage is describing the events following the death of the Third Dalai Lama, who had died while touring in Mongol territory. In response to this cataclysmic event, Altan Khan's grandson, Namudai Sechen Khan, who was ruling the Tümed at the time, had escorted the Dalai Lama's ashes back to Sku 'bum monastery in A mdo.<sup>4</sup> After the passing of Bsod nams rgya mtsho, according to this valuable Mongol source, the Mongols turned once again to the Stag lung abbot to perform the important and religio-politically fraught New Year rituals.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps

<sup>2</sup> The biography of the sixteenth abbot of Stag lung is found in Ngag dbang rnam gyal's *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* (Tashijong 1972) written between 1609 and 1626. On the early contact between these two groups see Tuttle 1997.

<sup>3</sup> The DL3 records that Stag lung Chos rje kun dga' bkra shis had travelled with the Dalai Lama after Altan Khan's death; it is presumably the same person as Rgyud ba kun dga' bkra shis zhabs, the sixteenth abbot of Stag lung.

<sup>4</sup> The remains of the Dalai Lama, as well as gifts from the Ming court, were brought to Sku 'bum monastery in 1590. The Dalai Lama's ashes were enshrined in a 430cm high wooden stupa, inside of which a portrait of him was also placed. Afterwards a temple was built and the stupa was placed in the center, which became known as the 'Temple of the Omniscient' (*Thams cad mkhyen pa'i lha khang*). Another stupa at 'Bras pungs was also erected in memory of the Third Dalai Lama.

<sup>5</sup> The 'Great Aspiration' (*Smon lam chen mo*) New Year ritual was founded by Tsongkhapa, and it commemorates the miraculous powers that the Buddha displayed during two weeks of magical contests with a group of heretics. The Buddha transformed himself into a row of manifestations reaching infinity, each with flames shooting out of its head and feet. At the sight of this power the heretics were defeated. This most important ritual takes place during the first two weeks of the new year and is intended to drive out the evil forces for the coming year (Powers 1995: 190–93). Moreover, on account of this connection with the Dge lugs pa order, this ritual has also

most remarkably, the abbot conducted these services within what may be deemed as an ecumenical gathering, or even an early manifestation of the *Ris med* movement.

I begin with this episode because, in so many ways, it directly challenges some of the basic assumptions that surround the Tibet-Mongol interface. And since the aim of the papers in this volume is to address the conceptual boundaries that shape this relationship, this vignette offers us a starting point from where to query the discourses that shape the interaction between these two groups. In particular, it questions the architectonic narrative of Buddhism that in many regards undergirds the relationship between the Tibetans and Mongols. Most importantly, the story of the Stag lung abbot gives the Mongols agency. As is well known, this is most often not the case. Rather, in most historical accounts, the Mongols are simply ciphers within a well-scripted play, one in which they are invariably on the receiving end of Tibetan or Manchu greatness.<sup>6</sup>

Some of this may of course simply be the result of our prevalent use of Tibetan and Chinese sources, both of which situate the Mongols within their own, though often surprisingly similar, discursive frames. Thus, in reviewing this discourse and its historical presentation we can draw an analogy to Brown's discussion of Christianisation in the Roman Empire, where he notes:

We are like little boys on the sea-shore. We watch with fascinated delight as the tide sweeps in upon an intricate sandcastle. We note when each segment crumbles before the advancing waters. (Brown 1995: 6)

Thus, similarly, in the case of Mongol Buddhist history we have the common narrative focusing on the pivotal figures of Altan Khan, Abadai Khan, Güüshi Khan, Tüsiyetü Khan, and then finally the Qianlong emperor, when the castle is gone forever.

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become a central element in Tibet's protracted civil wars. Thus shortly after Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1475–1542), the Second Dalai Lama, finished his studies in 1498, he was forced to flee Lhasa as the Prince of Rin spungs, the protector of the Karma pa sect, seized control of the city and its environs. As a result of this attack the Dge lugs pa were denied the ability to perform their most holy New Year ritual, as it was taken over by the Karma pa. A similar development also occurred during the tenure of the Fourth Dalai Lama, who also fled Lhasa due to escalating violence, leaving the Karma pa in charge of the New Year rituals (DMB: 412–13, 1604–1606).

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the common presentation of Altan Khan's meeting with the Third Dalai Lama and its political context see Elverskog (2000: 372–90).

Of course, in many ways this representation is indebted to a host of discourses. This includes the master narrative of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644–1911) and its subsequent refraction in Mongolian Marxist and nationalist paradigms, as well as Japanese imperialist rhetoric and Western academic discourse.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, within scholarly works one can point to the ideal Weberian models that are perpetuated in the field of Buddhist Studies,<sup>8</sup> such as the three-phase periodisation of Buddhist history,<sup>9</sup> and the anthropological categories of syncretism.<sup>10</sup> Yet, above and beyond these recognised discourses, we may wonder at the same time whether the study of the Tibet-Mongol interface also reflects a residual Shangri-la-ism, or Tibetocentrism? Perhaps even Tibetan chauvinism?<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, even though scholars have recently been telling us otherwise,<sup>12</sup> Tibet is still Tibet, an intellectual and media juggernaut, while Mongolia, and Mongol Studies in particular, is a bastard stepchild. We have all heard the anecdote of the philologist learning Mongolian so he can better read the Tibetan. Thus within such a paradigm wherein the Mongols are marginalised *vis-à-vis* the Tibetans, the question we must pose is what are the historiographical implications of Tibetocentrism? Not only are the Mongols denied agency in their own religious history, but also they do not even have their 'own' Buddhism. Indeed, why is it that, without a thought, we say the Mongols are Tibetan Buddhists? Yet, why is it that at the same time we do not very well say the Burmese

<sup>7</sup> On the development and impact of these discourses on the study of Mongol Buddhist history see Elverskog 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Both Abeysekera 2002 and Faure 2004 have recently investigated some of these discourses and the problems they present in the study of Buddhism.

<sup>9</sup> Scholars like Bechert, Tambiah, Gombrich, and Obeyesekere have divided the history of Buddhism in South Asia into three periods: 1) canonical or early Buddhism, 2) traditional or historical Buddhism, 3) reformist, protestant or modernist Buddhism. For some of the problems with this periodisation, especially when dealing with the pre-modern period, see Blackburn (1995: 7–8). On the larger problem of studying Buddhism outside of history see Cohen 2002.

<sup>10</sup> The concept of syncretism maps the Dharma along common binary opposites: philosophical/superstitious, doctrinal/folk, great/little, etc. which has created many problems in the study of Buddhist history. See for example, Seneviratne (1999: 7–15).

<sup>11</sup> This idea and its continuing presence was brought to the fore when, at the International Association of Tibetan Studies conference at Oxford University, I was introduced to a well-known Tibetan historian who, upon hearing I studied the Mongols, replied "Ah yes, our little brothers". On the history of Tibetan views of the Mongols see Kollmar-Paulenz 2000.

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the recent intellectual project to 'de-mythologize' Tibet, e.g. Bishop 1989, Dodin and Räther 1997, Lopez 1998, and Brauen 2000.



are Thai Buddhists? Similarly, we have no problem in imagining a German practicing Tibetan Buddhism, though it sounds odd, if not incomprehensible to say, “my German friend is a Mongolian Buddhist”. Why is this? How can the late Buddhist tantra created in Tibet still be Tibetan outside of Tibet? Or more to the point, why do we instinctively assume that Mongolian Buddhism does not exist? At some point we may ask ourselves, is there any ‘epistemic violence’ in such a paradigm?<sup>13</sup>

In a similar vein, we may ask ourselves, how is it that we easily gloss over the fact that the Mongols use Tibetan as a liturgical language—as if that were somehow natural, or even good? The Mongols themselves initially certainly did not think so, so why do we? As everyone knows the first thing the Mongols did after becoming Buddhist in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was to translate the Dharma into Mongolian. And even later, when Tibetanisation progressed as a result of the Qing project of forging a trans-national Buddhist ideology in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mongol Buddhist leaders like Mergen Gegen and Awangdorji questioned its implications.<sup>14</sup> They, long before Benedict Anderson, recognised that language and vernacular literature are powerful mediums for resisting marginalisation and the hegemonic narratives of others. And they rightfully questioned the implications of Tibetanisation. For example in the colophon to his 19<sup>th</sup> century ritual text for local deities in Mongolia Agwangdorji wrote:

The books written in general, by our ancestors to offer for sacrifices to the lords of the world are very blissful. They have long proved to be blissful, this is how we inherited them, but as most were written in Tibetan and some of the lords of the earth did not understand them, (the prayers) failed to reach their goal and the common Mongols did not know them. And since, translated into Mongolian word for word from the Tibetan, they were difficult to understand in Mongolian, they were ill-fitted to Mongolian, it was difficult to understand their original meanings, really well and exactly. In my mind if we prepare Mongolian food for the lords of the Mongolian world and say our reasons and wishes in Mongolian that cannot be but favorable for our *qan* Mongol land.

<sup>13</sup> In response to this observation some scholars at the IATS, especially those in other marginalised fields of Tibetology such as Ladakh Studies, suggested possibly reviving the now discredited term ‘Lamaism’. In my own view, the issue is less the term used than an awareness of the embedded power dynamics and their historio-graphical implications.

<sup>14</sup> On the process of Tibetanisation during the Qing, see Elverskog (2000: 482–99).

Besides, my intention was to make the contents (of the text) available for common Mongols, thus turning them into believers. (Tatár 1976: 33)

Yet oddly nowadays, the process of Tibetanisation is somehow seen as part and parcel of the hermeneutical arc of Mongol Buddhist history. As if this is how it should be. Indeed, are they not Tibetan Buddhists? Of course, the origin of this narrative trajectory can clearly be traced back to the Qing-Dge lugs pa orthodox monologue of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and its subsequent reification within the modern secular telos of both Marxist and nationalist historiography. The question, however, is why do we perpetuate it within our own interpretive frames and intellectual projects?

Thus, to return to Altan Khan, perhaps we should ask ourselves anew, why did he go to Kökenuur in 1578? As the above episode makes abundantly clear, all the platitudes of Buddhist rule, political legitimacy, lineage orthodoxy, etc., simply do not make sense. Instead, as his meeting with the Stag lung abbot makes clear, these were not his concerns. Quite the opposite in fact. In many ways Altan Khan's reign should be highlighted for its religious diversity, or ecumenicalism. Instead of his iconic meeting with the Third Dalai Lama and all its attendant tropes of Buddhist rule, the *qoyar yosu*, and 'priest-patron' relationship, we should recall that his burial took place according to 'shamanic' practices on the south side of a mountain in a sacred area jointly deduced by a Buddhist astrologer and a Chinese fengshui 風水 master.

Thereupon, to inter the majestic corpse of Altan, King of the Dharma, Chinese astrologers and the supreme Manjusri Khutugtu Dalai Lama Personally inspected the good and bad signs for the burial site; Then, according to the [three] jewels, they constructed a palace on the sunny-side of the Kharagun Mountains. (JTS: 180)

It was in fact the Dalai Lama who later demanded that he be exhumed and dealt with 'properly'.<sup>15</sup>

"And newly established in this direction the powerful Buddha's Religion. If we bury in the golden earth this great holy shining corpse, that is like

<sup>15</sup> It was also the Dalai Lama, the Great Fifth in this case, who purged the Mongol lama Neichi Toin for his unorthodox 'Mongolisation' of the Dharma in his 1654 audience with the Shunzhi emperor. On this episode see Elverskog (2000: 374–90), and on the Great Fifth's politicisation of the Dharma in his own rise to power see Ishihama 1993.



The Cakravartins who conquered the ancient four continents,  
 And thus treat him like an ordinary sovereign, how can we see the signs?  
 If we cremate his shining corpse, we shall see the signs.  
 And if we erect a stupa, like that of the Magisterial Liberator Buddha,  
 The recompense will be immeasurably great!"  
 Speaking together, the Khan, Queen and greater and lesser lords agreed.  
 (JTS: 191–92)<sup>16</sup>

And in turn it was this hardline Dge lugs pa orthodoxy promoted by both the Great Fifth and the Qing court for their own political ends that ultimately displaced the religious plurality of Altan Khan's state.

I bring this up, however, not to anachronistically suggest Altan Khan's creation of a multicultural and pluralistic utopia on the Mongol steppe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but to raise the issue of what made it possible?<sup>17</sup> Why was Altan Khan able to consult shamans, White Lotus leaders, and Daoist astrologers, while simultaneously having his children trained in the Confucian classics and dabbling with various schools of Tibetan Buddhism? One answer, as with any period of ecumenicalism, is that during Altan Khan's reign religion was not tied to political orthodoxy. As Hymes has eloquently put it in his study of Chinese religious culture as repertoire,<sup>18</sup> "[g]ods may rule stably or change slowly when one side lays down religious law. They trade places in a day when two sides haggle" (Hymes 2002: 270).

Thus in contradistinction to the oft-noted 'priest-patron' relationship,<sup>19</sup> we need to recognise that political legitimacy for Altan Khan

<sup>16</sup> This same episode is also found in Saghang Sechen's *Precious Summary*; however, not only is it more detailed, but it also includes the famous episode wherein the Dalai Lama ritually purifies the bewitched corpse of Altan Khan's wife (see appendix one).

<sup>17</sup> On the misconception of Mongol 'religious diversity', especially during the Yuan, see Atwood 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Hymes uses the term repertoire in order to re-evaluate the dominant view of culture as a shared and unitary system. "I see culture, and thus religion within culture, as a *repertoire*—not a smoothly coherent system but a lumpy and varied historical accumulation of models, systems, rules, and other symbolic resources, differing and unevenly distributed, upon which people draw and through which they negotiate life with one another in ways intelligibly related to their own experiences, places in society, and purposes. It is by drawing on and choosing among the cultural *resources* available to them that human beings show themselves as cultural *actors*, as constant makers and re-makers of culture, not simply as middlemen through whom culture somehow does its inexorable work". (Hymes 2002: 5)

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed study of the important *yon mchod/qoyar yosu* theory of rule see Ruegg 1995.

was actually tied to the blessing of Heaven as manifested through the cult of Chinggis Khan.<sup>20</sup> In turn, the ruler exercised this god-given power over a community (*ulus*), or various communities, through a ruling apparatus, the state (*törö*).<sup>21</sup> Thus, by being blessed by Tengri, Altan Khan was able to rule over the Tümed *ulus* of Ordos. It is therefore important to recognise that Altan Khan's power and legitimacy did not solely reside in a Buddhist discourse. Perhaps even more important, however, is the fact that these conceptualisations also shaped the early relations between the Mongols and Manchus. In contrast to the later Qing-Dge lugs pa monologue, these early relations were also not framed within a Buddhist discourse. Saghang Sechen even records that the Manchus converted to Buddhism long after the Mongols had already submitted. For Saghang Sechen therefore, Manchu political authority conformed to the well-established model of Mongol political authority as understood in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Manchus, like Chinggis, Dayan or Altan Khan, were blessed by Heaven to become the state ruling over various nations, such as the Khorchin, Kharchin, Tümed, Chahar, Jürchid, and Chinese.<sup>22</sup> Of course, this changed over time as the Dharma became more and more integrated within the political apparatus of Qing rule, as seen in the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor's 1726 decree outlawing the Nying ma pa and mandating all monastic ordinations to be only Dge lugs pa (Petech 1972: 106). Even so, however, the Dge lugs pa continued to fear their loss of imperial favor. Thus to ensure their position at the court in the early 1730s, the head lama of Beijing and the second Lcang skya Khutugtu, Thu'u bkwan Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho and Rol pa'i rdo rje, both performed tantric rituals in order to prevent the Red and Black Hat Karma pas from meeting with the Emperor.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it was during the tenure of Rol pa'i rdo rje and the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor that the politicisation of the Dharma reached its apotheosis as most unfortunately

<sup>20</sup> On the Chinggis Khan cult and its relation to Mongol and Qing rule see Elverskog (2000: 368–441).

<sup>21</sup> On the Mongol theory of nation and state and its implications, see JTS: 3–62.

<sup>22</sup> On Saghang Sechen's view of the Qing, see Elverskog 2004.

<sup>23</sup> The Twelve Black Hat Karma pa Byang chub rdo rje and the Eighth Red Hat Karma pa Dpal ldan chos kyi don grub had been invited to Beijing by Prince Yunli. However, on account of the Emperor being interested in hearing their teachings, the two Dge lug pa lamas both performed tantric rituals in order to kill these two potential rivals. These two lamas both surprisingly died at an early age in 1732 (Uspensky 1997: 5–7).

witnessed in the Jinchuan 金川 campaigns.<sup>24</sup> Yet, in the earlier period we need to remember that Buddhism was largely outside of the political realm.<sup>25</sup>

As a result, in order to begin unravelling the early Tibet-Mongol interface, we need to begin re-conceptualising it within the boundaries of a religious discourse. To misappropriate Weber, we need to re-enchant the history of Buddhism in Mongolia. One reason for this is to redress the hyper-politicisation of this history and its unfortunate lopsided power dynamics. Another reason is to begin elucidating the process of Buddhicisation among the Mongols that the 'priest-patron' discourse has most often ignored. For as Brown has noted in regard to Christianity in the Roman world:

I have long suspected that accounts of Christianisation ... are at their most misleading where they speak of the process as if it were a single block, capable of a single comprehensive description that, in turn, implies the possibility of a single, all embracing explanation. (Brown 1995: x)

Clearly the Buddhist conversion of the Mongols was not as simple as the narrative modes and rhetorical structures of the politicised Qing-Dge lugs pa monologue would lead us to believe. Its very nature was in fact to impose a linear narrative of closure upon the cultural material. Thus the 'problem of Buddhicisation', or the process and dynamics of the Mongols' conversion to Buddhism, is most often simply held in suspense.

Thus, instead of seeing Altan Khan's trip to Kökenuur as the opening scene in a grand religio-political opera, we may very well ask ourselves why did he even begin courting the Tibetans in the wake of the 1571 peace accord with the Ming 明 dynasty? To begin, one needs to keep in mind the context: Altan Khan's overtures to Tibet began in a period of general social breakdown. As Chinese sources make abundantly clear, during this period north China was suffering grave environmental problems (Okada 1972; Geiss 1988: 471–79; Robinson 1999:

<sup>24</sup> On the political motivations of the Jinchuan campaigns see Martin 1990 and Waley-Cohen 1998.

<sup>25</sup> In many ways Qing rule accords with Cannadine's (2001) theory of 'ornamentalism' to describe British imperial policy, whereby a transethnic imperial elite was created through the bestowal of title and rank. See for example the 'political' incorporation of the Khoshuud Mongols (Borjigidai 2002; Bulag 2002: 35–38). On ornamentalism and Qing rule, see Elverskog forthcoming.



95). And as the crops and animals died, famine and disease set in. Indeed, in many ways, Altan Khan's reign and his actions were quite often dictated by the constraints of these natural and man-made disasters (Fisher 1988), as was the case when he famously surrounded Beijing in 1550. He only launched this audacious attack after it had not rained for 155 days, and the Ming still refused to offer trade and tribute relations in order to ameliorate the ensuing famine (Geiss 1988: 475).<sup>26</sup> Twenty years later, in the 1570s, these environmental problems and their social implications were also exacerbated in another manner.

As part of the 1571 peace accords, Altan Khan had handed over to the Ming court several leaders of the White Lotus, whom the court had labelled as seditious rebels.<sup>27</sup> Among the Mongols, however, they had become important members of the community, some had even been brought into Altan Khan's inner circle. Indeed, one should question even whether Altan Khan's rise to power would have been possible without this influx of Chinese. As Qu Jiusi records in his 1612 *Military Achievements of the Wanli Reign*, there were about 50,000 Chinese in Altan Khan's territory (Serruys 1959: 38), and they had been instrumental in not only farming and building projects, but they had also brought with them to the steppe a whole host of new ideas, techniques and technologies.<sup>28</sup> It may therefore go without saying, Altan Khan's handing over of their leaders for execution was not well received.

<sup>26</sup> This drought is not only recorded in Chinese sources, but it has also recently been confirmed by dendochronology. I thank Gordon C. Jacoby of the Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory of Columbia University for this information.

<sup>27</sup> These include Zhao Quan 趙全 and Li Zixing 李自馨 who joined Altan Khan's forces in 1554. Although both became important figures at Altan Khan's court, they were extradited in 1570 with the other 'rebels' for execution in Beijing (JTS: 103–04).

<sup>28</sup> Qu Jiusi 瞿九思 in his 1612 *Wanli Wugong lu* 萬曆武功錄 mentions building activity as early as 1551, particularly in Fengzhou 豐州. These various and widely separated 'cities' built among the Mongols were known as Little Bayising, East Bayising, West Bayising, etc., or collectively as the Eight Bayisings (Naiman bayising). The *WLWGL* reports that in 1554, Zhao Quan 趙全 and Li Zixing 李自馨 each had their own fortified city, of five and two *li* respectively. In 1559, Ming troops burned one or several of these Bayisings and thus they were rebuilt. At this time a palace with halls and towers surrounded by a wall was constructed for Altan Khan. This palace was an imitation of a Chinese imperial palace, complete with Chinese inscriptions over the two main gates, reading *Kai Hua Fu* 開化府 'Civilizing and Developing Government' and *Wei Zhen Hua Yi* 威震華夷 'Overawe Chinese and Barbarians'. In accord with Chinese patterns inside the palace, in the east side there was a pavilion named the Moon Palace, and in the west side, one named the Phoenix Hall. In 1560 the *Shizong Shilu* 世宗史錄 notes that Qiu Fu, Zhao Quan and Li Zixing were all living in cities in Fengzhou, which contained grand halls and palaces and were surrounded by city walls. By 1570 the *WLWGL* claims there were 50,000 people (one-fifth of whom were White Lotus devo-

In fact, after a decade of hardship in which they had become more disillusioned with their lives on the steppe, this act was the final straw. Feeling alienated, many actually began repatriating back into Ming territory. Thus in sum, it was within this period of massive upheaval and social dislocation that Altan Khan actually initiated his relations with various Tibetan Buddhist leaders. And in many ways, after the death of Altan Khan, the situation among the Mongols grew only progressively worse. The political fragmentation enabled by the *ulus/törö* theory and initiated by Altan Khan only escalated and culminated in a brutal civil war.<sup>29</sup> This mayhem and all its attendant societal problems was actually only finally resolved with the Manchu conquest, when the Mongol *ulus* once again became whole.

As a result, when we look at the history of Buddhicisation among the Mongols, we need to see it less within a framework of progressive political institutionalisation with well-defined actors who we label as Mongol, Tibetan, and Chinese (or Manchu), but one of social disruption and fluid boundaries. Rather than simply the coherent religio-political narrative promoted by the Qing, we need to recognise this period of conversion as one of social, political, and religious upheaval. An environment that is well known as the perfect cauldron for 'spiritual ferment', as was the case not only in 14<sup>th</sup> century Europe during the Black Death, but 8<sup>th</sup> century Tibet as well (Kapstein 2000: 41–42). It was within such an environment that missionaries from Tibet were able to come into Mongol areas and offer the knowledge, power, and control that local religious specialists had obviously failed to provide. These Tibetan Buddhists not only healed the Khan's sick body, but on account of their religious power they were moreover able to offer a transformative method to make the cosmogonic map of body and universe once again whole.

Unfortunately, however, it is precisely this religious dimension that is all too often omitted in the hyperpolitical conventional narrative. Yet

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tees) living in a great many Bayisings in Mongol territory, each of which had 600 to 900 inhabitants, most of whom were involved in farming. The *Ming Shi Lu* 明史錄 [Veritable Records of the Ming], notes that in the summer of 1560 the expatriate Chinese had brought several thousand qing of excellent land under cultivation. Besides these building and farming activities, these Chinese also brought with them medical knowledge, boat building, and the art of attacking and besieging fortified cities (JTS: 106–07).

<sup>29</sup> On the civil war and its impact on the Mongols see Di Cosmo 2002, and Di Cosmo and Bao 2003.

within the actual conversion narrative as found in the 1607 *Jewel Translucent Sutra* and Saghang Sechen's 1662 *Precious Summary*, the religious power of the Tibetan hierarchs is of fundamental importance. Indeed, in the *Jewel Translucent Sutra*, the Mongols are only truly convinced, or find their faith, when the Dalai Lama reveals his healing powers at his first meeting with Altan Khan.

On that occasion the Khan's body became a little bit feverish.  
Because they requested it, the All-knowing Dalai Lama  
Immediately deigned [to give] an empowerment of the Immeasurably  
Accomplished Queen Mother.<sup>30</sup>  
Thereupon he gave the empowerment of four deeds: peaceful, expanding,  
powerful and fearsome.

In order to repulse the curse and demons,  
To satisfy the minds of all the protectors who support the Dharma,  
The outstanding beneficial Ganjur and Danjur at the head of all the  
scriptures were recited.  
Then threw away the torma of the wonderful Maiden Goddess.<sup>31</sup>

Also simultaneously many other actions were taken.  
When the joyful Khan's fever abated,  
In body, speech and mind, he had great faith.  
Rejoicing, all the Great Nation also began to believe. (JTS: 156–57)

Saghang Sechen's *Precious Summary* also contains this healing ritual; however, it is slightly different:

First the Khan said, "I have gout disease in my leg". Previously, when there was a bout of gout, [people] said, "If you put it into a horse's chest, it will be fine". Having killed a horse, when I inserted my leg in its chest, I suffered severely from the disease to [the limit of my] endurance. Looking upward, there was a white-colored man in the sky, and he said, "Khan, why have you committed such a great sin?" And in an instant he vanished and departed. After this, as I was afraid, Asing Lama of the Tanggud advised me, "Recite the six syllables". In accord with Sgumi Bagshi's practice of reciting the rosary, I am to recite it 108 times a day. "When I now see you, since you are that man, I look amazed and frightened", he said ... Thereupon the Holy All-knowing One smiled and said, "These words of the Khan and prince, are indeed true..." (ET 75v–76r)

<sup>30</sup> The deity referred to by the Mongolian title Queen Mother, Eke Qatun, is unclear; it could be the female Amitayus or Tara.

<sup>31</sup> The 'Maiden Goddess' refers to Dpal ldan lha mo, the chief guardian of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon and the main protector of the Dge lugs pa lineage (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1958: 22–37). The ritual being performed here involves capturing the evil spirit/demon/illness in a *gtor ma* through the recitation and performance of a particular ritual text (Kohn 1997).



Nevertheless, the religious power of the Dalai Lama is further highlighted in the *Precious Summary* as seen in the ‘five miracles’ performed by the Dalai Lama when he first meets the Mongols.

Then, at the very first meeting...when they came to Ulaan Mören [Red River], [the Dalai Lama] raised a hand in the rebuking mudra, the water flowed backwards and they all found an unyielding faith. Next, at the second meeting, when [the Dalai Lama] met with a thousand people headed by Ching Baatur of the Ordos and Jorigtu Noyan of the Tümed—when they offered their 5000 gifts, then from the barren soil a spring gushed forth, and everyone found a firm faith. In the night, as they camped at the Red River, [the Dalai Lama] presented a tormo to the very mighty Begtse-Mahakala, who hears the command of Holy Hayagriva, mindful of the deeds to protect the religion, and ordering by command, he sent to gather into his power the heavenly dragons of the Mongol lands. Then, on the night when they reached Gün Ergi, [the Dalai Lama] took and brought into his power the heavenly dragons of the Mongol land, the demons, and [local shamanic] spirits, and beings with the heads of camels, horses, cattle, sheep, cats, hawks and wolves, and numerous others, and bound them by an oath, thereby subjecting them to his power. Then, at the third meeting...in the eyes of Sechen Khung Taiji [the Dalai Lama] was seen as the clear manifestation of the All-knowing four-armed Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. Then, they next day while travelling, upon the stones of the road trod on by the roan-colored horse named Norbu vangzin, mounted by the All-knowing One, the six syllables [om mani padme hum] magically appeared, and everyone seeing this found very great faith. (ET 74v–75r)<sup>32</sup>

Such miracles and the healing ritual are, of course, a standard component of a wide array of conversion narratives, since it provides a forum wherein a new religion can prove its power and ultimate superiority over pre-existing, weaker, and clearly flawed traditions.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The religious power of the Dalai Lama is further highlighted by Saghang Sechen in the lengthy history he provides of the Dalai Lama’s miraculous trip to Li thang (ET: 78r–79v).

<sup>33</sup> As one example one can cite Tan pa’s conversion of Ötmis and his wife during her illness as recorded in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (T 2036). This episode is also interesting since it too notes how the lama destroys shamans and their idols: “There was a Commissioner of the Military Council (*shu’ [mi] yüan*) Yüeh-ti-mi-shih (Ötmis) who had received imperial orders to campaign in the south and at first did know nothing about Buddha. His wife contracted a strange illness and neither doctors nor prayers had any effect. She heard of the way of the teacher [Tan pa] and politely invited him twice to come. The teacher entered her house and took away all the painted idols of the shamans and shamanesses and burned them. Then he took some pearls which he had brought and put them on the body of the suffering person. Suddenly she wept and regained consciousness. Then she said: “In a dream I saw a man of black and

In the *Jewel Translucent Sutra* this idea is not only ritually confirmed, but is also made explicit in the narrative:

Faith and reverence was produced in everyone led by the wonderful Dharma's Altan Khan.

Then the errors of the non-Buddhist spirit dolls and fetishes<sup>34</sup> were burned.<sup>35</sup>

The mad and stupid shamans were annihilated and the shamanesses humiliated.

The State of the Supreme Dharma became like a silk protection cord. (JTS: 158–59)

The text also informs us that not only was the Dharma adopted as the new religion in place of shamanism, but, as noted above, laws to that effect were also instituted. "Truly entering into the white merits, the greater and lesser lords issued laws" (JTS: 160). Unfortunately, the text does not elaborate what these laws actually entailed; however, in Saghang Sechen's *Precious Summary* a list is provided:

Then, led by the Holy All-knowing One and Altan Khan, the monks, commoners, nobility, serfs and everyone agreed and said, "Formerly, when a person died, the Mongols slew a horse or camel, each according to his [social] standing, and they were to be buried together, this was called *qoyilaga*. Now, abandoning this, each according to his own capacity, it is to be done according to the Dharma. In the [appropriate] years and months one is to observe silent meditation and the fast, and the

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ugly shape who let me free and went away". The Commissioner who was with the army received these news and was very pleased. After wards he was able to conquer his enemies. From then on he changed his mind and became a convert to Buddha" (translated in Franke 1984: 165).

<sup>34</sup> The spirit dolls (M. *onggud*) and fetishes (M. *celig*) noted here are references to images used in pre-Buddhist Mongolian religious practices. These images were representations of sacred spirits of the earth (mountains, rivers, etc.) or humans (deceased shamans, ancestors, etc.) that needed to be ritualised in order to maintain social harmony, cure illness, etc. (Heissig 1980: 12–14; Tatár 1985).

<sup>35</sup> This Buddhist 'inquisition' is also recorded in the biography of the Third Dalai Lama (DL3: 96). It is also portrayed in a 19<sup>th</sup> century Khalkha thangka (Berger and Bartholomew 1995: 126, 131). In 1578 after his meeting with the Dalai Lama, Altan Khan made a proclamation that outlawed all non-Buddhist religious practices (Schuleman 1958: 113–14). In particular it banned the owning and performance of bloody sacrifices to the spirit dolls that were the seat of various spiritual beings. What these bloody rituals entailed is not clear, although Xiao Daheng 蕭大亨 in his *Bei lu feng su* 北虜風俗 of 1602, stated that they included the sacrifice of slaves and animals (Serruys 1945: 135). Subsequently, Buddhist monks in order to eradicate these practices engaged in violent purges of their own, especially the burning of these spirit dolls (Heissig 1953).

eight-part fast. If a common person lays a hand on a member of the four-fold samgha, or if one curses, or transgresses, [The following equivalences are to be observed] the office of Chorje is similar to that of Khung taiji; Rabjamba and Gabcu are similar to Taiji; Gelong is similar to Tabunang, Khonjin, Taishi, and Jayisang. So it is! On the three fast days of the month, one is to leave off the battue of hunting wild game and birds, and not kill livestock. Monastics who violate the rules of the Dharma, if they take a wife, their faces are to be besooted according to the regulations of the Dharma. They are to be punished and cast-out, making them circumambulate the temple and objects of veneration three times in the wrong way. The lay men and women who violate the rules of the Dharma, if they take a life, let them be made subject to taxation, and be punished as previously set forth. If monks and laymen drink wine, let them all be dismissed", they said. (ET: 77r-77v)

According to this conversion narrative the religious power of the Dalai Lama not only supersedes that of Mongolian shamanism, but also the practices of Chinese religious specialists.

Also Lord Dutang of Liangzhou and Ganzhou invited the Victorious, Master Dalai Lama.

Neither bowing down nor revering [the Dalai Lama], he said, "Show me your abilities".

When he did his divination, the ashes of the burnt incense,

Clearly became letters of the gods, and the Chinese revered and praised him. (JTS: 170)

On a certain level the inclusion of this episode in a Mongolian Buddhist conversion narrative, wherein the Dalai Lama functions as a 'Daoist' medium and performs spirit writing, may strike one as odd. Why is it included?

The answer clearly lies within the larger discourse of religious power in which this conversion narrative is situated. By including these episodes the Dalai Lama and his Buddhist tantra is readily confirmed as the most powerful force within the entire Sino-Inner Asian sphere. And this fact is powerfully confirmed in the narrative when, after the conversion, there is a lapse in faith.

Afterwards in the White Dragon Year [1580], the Khan's body became troubled and feverish.

His ministers and officials, who did not understand the profound nature of the Dharma,

Immediately practiced exactly [as before] the wrong views that previously had been abolished.<sup>36</sup>

At that time the Manjusri Khutugtu suffered and mourned in his mind.

He then prayed to the Three Jewels, the Lama, Yidam, and the Dharma Protectors.

Hastily relying on his eager performance of healing rites,  
All the Khan's fever was pacified and he immediately recovered.  
Then there was celebrating and rejoicing together.

On that occasion, Manjusri Khutugtu spoke thus  
To the Khan's majesty, "Very Victorious Great Khan, although  
Your faith and reverence in the Three Jewels and us [lamas] is very good,  
Your not truly pure ministers, officials and the Great Nation, have a small  
faith in the Dharma!

Therefore I am not able to help the Buddha's religion [here].  
Once the Supreme Great Khan, has been brought back to good health,  
I will return thence to Tibet. Deign to not delay me".  
Immediately Cakravartin Altan Khan of the Dharma replied,

"You who have collected in one all the victorious wisdom.  
The majestic sun, the purifier of the darkness of all beings without  
exception.  
Lord of the Leaders on the Holy Path,  
Incarnation body of Manjusri, in your majesty deign to reconsider!

I will reproach the many people who do not understand,  
And purely and firmly establish the law of the Supreme Dharma,  
And make the Supreme Juu Sakyamuni of various jewels!  
These I will accomplish, therefore deign to stay here".

Then the Great Nation, the Three Tümen, assembled,  
And when they made the law of the Supreme Dharma like a silken knot,  
Immediately the Manjusri Khutugtu gave a decree to tarry.  
Then faith and reverence was brought forth in the Khan and everyone.  
(JTS: 172–74)<sup>37</sup>

This 'loss of faith' episode is again a standard component of conversion narratives (DeWeese 1994: 168). It confirms that they in fact had made the right choice.

<sup>36</sup> This reference to a return back to 'shamanic' healing rituals, may be related to the story found in the *Precious Summary* wherein Altan Khan tried to cure his gout by soaking his feet in the cut-open chest cavity of a horse, which in other versions of the story it is a living man (Bawden 1961: 35; Cleaves 1954: 428–44). Nevertheless, this is uncertain, and, as seen above, in the *Precious Summary* this episode actually occurs before Altan Khan meets the Dalai Lama. Regardless, this episode of returning to pre-Buddhist practices once again sets the stage for the Buddhists to prove themselves superior.

<sup>37</sup> This episode is also found in the *Precious Summary*, though it again is slightly different (see appendix two).

More importantly, in the case of the Mongols' Buddhist conversion, however, this episode once again re-affirms the power of Buddhist tantra within the religious realm. The very reason to become Buddhist was therefore less about political expediency, but the salvation from suffering offered by the Buddha Dharma. And as seen above, among the Mongols at this time the reality of suffering was not solely the metaphysics of samsara, but the very real environmental and social degradations they grappled with daily. These conceptualisations nevertheless interpenetrated and it was clearly the Mongols' hope that the powerful Dalai Lama, who healed the Khan's sick body, the microcosm of the macrocosm, could once again put the powerful forces animating the world back in order.<sup>38</sup>

Thus we need to situate the Mongols' Buddhist conversion within this realm. In short, the Tibetan Buddhists offered salvation from suffering for the people on the ground. As a result, it should not come as a surprise that the majority of early Mongolian Buddhist literature deals with salvation in terms of heaven and hell, and grapples with the forces most often beyond our comprehension through the powers of divination and astrology (Chiodo 2000). It is therefore within this discourse, wherein time and space were re-conceptualised and new narratives and rituals of community identification were forged, that Buddhism became a fundamental component within the matrix of Mongol culture.

All too often, however, this process has been mapped within static, or ideal Weberian ideal types, or essentialist ethno nationalist narratives, and we have subverted the very particularities that we are attempting to understand. The process of Buddhicisation therefore needs to be seen less as about confirming the hard boundaries of modern identity politics, than as a discourse of religious power. Perhaps by adopting such an approach we may not only get a better picture of Mongol Buddhist history, but also perhaps begin to unravel the gordian knot of the Tibet-Mongol-China interface.

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<sup>38</sup> In his study of Sino-Tibetan relations during the Republican period Tuttle has also noted that the initial Chinese interest in Tibetan Lamas was not political but religious, especially the power of tantric rituals to ameliorate the deteriorating social situation. "For people powerless to control the chaotic external situation, these rituals conferred a sense of being able to do something potent but personal to resolve their own and their country... From his [Weihuan] descriptions it is obvious that Chinese from all walks of life had direct and practical problems that they hoped esoteric Buddhism could help ameliorate" (Tuttle 2005: 78–79).

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#### APPENDIX ONE

Then proceeding and arriving at the Twelve Tümed, he criticised them for having buried the corpse of Altan Khan like an *onggon*; saying, “How can you bury in the earth such a beloved and inestimable jewel?” Thus when they exhumed [the corpse], it clearly had wonderful signs and an unimaginable many relics. All the people and subjects were thus awestruck. Furthermore, after his father had become a god, Altan Khan had married the third of his father Alag Jinong’s three wives, Queen Molan. From this there was only one son, Töbed Taiji. When that child passed away, she disregarded the sin and said, “Kill the children of a hundred people, and make them accompany [the deceased]! Kill the offspring of a hundred camels, and cause them to bellow [likewise]!” When more than forty children had been killed, and the great nation was about to revolt, the son of Sinikei Örlüg of the Mongoljin, Jugantulai Kiya Taiji said, “In the place of other people making children suffer, I shall go. Let her kill me and I’ll accompany [her child]”. Because it was impossible to kill him, thereupon they stopped the killing. Thus when that queen died, her body was buried completely in the *onggon* fashion. Now that queen, because of her sins, Erlig [Khan,

the Lord of Death] did not separate her skandhas, so that she could not rise upwards and become an unfettered spirit. As a result, the Holy Dalai Lama agreed to pacify her spirit. So as to make a fire mandala of the fierce deeds of Yamantaka, the Complete Vajra Wrathful One, he properly prepared a triangular fire-pit. Inside it he placed the queen's robe which had been folded seven times. Then from the lama's mouth a great truth was said. By means of the four dharanis, and four mudras, he assembled the Erligs. At the time they were made to enter the pit, a lizard appeared and crept into the left sleeve of the robe. When its head came out through the collar, the Holy Lama preached about the benefits of liberation, the harm of rebirth, and the truth of dying in general. That lizard then bowed its head three times as if in prayer, and then immediately died. [Of course] that was indeed [the queen]. (ET: 81v-82r).

## APPENDIX TWO

Thereupon, Altan Khan, in the Sim Horse Year [1582], when he was 75, fell seriously ill, and gathering himself together before the internal humors had appeared, the lords of the Mongoljin and Tümed, and the ministers, thinking, spoke amongst themselves, "What is really good about this religion and teaching? It has not proven to be of any use to the Khan's golden life. Will it prove to be useful later on for something else? These lamas are acting deceitfully. Let us now abandon these monastics". When it was heard they were saying this amongst themselves, Manjusri Khutugtu had all the nobles and officials of the Tümed assembled, and proceeding into the Khan's presence, he said: "In general there is no end to deeds originated. There is no eternity in the body which is born like the moon's [reflection] in water. Like an image in a mirror, in general one is born, dies, and is reborn. In the case of living beings of this world, on account of the lack of any who has not died, there has not been anyone who escaped dying. In the case of the Vajrakaya Buddha who overcame reincarnation, because there is thus absence of dying and transmigrating, nothing else at all is needed to find this sanctity of the Buddha, save for this very true and sublime teaching. Prior to whenever this Buddhahood was found, there had been no one at all who did not die", he said. "In general, all the Buddhas of the Three Times, and in particular, the faith of those beings in the pres-

ent, Sakyamuni Buddha, have not taught that one does not die. Now, our supreme lama, the Holy All-knowing Vajradhara Dalai Lama, were he to come here tomorrow, he would teach the same. No one is able to impede an intermediated death; but one is able to cure 'intermediate death' by means of medicine and such things. Now, this Khan, on account of having reached the end of his life, will be non-existent. Inasmuch as that is so, the Holy All-knowing One, by his having declared that this Khan is no ordinary man, but is indeed a bodhisattva; and if it is true that the three, Dharma, which is the jewel of the Victorious One, the Bodhisattva, who maintains the religion, and the Khan, almsmaster of Religion, have met together; let the power of the compassionate empowerment of the Holy All-knowing One, the Holy Khan's resolution of firm faith and veneration prevail", so saying he proclaimed the great truth. When he had the precious learned physician Yondan Rinchen blow medicine into the nose of the Khan, saying, "Oh Great Khan, for the sake of the Dharma, deign to arise!" And when Manjusri Khutugtu had thus cried three times, the Khan straightaway revived and arose; and everyone marvelled together, worshipped together and were happy. When they said to one another how it had been before, not concealing the circumstances, the Khan declared, "You noblemen and officials of the Twelve Tümed! What is this about you harming the monastics, and harming the religion spread by me? Have you seen that anyone live forever, of those who worships idols and fetishes, which were in lands which had no monastics? Nor [among those of] any other doctrine of our ancestors who had no religion or doctrine? Who has become immortal from among the commoners like you, or nobility like me, and prior to me in general? Who has even lived to a 100? I have lived to my time of eighty. Previously, Sakyamuni Buddha made living beings comprehend the truth of dying, he himself showed the nature of Nirvana. Did not just yesterday my lama, the Holy All-knowing One say this? Does not each and every one of you know this? Were Sechen Taiji of the Ordos present, he would surely know it!" Saying this, ten days later, Sechen Khung Taiji, hearing of the Khan's situation came to meet with the queen and children. The Khan was very happy and smiled, and stated without omission about what had happened.... He was thus revived for one year, and making everyone happy, in the Gui Sheep Year [1583] at the age of 77, passed on (ET: 79v-80v).

# DGA' LDAN TSHE DBANG DPAL BZANG PO AND THE TIBET-LADAKH-MUGHAL WAR OF 1679–84

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## INTRODUCTION

The Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war and Mongolian general Dga' ldan tshe dbang have been the subject of extended research and publications by several scholars. The most important papers about this war were published by Petech (1947, 1977), Ahmad (1968), and Schuh (1983a) and were based on written sources from Ladakh (and Zaskar), Tibet, Kashmir and to a minor extent from Bhutan.<sup>1</sup> After this period of intensive research scientific interest shifted to other topics and no further investigations were implemented.

In the meantime, new impulses for research have come from the revival of horse races at Sgar kun sa in Mnga' ris (Western Tibet) and at Nag chu (Northern Tibet). The revival of both festivals was initiated and sponsored by the Chinese government. Originally, these annual races had religious purposes and took place in order to honour local territorial deities (*yul lha*).<sup>2</sup> For the Mongols in the region these rituals lost importance and were largely replaced by or combined with the horse races that the Mongols brought with them for celebrating successful army leaders. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Gushri Khan enlarged the already existing horse race festival of the nomadic population in Nag chu both in size and scale by transforming it into a competition between his troops (Studer 2002). While in Nag chu the significance of the ritual for the mountain deity has been gradually reduced since its revival, the presentation of political achievements and economic progress has

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<sup>1</sup> Mongolian manuscripts about Dga' ldan Tshe dbang and the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war were not used in the publications mentioned above. At present I have no access to Mongolian sources but they will be part of further investigations.

<sup>2</sup> For contemporary horse race festivals for worshipping *yul lhas* in Dolpo, see Schicklgruber 1998: 99ff..

become the major object of this festival. In Nari (Mnga' ris), at the festival of Sgar kun sa, Dga' ldan Tshe dbang is still present as part of the cultural and political situation of the local communities, although trading is the main purpose of contemporary meetings (Gyalbo 1989). Another example of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang's current importance is found in Porong (Spo rong or Spong rong), a district in Southern Tibet, where local people refer to him and his conquests when they raise territorial claims.

A further reason for the reinvestigation of the topic is that a series of new publications on historical long-distance trans-Himalayan trades has appeared (for example: Warikoo 1995 and 1996; Rizvi 2001) which may cast new light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war and on its significance. This form of trading, conducted exclusively by Muslims as business or in combination with pilgrimage, was an important economic aspect for all involved countries. Together with the propagation of Islam, seemingly a menace for the Buddhist leadership of Tibet, the regulation of long distance trading might be one of the reasons for the Tibetan intervention in Ladakh.<sup>3</sup>

The aim of the present paper is to shed further light on this historical event and to re-evaluate the religious component of this war by using a cultural anthropological view. Another aim is to find out what significance the intervention of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang's army in Ladakh still has nowadays for the people.

#### A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF DGA' LDAN TSHE DBANG DPAL BZANG PO

Sources about the life of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang are rare and therefore his biography is still rather incomplete. The most detailed account is given by Petech (1947: 174) which itself is based on the biography of the Tibetan nobleman Mi dbang Bsod nams stobs rgyas (Mi dbang po), composed in 1733 by Tshe ring dbang rgyal.<sup>4</sup> The biography of Mi dbang po includes a long but, what Petech calls, "rather confused and incomplete" narrative about the war, which is based on the personal experiences of his father who took part in it.

<sup>3</sup> For new research about the influence of Islam on Tibet, see the collective volume edited by Henry (1997) and on Ladakh compare Rovillé 1990, Dollfus 1995, Sheikh 1995, and Emmer 1999.



Dga' ldan 'tshe dbang dpal bzang po *alias* 'Thu Lo Zang Padma (Gergan 1978: 18), in Ladakh popularly known as Sokpo Galdan Tsewang (Jina & Konchok Namgyal 1999: 18), was born as a Dsungar prince from the Hongtaiji family. The exact date and place of birth are unknown; but he was probably born towards the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

He was the eldest son of Dalas Hongtaiji, Gusri Khan's second son and his heir in the Kukunor possessions of the family; dGa-lDan was thus first cousin of the ruler of Tibet Dalas Khan. He took his vows at Tashilhunpo and had a brilliant university career; he became very learned and was highly successful in the great religious debates regularly held at Tashilhunpo. At the time of the death of the Tashi Lama Blo-bzañ c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an in 1662 he was responsible for maintaining order in the market of Tashilhunpo, and showed a ruthless energy in carrying out his task. He afterwards remained in high favour at the court of the new boy Tashi Lama Blo-bzañ-ye-śes (Petech 1947: 174).

Later the Fifth Dalai Lama put him in command of an army of Mongols and Tibetans for an intervention against Ladakh. On the 7<sup>th</sup> July 1679 Dga' ldan tshe dbang was given his orders to march and after three successful campaigns he occupied the majority of Upper Ladakh. After three years, Mughul intervention repelled the occupants and resulted in a defeat of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang's army. Dga' ldan tshe dbang waged a fourth campaign in 1683, with the help of the Khan of the Dsungars, Dga' ldan Bstan 'Dzin Bośog thu Khan (1644–1697), defeated the Ladakhis, destroyed the fort of Leh and finally took part in the treaty of Timosgang (Gti mo sgang) (Cunningham 1854: 328).<sup>5</sup> On the 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1684 he announced officially to the Pan chen the annexation of Mnga' ris and he, together with the No no Tshe ring bsam grub, returned to Lhasa on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1684. On 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1685 he was honoured on the parade ground of Lhasa together with his army by the regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho and the Qoshot Khan. The regent gave him the title Dga' ldan Tshe dbang dpal bzang po. Ahmad (1968:

<sup>4</sup> This text was re-published in 1981 as *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* by Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

<sup>5</sup> This fourth campaign was only reported in the version of the *La dvags rgyal rabs* that Cunningham had at his disposal, but not mentioned in all other versions. In his first publication about the war, Petech (1947: 189) regarded this last campaign as pure fantasy; but after Ahmad (1968: 346–47) had published his new findings, based mainly on the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Petech (1977: 75) had to admit that "something is true about this" (the fourth campaign).

348) explained the awarding of this title as follows: "dGa'-lDan 'Tshe-dBañ dPal-bZaṅ, who was, hitherto, not known by that name (or title), was now, officially, given the name of dGa'-lDan 'Tshe-dBañ dPal-bZaṅ".

The further life of the Mongol general remains completely in the dark. The supplement to the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama still mentions that he and the *No no* left for Ladakh (Ahmad: *ibid.*). Conversely, Petech (1977: 79) supposed that Dga' ldan 'Tshe dbang left perhaps for Dsungaria. The author mentioned further that some messengers sent by the Mongol general were received in Lhasa at the end of 1685.

The exact date and place of death are unknown. According to the biography of Mi dbang po, Dga' ldan 'Tshe dbang died in Mnga' ris shortly before the birth of Mi dbang po in 1689 (Petech 1947: 174). In the above mentioned supplement it is further noticed that on 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1687 and in the following second month funeral rites were performed for him in Lhasa (Petech 1977: 79). Oral tradition reports that a temple at Taklakot (Stag la Kot) in the Purang (Spu rang) district, built by him houses his tomb (cf. Petech 1947: 174).

#### CAUSES OF THE TIBET-LADAKH-MOGHUL WAR

In most publications the open support of the Ladakhi king Bde legs rnam rgyal (Deleg Namgyal) (c.1645–1680) for the Bhutanese or southern branch of the 'Brug pa (Drukpa) school and the promised assistance in case of war with Tibet is taken as the reason for the military attack by Dga' ldan 'Tshe dbang's army. In order to judge if this view is correct, a brief outline of the role of the 'Brug pa in Ladakh is necessary. The starting point is the priest-patron relationship (*mchod yon*) established between the Ladakhi king 'Jams dbyang rnam rgyal (Jambyang Namgyal) (c.1595–1616) and the leader of the 'Brug pa Bka' rgyud pa (Drukpa Kagyupa), Padma dkar po (1527–1592). At this occasion, the king sponsored the building of a *tantric* school in a monastery.<sup>6</sup> This priest-patron relationship was extended by the later Ladakhi kings and representatives of the 'Brug pa. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the 'Brug pa Bka' rgyud pa school split because of a dispute over the reincarnation of Padma dkar po. The decision for one of the two candidates was strongly influenced by the ruler of Tsang (Gtsang), forc-

ing the second candidate Zabs drung (Shab drung) Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1594–1651?) to flee to the south where he established his own school and united the whole territory of what is now Bhutan.

In Ladakh, historically the most prominent priest-patron relationship was without doubt between King Seng ge rnam rgyal (Senge Namgyal) (c.1616–1642) and the 'Brug pa lama Stag tshang ras pa ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1574–1651). The latter became the foremost teacher of the king in fulfilment of a prophecy of the 'Bri gung (Drigung) lama Denma Kunga Trakpa.<sup>7</sup> Stag tshang ras pa supported the recognition of Dpag bsam dbang po as a reincarnation of the 'Brug chen Padma dkar po and later initiated the foundation of the famous monasteries Hemis and Chemre in Upper Ladakh. Schuh (1983a: 42) interpreted these deeds as proof of the affiliation of Stag tshang ras pa to the northern branch of the 'Brug pa. This statement contradicted Petech's assumption that Stag tshang ras pa "achieved the gradual conversion of the royal house to the Ra-luñ branch of the 'Brug-pa sect" (Petech 1977: 52).<sup>8</sup> Schuh was able to show that the priest-patron relationship with the 'Brug pa school of Rva lung (Ralung), later called the southern branch of the 'Brug pa school, was historically older than the relationship with the northern branch, which later exerted its dominant influence in Ladakh. The previously mentioned discrepancy was explained by Schuh as the traditionally close relationship between the rulers of Ladakh and the Rva lung school and therefore with the Zabs drung rin po che of Bhutan. Schuh argued further that the dominance of the northern branch in Ladakh did not prevent close ties of the Ladakhi

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Ladakh's early links with the 'Brug pa school, see Schuh 1983b.

<sup>7</sup> Lama Denma Kunga Trakpa, mentioned in Jina and Konchok Namgyal (1995: 30ff.), is identical with Chos rje ldan ma of Francke's translation of the *La dvags rgyal rabs* (cf. Francke 1992: 103). After giving his orders to dig a water-channel in Lower Ladakh, the king (either Bkra shis rnam rgyal or 'Jams dbyang rnam rgyal) became seriously ill because the workers insulted a *klu*. While all local efforts to cure him failed, the king asked the lama for help. The complete narrative together with the prophecy is published in Jina and Konchok Namgyal (1995: 30ff.).

<sup>8</sup> Petech (1977: 77) mentioned that the king had supported both branches of the 'Brug pa school and therefore "sent a letter to Tibet saying that he would help the 'Brug pa ruler of Bhutan". In response to this assumption, Schuh (1983a: 41; 1983b: 30) argued that the explanation of the king's siding with the Bhutanese ruler by referring to his support of both branches of the 'Brug pa, is an imprecise and sweeping statement.

king with Bhutan which finally led to the siding of the Ladakhi ruler with Bhutan during the Bhutanese-Tibetan war in 1646. The attacking Tibetans lost this war and as consequence,

the Dalai Lama's regents formally confirmed Mi pham dbang po (1642–1717), the child incarnation of Dpag bsam dbang po, as head of the 'Brug pa church and all of its Tibetan properties (Ardussi 1997: 17).

However, a different interpretation is possible: in the course of time the northern 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa began to lose the favour of the Fifth Dalai Lama that they had only recently come to enjoy.<sup>9</sup> After he became the head of Tibet in 1642, both branches of the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa, the northern and the southern, had fallen together into a single category of enemy with the other opponents of the Dalai Lama. The decline of the northern branch could have prompted Stag tshang ras pa to intensify the ties with the southern branch and to convince the king to cooperate more closely with Bhutan. A Bhutanese source reports that King Seng ge rnam rgyal and Zabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal were friends, the Ladakhi king offered a province at the Mount Kailāsa (Kailash, Tib.: Ti se) to the Zabs drung and many people from Ladakh were sent for religious studies to Bhutan (Dorji 1994: 82). After the death of Stag tshang ras pa the preference of the Ladakhi kings shifted definitively to the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug pa. By way of confirmation some lines in the *La dvags rgyal rabs* (Francke 1992: 115) tell us that "...[the head-lama of] Lho-hbrug was the patron-lama [patron-deity] of the King of Ladakh".<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama reported on the "internal dissensions among the 'Brug-pa" causing the failure of the Ladakh diplomatic mission in 1664 (Ahmad 1968: 343).

Whichever explanation is correct; the situation is much more complex and cannot be reduced to a single fact. After careful examination of the sources it has become clear that the siding of the Ladakhi king with Bhutan and the support of the 'Brug pa were not the only reasons for discrepancies between Ladakh and Tibet. At this period, conflicts between these two countries were manifold, leading finally to violence. In 1947, Petech argued that:

<sup>9</sup> Family's ties of the Fifth Dalai Lama with the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa were very strong: his cousin, Dpag bsam dbang po (1593–1641), was the Fifth 'Brug chen.

<sup>10</sup> Lho hbrug is one of the names for Bhutan and the king which is mentioned in the chronicle is Bde legs rnam rgyal, grandson of Seng ge rnam rgyal.

This war, the only conflict between Tibetan and Indian troops before 1904, was an offensive one from the part of the Lhasa government, motivated chiefly by religious and economic motives (Peteck 1947: 193).

One cause for the Fifth Dalai Lama to wage a war against Ladakh might have been his wish to redress the situation of the Dge lugs pa (Gelugpa) and to crush the dominance of the 'Brug pa in western Tibet. Thirty years after his first publication about the war Peteck (1977: 70) wrote:

...from the Tibetan point of view the causes of the war were the increasing hostilities of the Ladakh kings towards the dGe lugs pa sect and raids carried out by the people of Glo bo and Ru t'og against the Tibetan districts of Sa dga' and Gro sod.<sup>11</sup>

However, Seng ge rnam rgyal and his successors supplied all schools (including the Dge lugs pa) with a lot of offerings (cf. Peteck 1977: 53) and Stag tshang ras pa tried his best to mediate in all conflicts. The relationship between Seng ge rnam rgyal and the Dge lugs pa monastery Thiksay (or Thikse; Khrig se) in Ladakh was not without tensions. Peteck (1977: 52), referring to the biography of Stag tshang ras pa, noticed: "Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal has sought refuge in K'rig-se, but the monks had shut the gates on his face." The reason was probably the assassination of Seng ge rnam rgyal's younger brother, who was originally destined to be the king; a crime which was ordered by Seng ge rnam rgyal. As revenge for the affront, the king wanted to convert Thiksay into a 'Brug pa monastery, an attempt that was successfully prevented by Stag tshang ras pa (Peteck 1977: 52).

With the death of the lama in 1651, the relationship with Tibet deteriorated significantly, but it would be too simple to take the struggle between the Buddhist schools as the only reason for the Tibetan government to launch a military expedition against Ladakh.

Together with religious and economic causes, political and territorial considerations came into play and intertwined with each other. With the help of the Mongol Gushri Khan and his army, Tibet expanded rapidly under the Fifth Dalai Lama. At this time, Ladakh had reached its maximum territorial extension but had already surpassed the culmination point of power. The Fifth Dalai Lama, on the other hand, wanted

<sup>11</sup> Glo bo is a Tibetan speaking area now included in Nepal. Gro sod and Sa dga' are located in the upper valley of the Tsangpo.

to stabilise western Tibet politically and was eager to bring the provinces of Mnga' ris skor gsum under his control. In Gu ge, a kingdom which was annexed by the Ladakhi king shortly before, in 1630, the sacred pilgrim sites at the Mount Kailāsa (Ti se) and the Lake Mānasarovar came under the government of Ladakh. The monasteries in this region, which belonged mainly to the 'Bri gung pa school, had already been in a significant decay.<sup>12</sup> It is mentioned in the biography of Stag tshang ras pa that during his visit to the Kailāsa region and Tsaparang—taking place before the war against Gu ge started—the lama suggested “that first of all the shrines built by Padmasambhava around the Kailasa and on the shore of Manasarovar should be restored” (Petech 1977: 42). However, the Gu ge ruler did not approve the project and instead “relied on earlier forms of prayer (*smon-lam*)” (*ibid.*). This example is a good illustration of the strife about discrepancies in religious affairs and the already existing rifts between the 'Brug pa and Dge lugs pa.

Together with the possession of the holy sites the prevention of an economic disaster in Mnga' ris might have been of importance for Tibet. Early Jesuit travellers reported:

At once the Ladakhi king declared war; it continued for eighteen years, impoverished the country by rendering impossible tilling fields and working the gold mines (Wessels 1924: 75–76; cf. Petech 1977: 42).

These gold mines and their control might have been another reason for an invasion by the Tibetans. S.S. Gergan who revised and edited the posthumous work of his father Joseph (Yoseb) Gergan (Dge rgan Bsod nams tshe brtan)—the Ladakhi assistant of the Moravian missionary August Hermann Francke—believed that the gold mines in Thog Jalung (Thok Jalung) were one of three causes for the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war (Gergan 1978: 18).<sup>13</sup> But it is not clear if and to which

<sup>12</sup> About the 'Bri gung pa school and its decline in western Tibet and Ladakh in the 16<sup>th</sup> century cf. Petech 1978.

<sup>13</sup> Petech (1977: 4) classifies the writings of Gergan as following: “...this work, although not coming up to scientific standards, contains a good deal of traditional evidence, for which it may rank as an original source”. Gergan (1978: 18) located three major reasons for the Fifth Dalai Lama to order the invasion of Ladakh by Dga' ldan tshe dbang's army: “1) political antagonism between Karma pa and 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa on the one side and Dge lugs pa on the other; 2) Ladakh's strong supremacy in the Kailāsa region and 3) the rich gold mines of Thog Jalung and Manasa Khanda area”.



extend gold mines had already existed in Thog Jalung at that time. In their reports the Jesuits mentioned gold mines but they had never seen them with their own eyes, while other sources give much later dates for mining of gold in Thog Jalung.<sup>14</sup>

Gold, indeed, played an important role in the economy of Tibet and its neighbouring countries. It was used mainly for sacral purposes, such as the gilding of statues, but also for coins (in the Mughal Empire); there are many stories and legends that centre around this precious metal. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century mining technologies were not very advanced and gold-washing, the main process for the extraction of gold dust at this time, was very laborious. Therefore, the amount of available gold was limited and subject to a lot of trading.<sup>15</sup> Gold is mentioned many times in the *La dvags rgyal rabs* as a present for famous lamas and rulers. However, we have no evidence if and to what extent the control over gold mines and trading of gold influenced the decision of the Fifth Dalai Lama to wage a war against Ladakh. In the primary sources such profane motivations were kept silent. Only S.S. Gergan (1978: 18) mentioned that the gold mines in Thog Jalung might have been a cause for the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war.

Gold is also an integral part of trading, either as coins or in form of pieces or packages of dust. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century long-distance trading became very important economically and therefore the control of trading could have been another cause for the war. This assumption is supported by the primacy given to regulations on trading in the peace

<sup>14</sup> The goldmines of Thog Jalung were visited for the first time in 1869 by Nain Singh who travelled in the mission of the British colonel Montgomery (see Boulnois 1984: 57, 65) and later, in 1906, again by Sven Hedin (Hedin 1913: 33–34). Relying upon own local information, Montgomery assumed that the discovery of larger amounts of gold took place not earlier than about 1860, only a couple of years before Nain Singh visited the place (Boulnois 1984: 65).

<sup>15</sup> In the literature controversial reports on gold trading exist. While Boulnois (2002) argues that Tibet exported gold, Rizvi (2001: 174) reports that gold from Yarkand, transported via Leh to Lhasa—the most direct route till the 1950s—fetched double the price in Lhasa than it had in Leh. The first data collection about trading in Ladakh was done by British explorers not earlier than the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. For instance Strachey (1852: 153–56), who visited Ladakh in 1847, listed gold as one of Ladakh's exported goods to Tibet. At this time, gold dust, mined in Bukhara and Kokand, was transported from Yarkand to Leh (Warikoo 1995: 239; 1996: 119). But we have no written reports how the trading situation really was in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The royal chronicles, which also cover this early period, meticulously record to whom presents of gold were sent but keep silent about the origin of and trading with this precious material.

treaty. Trading was not only for economic purposes; it produced social ties and networks, but it also created dependencies and power structures:

A peculiar feature of Tibet's trade was that much of it—particularly with other Buddhist countries like Ladakh and Bhutan, also with China—was carried on under the guise of official religious missions, in which the commodities exchanged were designated to 'tribute' from a lesser power (Ladakh or Bhutan in relation to Tibet; Tibet in relation to China) and 'presents' from a greater one (Rizvi 2001: 10).

Long-distance trading developed together with pilgrimage to holy sites. It is not surprising that this type of trading created specialists—guides, horse drivers etc.—who were recruited not only according to their ability but also with respect to their faith. The pilgrims, on the other hand, became involved in trading to a limited extent, because they had to finance their pilgrimage. Depending on their timetables pilgrims could travel together with the merchants or on their own. The most prominent pilgrimage was the *hajj*, undertaken mainly by 'Turks' (Turkistanis) who travelled from Yarkand to Leh and further via India to Mecca. In the course of trading Muslims increasingly settled in the caravanserais and trading centres. Trading had a considerable socio-economic impact on Ladakh's society. During the trading season Leh acquired a cosmopolitan character. Exotic and precious goods were available on the market. However, only a small segment of the local population really benefited from long-distance trading.

Islam spread together with trading but this was not the only form of its propagation into Buddhist countries. Since the 15<sup>th</sup> century Ladakh had been invaded periodically by Muslim troops from Kashmir or Central Asia. Vitali (1996: 514–15) argued that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century "Ladakh was under foreign control for a considerable period". In most of the scarce sources it remains rather unclear which foreign power ruled over Ladakh. These foreigners were mainly addressed as 'Hor'—a rather sluggish term for people north of Ladakh, ranging from Mongols to Muslim 'Turks'. Vitali (*ibid*: 518) assumes that the names of the kings Bha ra and Ba ghan mentioned in the *La dvags rgyal rabs* and belonging to the Rnam rgyal dynasty are of South Turkistani origin and that their provenance might have been Yarkand.

At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Ladakhi king 'Jam dbyang rnam rgyal was captured by the troops of Ali Mir (Ali Sher Khan), ruler from Skardu, as result of the king's unsuccessful skirmishes against

Baltistan. The king was set free but had to convert to Islam, marry the daughter of Ali Mir and deprive the children of his first marriage of succession. Subsequently, the Mughal emperors regarded Ladakh as tributary, although tribute was never paid. The king, on the other hand, eager to not spoil his sacral claim of leadership, generously supported the monasteries of all Buddhist schools. During the regency of his son Seng ge rnam rgyal, the troops of Shāh Jahān (1627–1658) from Kashmir invaded the west part of Ladakh. Annoyed by this attack, Seng ge rnam rgyal struck back and sanctioned a trading embargo on Kashmir, which lasted more than twenty years.<sup>16</sup> All authors dealing with this subject are in agreement that this measure was a fatal error made by the king, leading Ladakh directly into an economic disaster.<sup>17</sup> The embargo did not much affect the economy of Kashmir and Tibet, because long-distance trading shifted to other routes, but Ladakh became an economically weak and politically unpredictable neighbour.<sup>18</sup>

The influence of the neighbouring Muslims could not be denied. This found its expression in the presence of daily consumer goods like dress and food in Leh. Although the chronicles keep silent about this fact the evidence comes from a mural painting in the Lha khang Dbu ma on the Rtse mo hill at Leh showing King Bkra shis rnam rgyal (Tashi Namgyal) (c.1555–1575) with a turban and dressed in Mughal style, which was current among the Ladakhi nobility at the time (Rizvi 1989: 168). Economic and political networks were created by trading, marriage and conversion. Islam had an important role as a vehicle for the transportation of collective identity. But the favour for Islam cannot be reduced to economic and political purposes alone. Lamas like Stag tshang ras pa obviously came in close contact with the doctrines and

<sup>16</sup> The French medical doctor and traveller François Bernier, who visited Kashmir in the year 1665, reported that “since Chah-Jehan’s irruption into Great Tibet [Ladakh] the King [Seng ge rnam rgyal] has not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbidden any person from Kachemire to enter his dominions” (Bernier 1992: 426). In the early reports Ladakh is always described as ‘Great Tibet’, while ‘Little Tibet’ refers to Baltistan. The exact date of lifting the trading embargo is not known because none of the available sources speaks about it, but we can guess that it might be suspended in the year 1665 as result of the visit of the Kashmir envoy, Muhammad Shafi, in Ladakh.

<sup>17</sup> Macdonald (1982: 48) listed three reasons for the economic weakness of Ladakh: the embargo, the grandiose constructions initiated by Stag tshang ras pa and the financing of the frequent caravans to Lhasa.

<sup>18</sup> The alternative trading route between Kashmir and Central Asia started from Skardu and led to Kashgar, while trading between India and Tibet took place via Patna in Nepal.

mystical dimensions of Islam during their pilgrimages and searches for new spiritual practices.<sup>19</sup> Two years after the visit of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb to Kashmir, the envoy Mohammad Shafi, was sent with a document from Kashmir to Ladakh that forced the Ladakhi king Bde ldan rnam rgyal to pay tribute and to accept Islam and the Mughul suzerainty.<sup>20</sup> We know very little about the position of Islam in Ladakh during this period; but the expansion of the Mughal empire, the spread of Islam into new territories in combination with trading and pilgrimage and the rather liberal dealing with this new religion by the Ladakhi kings and part of Ladakh's Buddhist clergy might have stirred up mistrust of Ladakh in the Tibetan government.<sup>21</sup> Although not mentioned in the texts, it might be possible that one further reason for war was to stop the progress of Islam into Buddhist countries. This assumption finds some support if we look at the peace treaty of Timosgang. The relevant text passage in the *La dvags rgyal rabs* clearly states that "Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions have nothing in common and are hostile to each other" (Francke 1992: 115). But it would be a drastic misinterpretation to read these lines as an insinuation for a holy war; it is a clear message to the Ladakhi king that he has

to keep watch at the frontier of Buddhist and non-Buddhist peoples, and out of regard for the doctrine of Buddha must not allow any army from India to proceed to an attack [upon Tibet] (Francke 1992: 116).

Obviously, the aim of the Fifth Dalai Lama was not to fight another religion but to use military force for preserving the integrity of Buddhist teaching and defending Dge lugs pa's political and religious interests.<sup>22</sup>

Although several strong reasons existed for the Tibetan government to put Ladakh in its place, a war was not unavoidable and it might have

<sup>19</sup> Among other destinations, Stag tshang ras pa visited the Swat valley, a country already Islamised during the time of his pilgrimage (Tucci 1971: 406–18), and travelled from there maybe even further. If the interpreting of Stag tshang ras pa's diary by the Ladakhi historian Nawang Tsering Shakspo (1988: 11) is correct, the lama even travelled as far as Mecca.

<sup>20</sup> The demands were: Striking gold coins with the image of Aurangzeb, reading the *khutba* in his name and building a mosque in Leh.

<sup>21</sup> Relationship with Islam and Muslims was not free of tensions: in a letter, written at Tsaparang (Rtse brang, Western Tibet) on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1626, Father Francisco Godinho reported that a year before the last king of Gu ge had pulled down a mosque (cf. Petech 1977: 66).

<sup>22</sup> For aspects of violence in the Tibetan tradition of the Dalai Lamas see Sperling 2001.

been possible to take other measures. As in many other armed conflicts the war between Tibet and Ladakh was caused by a series of errors that led directly to a tragedy for Ladakh. The relationship of Ladakhi kings with Mongol tribes was very ambivalent and prone to conflict. The final trigger for the attack of Dga' ldan tshe dbang's army was a minor one, at least from our point of view. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama complained that the Ladakhi did not supply the oil for the sacred butter lamps to the Dge lugs pa of Mnga' ris according to their obligation and therefore the wellbeing of the region was put at risk. Furthermore, the Ladakhi delegation had wrong instructions and did not correctly solve this neglect. Another point of censure raised by the Dalai Lama was that adherents of the Dge lugs pa school were not allowed to use the postal route, although the Dge lugs pa were maintaining it (Ahmad 1968: 344).<sup>23</sup> The oil for the sacred butter lamps can be regarded as a kind of tribute that the Ladakhi king obviously avoided paying because he did not want to accept the predominance of the Dalai Lama. Therefore the king had consciously chosen the wrong delegation and had given them wrong instructions. On the other hand, the Mongols, in the person of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang, were probably the driving force behind the Dalai Lama's decision for war against Ladakh.

#### A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE TIBET-LADAKH-MUGHAL WAR

The war has been dealt with very fully by two authors (Petech 1947 and 1977; Ahmad 1968); I shall therefore limit myself to giving a brief outline of the military conflict.

At the beginning, the Tibetan authorities had different opinions about a war with Ladakh and therefore the attack was postponed. The main opponent against such an armed intervention was the Sde srid Blo bzang sbyin pa, but after his dismissal, the Dalai Lama had no more resistance to fear and soon decided for war. Although Petech (1977: 71) wrote that "the decision for war was taken by the Dalai Lama himself, without the concurrence of the Qośot Khan", it has remained unclear if it was the Fifth Dalai Lama who persuaded Dga' ldan Tshe dbang to attack Ladakh or if it was exactly the other way round. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama only noticed that Dga' ldan Tshe dbang

<sup>23</sup> The network of postal relays (*'jams mo*) was one of the pillars of the Mongol organisation in Tibet (cf. Vitali 1996: 556).



"...had said, hopefully, (that) an occasion for going to war (had arisen)" (cf. Ahmad 1968: 345). When the case was submitted to the state oracle, favourable omens were obtained (Petech 1947: 175).

At that time, warfare in Tibet was concomitant with many rituals and offerings to protective deities. Oracles were consulted and astrological calculations were done before a war started. These religious performances were at least as important as the proper equipment of the army. Francke (1998: 106) mentioned that "magic calculations pointed to a Mongol Lama called Tsang, who was at the time residing Galdan, as the destined ruler". That prophecies played an important role can be seen from a passage in a document found at Namgya in Kunawar by Tucci in 1933. In the edition and translation by Petech (1947: 195–99) we find the following:

At that time the official of the Government, dGa-ldan Ts'e dbaṅ got some writing containing prophecies of Devaḍāka. These said: "If now you march as the commander of an army toward mṆa-ris, mṆa-ris and Mar-yul will come in your power".

Before departure, Dga' ldan Tshe dbang had offered *kha btags* with annotations written on the back to the protective deities of Lhasa. When he reached the Kailāsa region he, together with his whole army, circumambulated the holy mountain. It is not surprising that local governors, and especially the Raja of Bashahr, Kehari Singh (in the Namgya document: Skyer Sing), supported him and that the small original troop of 250 men<sup>24</sup> rapidly grew in numbers.<sup>25</sup> However, magic and spiritual affairs were not the only reason for the union between Dga' ldan Tshe dbang and the Raja. The former also granted to the latter travel permissions into Mnga' ris. While Dga' ldan tshe dbang's army had the feeling of being protected by the guardian-deities of Lhasa, Ladakh trusted in its own protective deity, a warrior god, who should have helped to repel foreign attacks.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Unlike the Kingdom of Tibet, which disposed of about 200,000 soldiers, the Dalai Lama State had a very small Tibetan army. Schuh (1988: 6, 10) explained the decline in military strength by the increased transfer of resources to the monasteries.

<sup>25</sup> At least the Lord of Thog chen Hor stod afterwards regretted "the sin of having dispatched 60 soldiers as reinforcements". He sponsored the hermitage Se ba lung (Se ra lung) at the Lake Manasarovar in the hope to cleanse his failure (cf. Huber and Tsepak Rigzin 1999: 147).

<sup>26</sup> In addition, a high number of protective deities and demons exist which can defend local territory. Even a *stāpa* (*mchod rten*), placed at the entrance of a settlement,



In Ladakh King Bde legs rnam rgyal, the son of Bde ldan rnam rgyal came into power. It was just at the time when Dga' ldan Tshe dbang started the first campaign.<sup>27</sup> The rapid expansion of the kingdom under King Seng ge rnam rgyal and the process of state formation had made it necessary to create a permanent military structure and not just recruit ordinary farmers as soldiers in times of war. The Ladakhi army was guided by a prime minister, Sākya rgya mtsho, a general who was already victorious in different battles against small chiefs to the west of Ladakh. However, his regular army was too small to fight such an attack and additional warriors had to be recruited from the local population and from frontier areas of Kashmir and Baltistan by promising the chance to accumulate spoils of war.

Dga' ldan Tshe dbang's army consisted of Mongols, Tibetans (from Dbus and Gtsang) and soldiers of other origin. They latter were supplied by local rulers. Taking the equipment into consideration, this mixed 'Tibeto-Mongolian' (or 'Mongolo-Tibetan') army<sup>28</sup> was superior to the Ladakhi troops. In particular, the Mongolian soldiers had better horses, armour and weapons; they even had some firearms at their disposal. They were more skilled than the Ladakhi warriors in riding horses and in fighting techniques on plains and open fields, but they were weak when they had to attack fortresses (biography of Mi dbang po; see Petech 1947: 179).<sup>29</sup>

The first battle in Mnga' ris ended with the full victory of the Tibetans and general Sākya rgya mtsho together with his soldiers had

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might function as a protective element. Stutchbury (1999: 157), for instance, mentions a local narrative in Lahoul (Lahul) in which an invading Mongol army was swept away by an avalanche sent by Gephon, a local mountain deity. The incident, which most probably concerned the troops of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang, happened on a plain called Rholangtang (Ro langs thang, 'Plain of Possessed Corps') near the Rohtang pass (cf. Sahni 1994: 70).

<sup>27</sup> In the literature a lot of confusion exists about the king who was ruling during the time of the invasion by the Tibetan-Mongolian forces. King Bde ldan rnam rgyal is mentioned in several cases, but it is now widely accepted that Bde legs rnam rgyal ruled the country during the time of the war, probably together with his father Bde ldan rnam rgyal.

<sup>28</sup> Both expressions were found in the literature.

<sup>29</sup> It is rather astonishing that the Mongol and Tibetan soldiers should have been unable to conquer fortresses. The tactic to hide in fortresses and to withstand a Mongolian/Tibetan attack was used successfully by the Bhutanese in the Bhutanese-Tibetan war (1642). These fortresses (*dzongs*) were built on strategic points in narrow valleys and were very difficult to conquer (cf. Aris 1994: 28ff.; Howard 1989: 217–88). Obviously another tactic was necessary for storming of these fortresses than for the conquest of walled cities, for which the troops of Chinggis Khan were famous.

to withdraw.<sup>30</sup> The Ladakhi army was beaten and a part of it hid in three fortresses in Mnga' ris in order to block a further penetration into Ladakh. While this method worked well in Bhutan where the Tibetans had to give up their attack, Dga' ldan Tshe dbang's army did not attack the fortresses but bypassed them and made further progress towards Ladakh until the troops were stopped near the border of Ladakh proper. In a second attack with a reinforced army the Mongol general did not follow the direct route to Ladakh along the Indus but made a detour. He turned north to Ruthog, went around the shores of the Pangong mtsho and tried to reach the Indus valley from there. Although not attacked, the soldiers in at least two of the three fortresses amazingly surrendered of their own accord. While this unusual behaviour is explained in the manuscript of Mi dbang Bsod nams stobs rgyas as fear, the Namgya document contains a passage which might allow another interpretation:

At that time the minister of Bashahr and the Government chief governor Don-rub, these two together, appeared in the camp and gave secretly fifteen loads of gold and silver to the frontiersmen; and the frontiersmen returned to their country (Petech 1947: 199).

The second and most important battle took place at Balaskya, a place at the foot of the Changla pass (Byang la). The Ladakhi king and his general had some doubts about the outcome of this battle and they consulted the protective deity and the private oracle of the dynasty. Although the reply was favourable for them, they lost the battle. The source reports that Dga' ldan Tshe dbang surprisingly did not lead the army personally but entrusted it to four commanders. Petech gave no explanation for this strange behaviour but again the Namgya document allows some speculation:

At that time the official dGa-ldan Ts'e dbaṅ had already gone to the capital (?). Afterwards, this was kept secret by saying that dGa-ldan Ts'e dbaṅ was in spiritual seclusion. His official duties were discharged by the private secretary dPal-bzaṅ (Petech 1947: 199).

<sup>30</sup> In the biography of Mi dbang Bsod nams stobs rgyas (*Dpal mi'i dbang po'i rtags pa 'jig rten kun tu dga ba'i gtam*) it is mentioned that the Ladakhi king and his minister fled from the battle field (Petech 1947: 181 and 1977: 73). But, consulting other sources, it seems that the king never took part in the battles against the army of Dga' ldan tshe dbang. In the Ladakh Chronicles, for instance, only his general Śākya rgya mtsho appears as commander of the army (Francke 1992: 113; cf. Ahmad 1968: 349, Gergan 1978: 18f., and Petech 1977: 72). In such a case it is very unlikely that the king would have taken part in a battle.

The capital, mentioned in these lines, can only be Leh. It seems that before the battle, the Mongol general had already undertaken secret negotiations in Leh. In such a case it is rather unlikely that he spoke with the king and the latter, at that time, was probably not in Leh but in his residence in Timosgang.<sup>31</sup> It would be much more plausible to suppose that Dga' ldan Tshe dbang had looked for alliances with rivals of the king. This would explain why Leh did not offer resistance against the invading troops. In order to identify possible rivals who might have sided with Dga' ldan Tshe dbang, we have to step back in history. In the *La dvags rgyal rabs* (Francke 1992: 102) a king Lha chen Bha gan (c.1470–1500) is noted.<sup>32</sup> In alliance with the people of Shey (Shel) he deprived Blo gros mchog ldan, son of the Leh (Sle) king Grags 'bum lde, of his throne and imprisoned him. Bha gan was the second successor of Grags pa 'bum (the brother of Grags 'bum lde), the ruler of Timosgang. According to Vitali (1996: 516), Bha gan was of 'Hor' origin and not a descendent of Grags pa 'bum.<sup>33</sup> Although presumably of foreign descent, Bha gan was successful in extending his rule to Upper Ladakh. He united both parts, Lower Ladakh (Sham) and Upper Ladakh, and founded the second, the Rnam rgyal, dynasty. The unification of the country lasted until the invasion by Dga' ldan tshe dbang's troops. Grags 'bum lde, Blo gros mchog ldan, and their descendents resided in Leh and were supporters of the Dge lugs pa.<sup>34</sup> It is therefore

<sup>31</sup> Shakaba (1984: 122) mentioned that "Deleg Namgyal, the ruler of Ladakh, took refuge in the fortress of Basgo, then the capital city". This is not correct, because only the army enclosed itself in the fortress, while the king resided in Timosgang (cf. Francke 1992: 115).

<sup>32</sup> The dates for his government, taken from the *La dvags rgyal rabs* (Francke 1992: 102), are contested among historians and are therefore only approximate. Petech (1977: 25) tentatively inserted after Bha gan a further (unnamed) king (ruling between c.1485–1510) because he thought that the time span between the reign of Grags pa 'bum and Bkra shis rnam rgyal was too long for only two kings (Bha ra and Bha gan). In order to fill the gap between 1450 and 1550, Howard (1997: 134) suggested that up to four rulers might have borne the name Bha gan.

<sup>33</sup> The *La dvags rgyal rabs* (Francke 1992: 102) listed Lha chen Bha gan as grandson of Grags pa 'bum. Francke guessed in an annotation that the name Bha gan might be a corruption of the Sanskrit Bhagavān. Petech (1977: 25–6) accepted that Bha gan is a grandson of Grags pa 'bum but he did not completely rule out that he came from a Hindu state. Shakspo (1993: 10), on the other hand, interpreted the name Bha gan as a nickname ('old bull') for a king with the real name Rin chen rnam rgyal.

<sup>34</sup> Howard (1997: 123) suggested that Grags 'bum lde relocated the capital of the kingdom to Leh. In the *La dvags rgyal rabs* this move is not directly mentioned, but the fact that he had allowed the construction of numerous *mchor ten* and temples in Leh (cf. Francke 1992: 99) would strongly support this assumption. Nawang Tsering Shakspo (1993: 18) stated that "during his reign the capital was at Basgo". Grags 'bum

very likely that the rule of the kings of the Rnam gyal dynasty was not uncontested in Leh and that the opposition was especially strong under the weak king, Bde legs rnam rgyal.

After losing the battle, the Ladakhi army withdrew to Basgo (Ba sgo or Ba mgo) where they enclosed themselves in the fortress, historically known as Rab brtan lha rtse.<sup>35</sup> Subsequently Dga' ldan tshe dbang's army besieged Basgo for three years. During this time the Ladakhi army was unable to crush the foreign occupation and King Bde legs rnam rgyal called the Mughal governor Ibrahim Khan for help. The latter sent a huge army under the command of Fidai Khan. In a third campaign Dga' ldan Tshe dbang and his army fought against the united Mughal and Ladakhi army but the Tibetan and Mongolian troops were severely beaten in the battle on the Bya rgyal plain near Basgo.<sup>36</sup> The latter withdrew rapidly, leaving behind arms and equipment; even today parts of them are exhibited in the *gon khang* of the Phyang (Phyi dbang) monastery. The Tibetan and Mongolian troops fled as far as Tashigang (Bkra shis sgang) where they enclosed themselves in a fort. In the year 1684 Dga' ldan Tshe dbang finally waged a fourth campaign against the Ladakhis, defeated them, and conducted the peace treaty between the Tibetans and the Ladakhis.

The siege of Basgo, which lasted for three years, demanded not only a lot of logistics but also an infra-structure with a constant supply of nutrition and equipment, especially during the harsh winters. The troops might have raided the country for food but it is very doubtful that they could maintain the siege without any local support. Although the chronicles spoke about a siege, it was not one in the strict sense. The fortress of Basgo was not completely and permanently besieged and communication between the men in the fortress and the neighboring villages was possible. Dga' ldan tshe dbang's army had Upper Ladakh under control but they were not numerous enough to occupy it. However, they should have been able to bypass the fortress without major difficulties. Indeed, the Tibetans could even reach Khalaste (Khalsi), about 50 kilometers westwards of Basgo, where they

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lde is further known as the original builder of the big Maitreya at Basgo. However, "Grags 'bum lde's younger brother Grags pa 'bum had been allotted an estate including Ba-sgo and lTe-ba" (Petech 1977: 25) and therefore it is rather unlikely that Basgo was the capital during the whole regency of Grags 'bum lde.

<sup>35</sup> Plans and details about the fortress are given in Howard (1989: 227–35).

<sup>36</sup> Gergan (1978: 19) reported that the battle took place at Thanskya-Thangnag.

destroyed the bridge over the Indus (cf. Gergan 1978: 19).<sup>37</sup> It is remarkable that no attack on the residence of the king in Timosgang is mentioned.

Local narratives report that Dga' ldan Tshe dbang resided in Leh during the siege of Basgo and that he had a relationship with the queen. This liaison would explain why the chronicler had not listed her name in the *La dvags rgyal rabs*. Furthermore, in the chronicle the name Dga' ldan rnam rgyal appears for her youngest son, although he is not listed in all versions (cf. Francke 1992: 118). This could mean that Dga' ldan Tshe dbang might have been the father of one of her sons.

### THE PEACE TREATY OF TIMOSGANG

Although Francke's edition of the *La dvags rgyal rabs* is a patchwork with respect to the agreements made in the peace treaty, several major points are discernible. Petech (1977: 74–77), Ahmad (1968) and other authors have already discussed them in full detail. I can therefore limit myself to a very brief survey.

Ahead of the peace talks the Ladakhi king had to compensate the Mughal army for their help. During these negotiations the tribute that Ladakh finally had to pay to Kashmir, as well as some goods which Kashmir had to supply in exchange, were settled in kind and quality. The king had to convert to Islam, accept a Muslim name, and send one of his sons to Kashmir as a hostage.

The second contract was made on the basis of peace talks conducted between Ladakh and Tibet. The treaty, in which the Sixth 'Brug chen Mi 'pham dbang po took part as mediator, was signed by the two countries in 1684. In the course of the negotiations the basis of Ladakh's relationship with Tibet was laid down.

With reference to the tri-partition of Ni ma mgon's kingdom in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the treaty sealed the separation of Ladakh from the rest of Mnga' ris skor gsum. Losing the territories annexed under King Seng ge rnam rgyal, Ladakh was reduced to approximately its present extension. The frontier with Tibet was fixed at the Lha ri stream at Bde

<sup>37</sup> The Tibetans had destroyed the bridge with the aim to prevent military help for the 'enclosed' Ladakhi army. The Mughal army, however, could advance after spanning four bridges (cf. Gergan 1978: 29).



mchog (Demchog), approximately at that places where it is even today.<sup>38</sup> A small enclave, consisting of the village Men ser (Minsar) near the lake of Mānasarovar, was granted to Ladakh and was kept until the Chinese government took over Tibet (Bray 1997: 89ff.). Ladakh lost half its size and was conceived as a buffer state between the Mughal Empire and Tibet.

Trading and the sale of wool from West Tibet to Kashmir via Ladakh were also the subjects of clauses in the treaty. A triennial *lo phyag* trade/tribute mission between Leh and Lhasa and the annual *cha pa* mission in the reverse direction were installed. Regulations about the exact amount of transported goods and the groups of persons—mainly Kashmiri—who were allowed to do the transporting were concluded. The *La dvags rgyal rabs* notes:

To Ru-thog proper none but the court merchants [of Ladakh] are to be admitted. [Regarding] the goat wool [trade]:—four Kashmiri merchants shall reside at Dpe-thub, and do the trading with the Kashmiris of Kashmir. Besides these men, who are called Kha-chul-'gro-rgya, no Kashmiri of Kashmir shall be allowed to go to Byañ-thañ. Those Ladakhi-Kashmiris who go to Byan-thañ shall not be allowed themselves to go down to Kashmir with loads of wool (Francke 1992: 116).

Another important clause in the treaty is the statement that Buddhism and Islam have nothing in common. This is a clear refusal of all syncretistic tendencies in Ladakh. The religious (and political) supremacy of the Dge lugs pa school in Ladakh was cemented and, ironically, the Sixth 'Brug chen had to impose it. A supreme religious authority was installed that controlled all monasteries. As result of the treaty the new abbot of Thiksey was no longer recruited locally but sent from Lhasa. The first abbot installed according to this new order was a Mongol.

The treaty had not only shifted the balance between the Buddhist schools but it also had effects on the Muslim population and the propagation of Islam. Gergan argued:

The Tibeto-Mongolian onslaught in 1681–84 was responsible for strengthening Islam in the capital of Ladakh and to put an end to an independent prosperous Ladakhi kingdom (Gergan 1978: 16).

That the treaty had strengthened Islam in all remains doubtful. The restrictions imposed on trading surely had an effect on the numbers of Muslims willing to settle in Leh. The whole situation is very much

<sup>38</sup> The precise demarcation of the present border is still disputed.



more complex and therefore no serious statement about the effects of the war and the peace treaty on the propagation of Islam can be made in this paper.

### CONTEMPORARY LOCAL NARRATIVES

Today Dga' ldan Tshe dbang is a continuing presence in the cultural and political situation of local communities in Tibet.

In comparison with Tibet, the situation in Ladakh is completely different. Although Dga' ldan Tshe dbang is still known among the elite in Ladakh, horse-races in his honour do not exist in Ladakh, and traces concerning his life are also rarely found in contemporary local narratives.

In most cases Dga' ldan Tshe dbang is still regarded as a former enemy although some of his descendents and those of his Mongolian soldiers living in Leh enjoy a high social prestige. One is a minister and another is the owner of one of the most famous hotels in Leh. Although Dga' ldan Tshe dbang was an outstanding historical person, he was known to have had a conflicting and difficult personality.

Folk songs from Basgo and Nubra, which were recorded by Francke (1909), clearly indicate that the people had very much feared the Mongols. According to popular tradition the numerous ruins in Mkhar rdzong in Nubra were the result of the attack by the army of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang. On the other hand Francke (1992: 108) mentioned a portrait in the Dge lugs pa monastery Deskit (Bde skyid), which he believed showed Dga' ldan Tshe dbang being placed in the hands of the ogre Mgon dkar.

I visited Deskit in summer 2003 and tried to find this wall painting but most wall paintings of the *gon khang* and other rooms had been removed or painted over; and in the rooms where they still existed, heavy boards filled with holy books were put in front of the paintings. I could not find the painting mentioned by Francke and the monks did not seem to know of its existence.

However, I discovered in the *gon khang* a wooden statue, representing a white Mahākāla, holding in the hands a piece of human skull and a bone. According to the monks, the figure represented the Mongol general Dga' ldan Tshe dbang, acting in Deskit as a *dharmapāla* or *srung ma*. Local legends have grown about this sculpture. The most

famous one is the following: The Mongols reached Deskit in course of their campaign. As the leader tried to destroy the statues in the *gon khang* he immediately died and fell down. This event frightened the soldiers and they ran away. Afterwards the monks threw the body out of the *gon khang* but in the next morning the bones remained again close to the Mahākāla. As much as the monks had thrown the bones out of the room, the bones returned. The moment monks tried to touch the bones, the latter started to bleed.

### CONCLUSION

In Ladakh, the picture of Dga' Idan Tshe dbang is ambivalent; he is seen both as an enemy and as a protector of the Dge lugs pa. However, the results of his deeds had tremendous effects on Ladakh's historical development. This is not surprising because the kingdom of Ladakh was the loser in the armed conflict and thereafter began a steady decline. The patron-priest relationship between the king and the 'Brug pa order diminished significantly while the Dge lugs pa school gained in importance. After the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war the Dalai Lamas became the major spiritual authorities. They were consulted in political decisions and even nowadays the Dalai Lama plays an important role. Moreover, Lhasa became the most important spiritual training centre for lamas from Ladakh and the Thiksey monastery developed into the head monastery of the Dge lugs pa in Ladakh.

The Dogra period finally shifted the religious authority with the installation of a new incarnation-lineage, the *arhat* Bakula (de Vries: 1981), further towards the Dge lugs pa. The Dge lugs pa monastery Spituk (Dpe thub), which always kept a special status, became the seat of Bakula. The recently deceased incarnation of Kushok Bakula had been one of the most important political representatives of the country and can be regarded as one of the architects of modern Ladakh. In his last political function he was ambassador of the Indian Union to Mongolia and played there an important role in the restoration of Buddhism.

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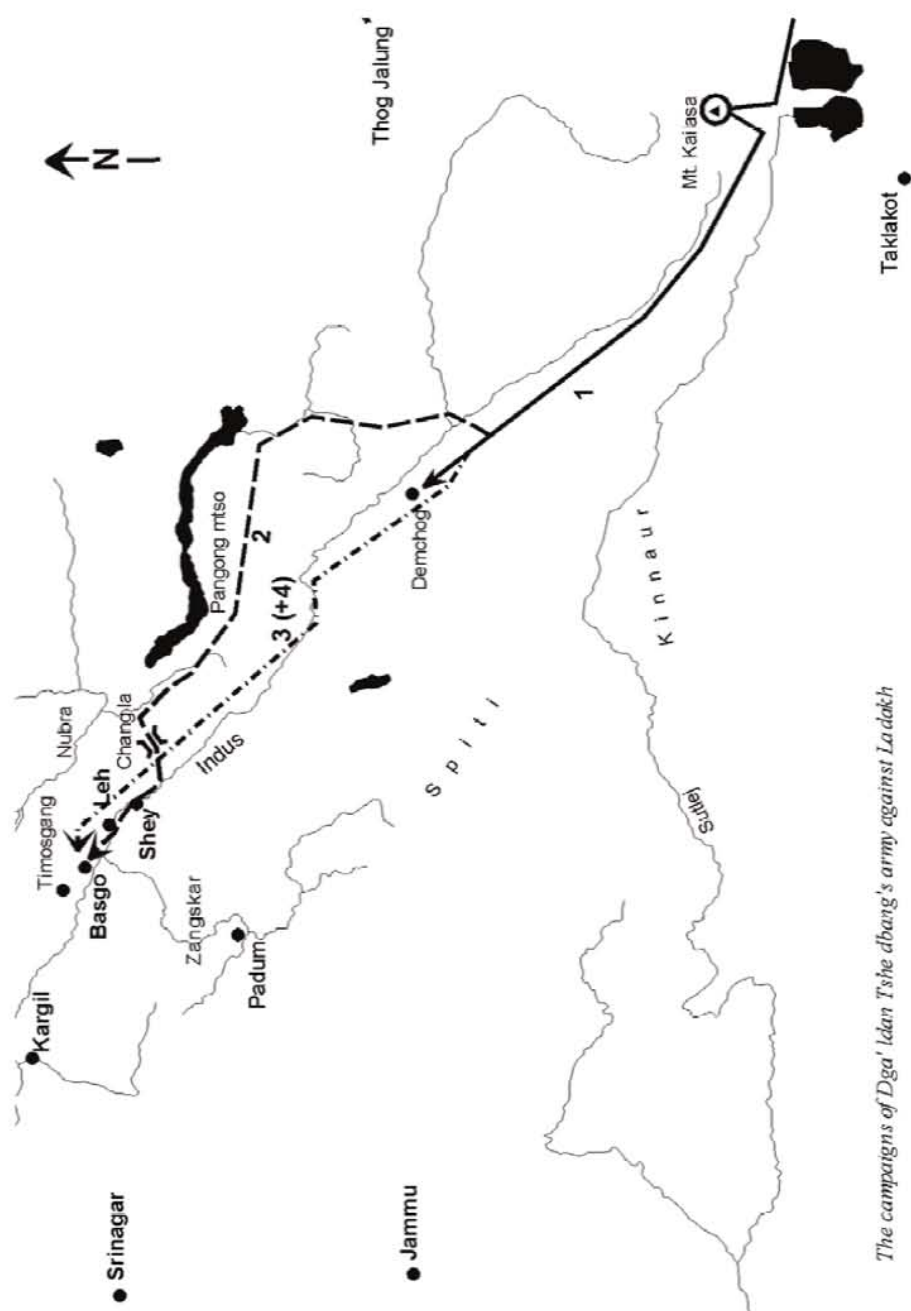




Plate 1 Dga' ldan Tshe dbang in the form of a white Mahākāla with human skull and bone in his hands (Deskrit monastery, Nubra, Ladakh)



Plate 2 Mongolian arms left behind after the battle of Basgo (Phyang monastery)



*The campaigns of Dga' ldan Tshe dbang's army against Ladakh*

# FESTIVALS AND THEIR LEADERS: THE MANAGEMENT OF TRADITION IN THE MONGOLIAN/TIBETAN BORDERLANDS

HILDEGARD DIEMBERGER (CAMBRIDGE)

## INTRODUCTION

Often, in Tibetan areas, an event is said to have been organised by the *mangtsho* (*dmangs tshogs*),<sup>1</sup> or by the government on behalf of the *mangtsho*. This Tibetan term, which can be translated literally as 'the assembled multitude', or 'the masses', is often used to indicate the community in its broadest sense. Sometimes it indicates the civil community in contrast to the government, sometimes the local community including its leaders, and sometimes simply an unstructured collectivity.

This paper will focus on cadres and the organisational aspect of certain festivals and rituals in a mixed Mongolian-Tibetan rural area of Qinghai after 1980. It looks firstly at the *mangtsho*, the extent to which the modern *xiangs* (administrative unit below county) reproduce pre-revolutionary administrative organisations, and goes on to contrast the organisation of two closely related collective festive events: the Mongolian festival of *naadam* and the Tibetan style festival *Tsendiri latse* (*Rtse 'dus ri la rtse*) that were first reinstituted in 1984 following a long ban after the founding of the People's Republic. They involve what appears to be the same community but diverge in management, time reckoning systems, religious implications and representations of ethnicity. A focus on the two festivals offers a glimpse into the practical task of managing and arranging the reconstruction of traditions, and at the same time allows us to examine the multifaceted role of political leaders at the local level and how they relate to their communities. We will see that contrary to conventional understanding, that a communist government would introduce a radically different leadership from

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper I give the local terms as they are pronounced locally with the Tibetan transliteration in bracket according to the Wylie system. Chinese terms are given in pinyin.

the traditional one, local cadres in minority nationalities' areas often seem to serve their community by juggling various sources of legitimacy: community and the Party, tradition and modernity.

This paper is based on field research in the community or communities of 'Sogpo', a Mongolian enclave that forms the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County in Qinghai. The area is surrounded by Tibetan communities. Due to the complex ethnic structure of this area, the dilemmas and strategic choices involved in the management of cultural life are more visible here than elsewhere in Tibetan or other minority areas. The paper suggests that the closer one looks at the social and cultural processes of this kind, the more difficult it is to find an agency usually located in terms such as 'the state', 'the government' or 'the community'. It seems to dissolve into a multitude of individual actions and choices that involve a variety of 'interpretative communities'—a notion that helps in the identification of organised groups of people "defining the meaning of symbols and practices...which are not identical to the interpretation of official media and education" (Feuchtwang 2000: 170).

#### 'SOGPO' ALIAS HENAN

The area in Qinghai referred to in Tibetan as 'Sogpo' is what remains of a Mongolian polity that has played a major role in Amdo's political and religious history for the last three centuries. In fact the rulers of this area, heirs of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Hoshuud lords of the Kokonor, were the founders and patrons of the monastery of Labrang Tashikyil and were important local political allies of the Qing court.<sup>2</sup> Cut off from the main Mongolian groups, and living among Tibetans, these Mongols became Tibetanised in language and other cultural practices, thereby acquiring a unique local identity called Sogpo, which is the Tibetan term for 'Mongolia/Mongolian'. Since they live to the south of the Yellow River, they are also customarily called Huanghe Nan Mengqi or Henan Mengqi (Henan Mongolian Banners) in Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> The monastery of Labrang Tashikyil was founded in 1709 by the first *Qinwang* Tsewang Tenzin. His wife, Namgyal Droma, invited the First Jamyang Zhepa from Drepung to become the head lama of the monastery. The rulers of Henan from then onwards were the patrons of Labrang monastery and relics of the Henan rulers can be found enshrined in a stupa of the monastery. Cf. Dbal pandita 1990: 83ff.

When the Chinese Communist Party sent a 'Work Team' or a group of party cadres to operate in what was then the Henan Mongolian Banners in the early 1950s, they ordered some investigations into the local social structure so as to assess the problems that they might encounter and the measures they needed to take to resolve them. We are lucky to have access to a report entitled "Important Data from the Social Survey of the Henan Four-Banners" dated February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1952, compiled by the United Front Work Department of Qinghai province.<sup>3</sup> From this document and others preceding the implementation of the first administrative reforms and the establishment of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County in 1954<sup>4</sup> we can gain an insight into what these cadres found and, moreover, how they perceived it. In particular it provides us with a glimpse into how a new system was established on the basis of the pre-existing administrative structures and leadership. Given the fact that the reforms of the 1980s in many ways revived policies of the 1950s, this material can also be very helpful in assessing cultural and political processes over the last three decades, i.e. in the post-Mao era.

When the authors of the report tried to describe what went under the name of 'Administration of the Henan Four-Banners', they realised that although they were using this administrative definition, it did not correspond to what they were observing. They stated:

In fact, there are only three banners in the Henan Four-Banners which include six big tribes, twenty-one small villages, one hundred and seventeen groups.... There are two thousand and four hundred and seventy-five families and ten thousand and four hundred and thirty people (not including monks) in the whole Four-Banners.

In addition, despite the fact that the place was administratively considered Mongolian, the authors observed that "A quarter of all Four-Banners use yurts and three quarters use black tents...most people speak Tibetan and very few people can speak Mongolian". This is con-

<sup>3</sup> The document is reproduced in *Henan Xianzhi*, 1009–17.

<sup>4</sup> In 1954, a Henan Mongolian Autonomous Region People's Government (county level) was established. It was changed to the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County (Henan Mengzu Zizhixian) in 1955, the Chinese name was further changed to Henan Mengguzu Zizhixian in 1964. The difference between *Mengzu* and *Mengguzu* is that *Meng* in *Mengzu* is colloquial and a bit derogatory, whereas *Menggu* in *Mengguzu* is the proper Chinese term for Mongolian/Mongolia/Mongol.



sistent with the observations of J.F. Rock, an Austrian-American explorer who passed through the area some years before.<sup>5</sup>

In a slightly later document, the “Report on Social survey of Mongolian Banners in Henan”, dated 25<sup>th</sup> December 1954, compiled by the Work-Team of the Communist Party of the Henan Mongolian Banner,<sup>6</sup> we read: “The Henan Mongolian Banners were originally four of the twenty-nine Banners”. The twenty-nine banners were the core of the Hoshuud polity the Qing court subdivided in the area of Qinghai after the 1723 revolt of Lobsangdanjin [Lobsang Tendzin].<sup>7</sup> The document observes that originally there were “four Zhasake (Mong.: *jasag*) Banners, but later the Lajia banner separated”. This is how the Chinese communist authorities understood (correctly) that the original four banners became three. Regarding the traditional leadership the document states that:

The person who holds the throne is the daughter of a former *qinwang*, Zhaxi Cairang (Tib.: Tashi Tsering). Her brother was called Gunga Huanjue (Tib.: Kunga Paljor) and kept the throne of *qinwang* before her.... After he died, due to the lack of an heir, the chieftains of the various tribes fought for the throne. However, the *qinwang*’s mother Luge (Tib.: Lumantsho) was an extremely doughty and valiant woman, she punished all those who scrambled for power and profit....

This is also an accurate observation. Indeed, in 1940 Tashi Tsering had ascended the throne as the 10<sup>th</sup> Henan *Qinwang*.<sup>8</sup>

The authors of the document observed that the Mongolian Banners were surrounded and profoundly influenced by Tibetans:

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rock 1956: 48.

<sup>6</sup> The document is reproduced in *Henan Xianzhi*, 1017–30.

<sup>7</sup> In 1723 Lobsang Tendzin led a revolt against the Qing government which was brutally crushed. A great number of Mongols were killed and monasteries destroyed. After this event the Qing decided to make a clear separation between Mongols and Tibetans and introduced a new administrative system, that of the 29 banners of Kokonor/Qinghai (cf. Bulag 2002: 32ff.). In addition, in Henan as in many other areas “in return for adjudicating disputes between Mongols over pasture lands, the Qing demanded exclusive rights to set pasture boundaries and confirm the succession of chiefs” (Perdue 2000: 282).

<sup>8</sup> The title of *qinwang* was first attributed to the rulers of Sogpo/Henan by the Qing emperors in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the practice of bestowing/reconfirming this title was adopted by the Republican government in the hope of winning over some Mongolian allies (cf. Bulag in this volume). Due to the remoteness of the place, administrative power and succession were always managed locally. Cf. Dhondup and Diemberger 2002 for an outline of the life-history of *Qinwang* Tashi Tsering.

Their national character has mostly been lost, especially language and writing; except some people of the old generation, there is nobody who knows about it. Their custom seems almost identical with the Tibetan custom. At present, only one characteristic is left that represents the Mongolian Banners: people are living in *menggu bao* [Mongolian yurts]. All ordinary poor herdsmen live in tents. From this observation we can also understand the disparity between classes [between Mongols and Tibetans, between rich and poor herdsmen].

The document not only discusses the original Four-Banners but also reports the existence of “six tribes (Ch.: *buluo*): Dasan, Tueryi, Waisi, Sirou Jongwa, Zang Arou and Kesongmu”, of which “only Dasan and Tueryi are Mongolian Banners”. This six-fold pre-revolutionary organisation that comprised the two Mongolian banners is also known locally as a system of six units called *tshoba*.<sup>9</sup> The Working Team is quite candid in acknowledging the fact that with the weakening of the pre-existing rule they had difficulties in establishing a new one that could maintain a legal order (the document presents a detailed discussion of the problems they were encountering such as the increase of thefts, border disputes, issues of double currency, food shortages and so on ). In brief, the Work-Team still had to rely on the traditional leaders in order to rule at all. The document states:

After liberation, as a result of the influence of external democratic political forces and the two years of hard work of the Mongolian Banner's Labor Union, the foundation of the old political power has become very weak ...

However, it also acknowledges that

<sup>9</sup> This six-fold organisation appears to have been a hybrid system merging the Mongolian banner system with the Tibetan *tshoba* organisation (cf. Karmay 1998: 488ff.). From other sources we know that the old administration comprised representatives of all the six units, which however differed in ranking: the units that were reckoned as Mongolian Banners were led by a *dzasa* (Mong.: *jasag*), the others by lower level officials called *dzange*, with a *kadu* as deputy. According to a former county governor who was the grandson of a *dzange*: “the administration was constituted by a council called *kashag* (*bka' shag*), beside the *qinwang* there was a *tusalagchi* and there were two *jasag* and three *zenge* to represent the two banners and three *tshobas* beyond the *qinwang's* own banner”. In fact these six sub-units were used by both the traditional administration and by the Work Team as a basis to reckon everything: tributes, people, animals etc. The traditional leaders had great power and had both a political and a ritual role that allowed them to manage their community on a day-to-day basis and enforce the, sometimes draconian, law. They were part of a system that linked political leadership, local gods, territory and natural elements such as rain, fertility etc.

the Committee of the Work-Team lacked experience in dealing with common people and tackling their problems. It was excessively accomodating with the chieftains and was not able to prop up the Party Members' prestige. In fact, we [work-team] showed a weak power and dependence on those chieftains.

What resulted was not a radically new polity. In fact, the new administration had to integrate and rely on the pre-existing structures and leadership. Notwithstanding the report's numerous critiques of the former 'feudal' rule, the new government of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County established in 1954 absorbed many of the traditional leaders including Qinwang Tashi Tsering herself, who became the first county governor (*xian zhang*). In Henan as in most other Tibetan and Mongolian areas in the region, local political rulership was a complex blend of iron-fist and shared political and religious values that tied the community to their traditional leaders. Despite strong protest at misrules, this structure could not be simply eliminated by the new rulers, rather it had to be integrated into the new administration—albeit with some reforms—under the rubric of the so-called United Front Policy.

I will not enter into the details of local history that saw various administrative reforms, an important uprising in 1958 followed by drastic repression, the introduction of communes and the death of the *qinwang* in 1966 at the beginning the Cultural Revolution.<sup>10</sup> I shall jump to the 1980s, to the post-Cultural Revolution era, in which administrative re-organisation, redistribution of land and re-invention of local ethnic culture took place.

By 1984 we find the area subdivided into six administrative units called *xiang*, with the grandson of a minister of the pre-revolutionary government as county governor and the daughter of Tashi Tsering as deputy county governor. Concerning the current *xiang* administration the deputy leader of the *xiang* of Dragmar (*Brag dmar*) said to me:

There is some correpondence with the ancient *tshoba*: there are six *xiangs*, the ancient *tshoba* of Datsen is now Serlong (Gser lung) Xiang, Torgod and Besi together are Kissen/Kusun Xiang, Sirugchungba is now Dragmar Xiang, Tsang Arig (Gtsang A rig) is now Nyimtha (Nying mtha') Xiang and so on.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Henan xianzhi* for a chronology of these events. Cf. also Dhondup and Diemberger 2002.

Although many traditional institutions survived in different forms, many other things have changed in response to the pressure of the modern Chinese state. Traditional cultural practices themselves had to be re-invented by blending what had survived from earlier times with current representations of nationalities, ideas of modernity and communist ideology.

Before discussing the revival and management of two Mongolian and Tibetan festivals, below I briefly explore the question of the hybrid ethnic identity of this area—a fuzziness that started to become an issue when ethnicity acquired legal implications.

#### DILEMMAS OF ETHNICITY: BONES, TERRITORY OR LANGUAGE

The Work-Team and many Chinese and Western explorers before them noted that the Henan population was a complex mixture of Mongols and Tibetans and that although Henan people claimed Mongolian ancestry the local customs and the language were similar to that of the surrounding Tibetan communities. Not surprisingly, today Henan people trace their origin back in a twofold way: either to Guushi Khan (1582–1655 A.D.) and his army of Hoshuud and Torgut Mongols (see also Dargyay in this volume), or to the 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan empire.<sup>11</sup> The report of the Work-Team states that a Mongolian identity was associated with higher rank and prestige. This seems to be still the case now although ethnic hierarchy would sometimes be reversed in the religious context.

Narratives of place, leadership and ‘ancestral bones’ claimed a Mongolian identity that was apparently contradicted by the daily Tibetan customs of the people and their language. However, both the pre-existing administrative organisation under the Qing and the fact that Mongols were seen as closer to the Communists than the Tibetans must have prompted the new administration of Qinghai to call it a Mongolian county rather than opting for a mixed Mongolian-Tibetan

<sup>11</sup> Both historical narratives are mentioned in the local Annals *Rma lho rdzong rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad yig* [Records of History and Culture of Malho County] compiled by the CPPCC of Henan Mongolian Autonomous County.

status that might have reflected reality.<sup>12</sup> In 1964, when a new set of ethnic regulations were introduced and gave significant advantages to the Mongols as the titular nationality of Henan, a large portion of Tibetans opted for being recognised as Mongols.<sup>13</sup>

Since the 1980s the Mongolian identity of Henan has been further enhanced by a sort of ethnic revival that can be understood as part of the the broader 'nationalities project' promoted by the Chinese state (Bulag 2002). In the mid-1980s some fifteen Mongolian cadres from Haixi Mongolian-Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai province arrived and Mongolian schools were established in those areas that still had a few Mongolian speakers. The Mongolian dialect taught there was, however, closer to that which is currently spoken in Inner Mongolia than to the local Oirat dialect.

Nonetheless, people still resort to some cultural criteria to determine their identity. Usually, people believe that they are Mongolian, because they have Mongolian 'bones', that is, an identity based on 'male' Mongolian ancestry. For those who have problems with this 'bone' ideology, 'land' (Tib.: *sa cha*) can be an effective criterion to determine their ethnic identity: they become Mongol by marrying or migrating into the land of Henan, which is acknowledged as a Mongol land.

Then, how do local people justify or contest the 'Mongolness' of the place where only a handful of people speak some Mongolian? On the issue of personal ethnic identity we encounter several shifting positions.<sup>14</sup>

There are those who fully identify themselves with the project of Mongolian revival, sponsored by the government, in the name of historical heritage and modern minority nationalities policy. More recently, however, people were able to choose their identity, sometimes quite openly. For example, two of the children of the Qinqang Tashi Tsering are officially Tibetans and two are Mongols. Tibetan identity is attractive to some, especially those who have a strong religious commitment

<sup>12</sup> This contrasts with the common use of Stalin's criteria for the definition of nationalities, namely common territory, common economy, common language, common psychological make-up [i.e. culture]. These criteria had usually been used during the 1950s to identify China's 'minority nationalities', described by Bulag and others as 'the minzu-project' (Bulag 2000: 181; Mackerras 1994).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Henan Xianzhi* p. 844.

<sup>14</sup> The fluid process of construction of ethnic identity in Henan comes close to what has been described by Gladney (1998) and further discussed by Bulag (2000: 178ff.) in the Mongolian context, but is further complicated by the multiple ethnic divides.



or those who see Tibet as a symbol of resistance to the Sinisation of local cultures, but sometimes also to those who want to work in government offices in Tibetan areas. There are some famous writers from this area who consider themselves as Mongols in the name of the local historical heritage but identify themselves with Tibetan culture; such as the writer Tsering Dondrup who stated: "We have Mongolian bones but our life has become thoroughly Tibetan".<sup>15</sup> Most people seem to switch their identity according to what is convenient depending on the context. For example, a retired cadre commented on the shifting ethnic identities of the Arig people thus:

The Arig people of Nyimtha Xiang who were originally Tibetan had officially turned Mongolian in 1964. However on the occasion of the Panchen Lama's visit they communicated to him that they were Tibetans and that for this reason he had to consider his visit to them a priority. And eventually he went [to visit the Arig before meeting others].

#### RE-INVENTING TRADITION IN THE 1980S AND 1990S: THE NAADAM AND THE LATSE

1984 marked the first post-Mao celebration of two important collective events for the Henan population: a mainly secular one called *naadam* which is the revival of a traditional summer festival and a more religious one called *Tsendiri latse* which is basically a territorial cult. Both involve the lay community rather than the monastic one and can be seen as the revival of very ancient Mongolian and Tibetan customs that linked political and religious realms (cf. Stein 1986; Sagant 1990).

##### *The Naadam and the County Governor*

In Henan, at the beginning of August, the community celebrates a festival that goes under the Mongolian name *naadam*, 'the three games of men'. According to the local regulation (*tiaoli*), this should be held every year on August 1<sup>st</sup>.

The festival takes place on the grassland immediately to the south of the capital of Henan County, and lasts three to five days. Beyond the traditional three games of horse-racing, wrestling and archery (often substituted by gun-shooting), it comprises a variety of other games such

<sup>15</sup> See Hartley and Bum 2001: 58–9 and Dondhup 2002: 225ff.

as the human tug-of-war contest, the yak tug-of-war contest, and so on. Although it is largely a secular event, it involves a ritual dimension: for example, before the competitions, many horse riders circumambulate their holy shrine, the main *latse* of their specific community (*tshoba*), to gain blessing and power for the performance.

In parallel with this ancient religious ritual, we can observe a modern political one, consisting of a pageant of the successful work units of the county and formal speeches by political leaders. In the *naadam* I attended in 2001, I noticed that the county governor gave his speech dressed in a *deel* of the Inner Mongolian style, although all other Henan people wore their best local costumes, very similar to that of the Amdo Tibetans of the region. The county governor seemed thereby to epitomise the Mongolian nationality project, in sharp contrast to the multifarious expressions of local customs.

In Henan there are two opposed views on the origin of this festival: some say it was first organised in 1984 by the government, but others say that it was the revival of an ancient local custom. The difference often appears to reflect the relative historical knowledge of the informants. The most comprehensive answer that combined both views came from a former county governor—officially a Mongolian, but originally a Tibetan and the grandson of an official of the *qinwang's* government—who organised the first post-Mao era *naadam*:

The *naadam* did exist before but had different names. This kind of festival in Amdo is called *trosong tong* (*spro gseng gtong*), *khamasang tong* (*kham bsang gtong*), and so on. Here it used to be called *shenglong* (*shing slong*). It used to be celebrated by the aristocrats, it was not a custom of the whole population. It used to be celebrated in the 8<sup>th</sup> month of the local lunar calendar.... In 1951 there was a big change. The *shenglong* was eliminated as a feudal custom and people were not allowed to celebrate it anymore. But in 1980 when the reform era came, people felt the need to find something to revitalise the local culture, something that would take the place of the ancient *shenglong*.

According to the former county governor, in 1984 a government meeting was convened to discuss the matter. Participants included the county Party secretary, the county governor and representatives of the Political Consultative Conference and the People's Congress. The former county governor said that the United Front did not participate in the meeting, although people of the whole county were consulted. A decision was made in the meeting that the county government would

fund and organise a *naadam* festival as a cultural initiative. Particularly interesting is the explanation that he gave us in 2003 about the choice of the name *naadam* as part of a larger plan of reviving the 'lost' Mongolian culture:

The name *naadam* was selected for the summer collective festival. It was an ancient name linking up with Mongolian history. We decided not to call it *shenglong* because this was the name of a feudal custom and was therefore against the Party. When deciding on how to organise the festival, however, we did not look at the *naadam* of Inner Mongolia or Haixi. We rather consulted old people from each settlement, people who have seen a lot. Following their advice, some new games were introduced, and some old ones were re-organised. Some old customs such as the big bonfire, and that of people disappearing somewhere and doing funny or obscene things, no longer exist. In brief, we have kept the good things and eliminated the dubious ones. The symbol of the *naadam* is a horse. I designed it myself. We also fixed the date of celebrating *naadam* in the regulations (*tiaoli*)<sup>16</sup> so that it would be celebrated on August 1<sup>st</sup>. Currently, however, a *naadam* is celebrated by the county every second year and the year-in-between is celebrated by each *tshoba* according to its ritual calendar. Next year [i.e. 2004] there will be a particularly big *naadam* on August 1<sup>st</sup> as we are going to celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County.

August 1<sup>st</sup> is of course also the People's Liberation Army Day, one of the most widely celebrated anniversaries in China. On the surface, the choice of this date for the Tibetan and Mongolian summer festivals seems to recast them in the framework of China's state celebration based on the international time-reckoning system. We shall see below, however, that not all celebrations follow the modern Chinese and the international calendar.

The former governor's denial of any Inner Mongolian influence is puzzling. At least in architecture it is evident that Inner Mongolian models were a source of inspiration for him when he himself designed some of the yurt-shaped local buildings, and even more so for his successors. A later county leader designed the county hotel in the shape of a gigantic concrete yurt, the largest one in existence anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, we cannot dismiss Henan's attempt at reviving local Mongolian culture as the pure engineering of a 'nationality project' for pleasure. We should rather understand it as the strategic choice

<sup>16</sup> This is also mentioned in the *tiaoli* of 1990 reported in the *Henan Xianzhi*, pp. 963–69.

made by the local leadership within the policy framework of the Chinese state in order to revitalise the Mongolian identity of Henan. This revival therefore increasingly followed Inner Mongolian models, the most widespread and most 'authentic' representations of Mongolness in China. It is not surprising that portraits of Chinghis Khan, the ancestor of all Mongols, rather than those of Guushi Khan, the ancestor of the Hoshuud Mongols, have appeared in all shops and houses, from the 1980s onwards, signalling the newly rediscovered Mongolness of Henan.

The choice of the name *naadam* for the festival therefore signalled the attempt at harnessing the "moral authority of the past" (Humphrey 1992) by seeking a link with Mongolian history that could be understood and supported by higher authorities. In doing so, however, it jeopardises the full identification of the festival with the local heritage. The price of this choice is that a large part of the local population feels alienated and ambivalent in the face of the claim that this festival is an authentic revival of their tradition and often considers it a 'new' government undertaking.

In 1984 another important collective event took place for the first time: the celebration of the *latse* of Tsendiri, one of the holiest mountains in the area. It involved, by and large, the whole of Henan county.

### *The Latse, the Community and the Xiang Leaders of Henan County*

Throughout Amdo one sees piles of stones with bushes of prayer-flags on top of hills. These are the *latse*, the shrines of the local territorial gods. In Henan the word *latse* is also used to translate the Mongolian *obao* and this entails a certain sense of equivalence between Tibetan and Mongolian cults of this sort (see Birtalan 1998). In Sogpo/Henan, *latse* is the current name whereas only a few Mongolian speakers of the older generation call it, sometimes, *obao*. In general there are many *latse*, just as there are many *oboos* in other Mongolian areas, and they have different relevances. Some might be related to a family group, others to a *tshoba*, others to a whole tribal federation or even a State. Both in Mongolian and Tibetan areas a *latse* or *obao* ritual has a deep link with the local political organisation and has recently acquired a new importance within discourses promoting local and/or national identity (cf. Karmay 1998: 423ff.). In Sogpo/Henan there are some thirty *latse*s and most of them are worshipped by each of the six *tshoba* in the 5<sup>th</sup>

month of the local calendar. Only the *qinwang*, historically, had the right to worship any of them.

Every household sends at least one representative and he must be a man. In the counties of Henan, Tsekhog and Tongde, women are not allowed to participate in the *latse* celebration. In Labrang and some other areas, women are sometimes allowed. Of all *latse*, however, there is one that seems to involve the whole community and this is the *latse* of Tsendiri (see fig. 1–4). This holy mountain, also called the ‘pillar of the sky’ (*gnam kyi ka ba*), is the seat of a territorial god (*gzhi bdag*) and lies at the spring of the Tsechu (Rtshé chu) river which flows through the Henan territory before entering the Yellow River. Its basin used to be called Tseshung (Rtse gzhung) and until the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the summer residence of the Henan Qinwang used to be located in its upper part. This area, however, was gradually occupied by a number of Tibetan nomads who were subjects of Rebkong monastery and this raised repeated border conflicts. Eventually this area was allocated to Tsekhog (Rtse Khog) county but the disputed border issues remained a running sore. We find mention of the conflicts between Tsekhog and Henan in the 1954 report and there are many more documents that tell about this problem up to the present day (see also Shinjilt in this volume). Despite their different opinions on borders, both Mongols and Tibetans worship Tsendiri. This is a twin-peak and each summit has a *latse*; the one to the east is worshipped by the Mongols of Sogpo/Henan, the one to the west by the Tibetans of Tsekhog.

According to the former county governor, the ritual was first established by the great Tibetan Lama of Labrang in the 18<sup>th</sup> century:

The *latse* ritual for Tsendiri was initiated historically by Jamyang Shepa, the head of Labrang Monastery, and the *qinwang*. Even people from Labrang used to participate as this is a *gyabri* (*rgyab ri*), a holy mountain in the rear area of the monastery.

Buddhist lamas and rituals often acted as an integrating factor between Tibetans and Mongols and this seemed to have been originally the case with the celebration of the Tsendiri ritual as well. However the twin-peak with the two *latse* became later a powerful expression of contrasting ethnic identities linked to local territorial claims, i.e. the Tibetans



of Tsekhog versus the Mongols of Sogpo/Henan.<sup>17</sup> In this context the Tibetans of Sogpo/Henan were acting as Mongols worshipping the Mongolian shrine. According to the former county leader mentioned above, in the 1950s the area that included the mountain was eventually allocated to another neighbouring Tibetan county, Tongde Xian, and the ritual seemed to have gradually disappeared. It was only in the 1980s that this ritual regained momentum. He said,

The 1984 *latse* was possible because of the relaxed policy on religion. There was a broad participation from all over Henan county. Another *latse* ritual for Tsendiri was celebrated in 1991, too. The people of Sogpo would go to the Mongolian shrine on the east summit, whereas the shrine on the other summit was worshipped by the Tibetans of Tsekhog on a different occasion.

In contrast to the regular *latse* ceremonies that are celebrated by the *tshobas* in the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the local calendar and in contrast to the *naadam* that is celebrated by the county on August 1<sup>st</sup>, the *latse* ritual for Tsendiri never became a regular yearly worship. Every time it is decided that a ritual is to be performed, its management committee has to be formed and its timing has to be determined by a high lama.

The calendar that the community and the lama use is what is locally called the 'Tibetan calendar' (Tib.: *Bod rtis*). However, the actual time reckoning system corresponds to the traditional Chinese agricultural calendar (Ch.: *nongli*) that was used throughout the area in Qing times. Nevertheless, the fact that it is called 'Tibetan' conveys the feeling that this is the original local calendar in contrast to the modern Chinese one. Sometimes, in order to differentiate between the Tibetan calendar of Amdo and the Tibetan calendar of Central Tibet, these are called respectively *wodtsi* (*Bod rtis*) and *uitsangitsi* (*Dbus gtsang gi rtis*) or even *wodtsi* and *botsi*—using the same Tibetan word *Bod rtis* but emphasising the different ways in which the 'b' is pronounced in the respective dialects. The way in which different time-reckoning systems are used and labelled reflects not only ethnic and regional identities but also strategic choices of context and shifting alignments.

The deputy leader of Dragmar Xiang was directly involved in the organisation of the *latse* for Tseindiri in 2004. He recently acquired a particularly high profile in Henan as Dragmar was awarded the status

<sup>17</sup> The Sogpo/Henan people act collectively as Mongols even though the population includes numerous Tibetans.

of 'town' (*grong rdal*) in 2001.<sup>18</sup> In the following passage, as someone who was directly involved, he describes the process through which decisions concerning the ritual were taken:

In 2000 the Dragmar community started to suggest that a new general *latse* ceremony to Tsendiri should be performed. For several years there was little rain and the shrine (*latse*) of Tsendiri is located at the spring of the river Tsechu (Rtse chu). So we thought that if we performed a *latse* ritual, it might rain more. It was only in 2003, however, that all village representatives met during a meeting of the County People's Congress and were able to make a common decision on this matter. This initiative, however, had nothing to do with the government. The county governor was merely informed about the initiative after the decision had been taken.

Whether it was just the lack of rain or other agendas that prompted the initiative was difficult to ascertain. The motivations behind the celebration of this ritual appeared to be very complex. In any case the representatives of the *xiangs* organised themselves on behalf of the whole community of Henan county, but in a rather different way than in the case of the *naadam*. The deputy leader of Dragmar Xiang further informed:

A group of twelve people was organised. This consisted of six *xiang* leaders and six representatives of the people of each *xiang*. This group selected a co-ordinator and two deputy co-ordinators and one accountant. They decided that every *xiang* community would raise 10,000 RMB to cover the costs of the organisation of the ritual. Once the organisation group was set up, six representatives went to see Jamyang Shepa to get instructions on the date and the modalities of the ceremony. Jamyang Shepa said: "The *latse* is located in Tongde territory, so first go and speak to the Tongde people!"

The representatives of the Henan community followed the instructions of the great lama but this delayed the celebration:

The Henan representatives talked to the people of Tongde who were directly concerned with the ritual because of the location of the *latse*. The Henan people offered them the chance of participating but if they

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<sup>18</sup> This is part of an ongoing administrative reform. Dragmar became more important than the other *xiangs* and to some extent is seen as potentially competing with the county seat for importance.

wanted to do so they would also have to provide the quota of 10,000 RMB. Eventually the Tongde people decided not to participate but to allow the Henan people to pass through their territory. However, meanwhile the grass had become too high for the ritual to be performed<sup>19</sup> in 2003 and this was postponed to 2004. Now we are waiting for Jamyang Shepa to give final instruction on the issue.

The celebration of 2004 was going to be a particular one as it took place in the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary year of the founding of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County and was thus endowed with an additional significance. On that occasion the Henan people also planned to rebuild their *latse* according to Jamyang Shepa's instructions, for it was accidentally burned down in 2000.

Apparently, there are two different kinds of *latse*s, the simple ones and the more complex ones (see figs 1–2). The deputy leader personally told us how they were going to build the complex *latse* they chose for Tsendiri:

When a *latse* is renewed the remains of the old one are transferred to a secluded place according to a lama's instructions. From here the 'old' should not see the 'new' *latse*. Precious offerings can be cleansed and reused. There are both simple and complex ways of building a *latse*. For a complex *latse* one needs to dig a hole of some 2m of depth. A central pillar *sogshin* (*srog shin*) of quadrangular shape is to be put in the middle. On each side of the faces of the pillar there should be writings according to the instructions of a lama. At the foot of the pillar there is the effigy of the *shibdag* (*gzhi bdag*), wearing full armour and weapons, including bow and arrow. He is seated on a throne at the foot of the main pillar. In the four directions there are wooden tablets with images according to the lama's instructions. Offerings such as money, butter, clothing etc. are placed in the hole. Then everything is covered with earth and stones. On the top there is a quadrangular frame of wood or iron to keep the shape of the *latse*. Here people put their 'arrow-sticks with flags' (*dar lcog*) when they are celebrating *latse* rituals. The *darcogs* are bound together by a *muthag* (*rmu thag*), a long rope on which woollen 'flakes' are tied. Eventually a *latse* ceremony might include a horse or a yak race, depending on the situation and the location. We still have to decide what we are going to perform next year.

<sup>19</sup> When the grass reaches a certain height the transit of a large group of people can be damaging to the pastures. Many pastoral communities have very detailed calendars on when transit over pastures is possible and when not. This kind of regulation can be found not only among Tibetans and Mongols but also in other parts of the world such as among shepherds in the Alps.

The name of the rope, *muthag* (*rmu thag*), apparently recalls the core of ancient myths and rituals of Tibetan royalty: the rope is an instrument by which the earliest Tibetan kings descended from and re-ascended to the sky (cf. Karmay 1998: 282). Since dynastic times (6<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries), this myth has been central to numerous Tibetan notions of political leadership linked to the worship of territorial gods (cf. Sagant 1990).<sup>20</sup> In addition, the ritual texts used for the *latse*, the *sangyig* (*bsangs yig*), also locate the ritual within the framework of Tibetan Buddhism. For example, they use texts such as the *Rtse 'dus ri'i bsang mchod 'dod dgu'i char 'bebs zhes bya ba* (Incense Offering for Tsendiri Letting the Rain of the Nine Wishes Fall) composed by Jamyang Shepa.

The Henan people perform this ritual to worship a Mongolian *latse* and reinforce the memory of the ancient Mongolian territory and its leadership. In doing so, however, they use a largely Tibetan—or perhaps better Tibeto-Mongol—local ritual idiom.<sup>21</sup>

The local leaders who were organising the *latse* have been operating in a religious context and seem to have been keen on adhering strictly to a pattern that could be perceived by the community as authentic and in continuity with the local past. They referred to the ancient places, kept the traditional name of the ritual, appointed representatives of the six communities while limiting the involvement of the county government, referred to an undisputable traditional religious authority such as the head lama of Labrang to make decisions, and decided the date according to the local ancient calendar. Although the *xiang* leaders are actually part of the modern administration they acted as a driving force in a ritual organised by the masses, the *mangtsho* (*dmang tshogs*), i.e. the local community. In doing so they seem to have adhered to the ritual role of the ancient spokesmen of the six *tshobas*, the chieftains. It is therefore not surprising that they organised the *latse* ceremony to *call for rain*. Whether or not they actually believed it, this was part of the political and ritual setting they moulded themselves into. In doing so they do not feel that they are contradicting the modernity/modernisation projects that they promote, as cadres, in other contexts of life.

<sup>20</sup> The local territorial deities control not only the honour and the defence of the country but also its fertility and the well-being of its community. Political leaders have to ensure the regular performance of their rituals.

<sup>21</sup> We were even told that “Sometimes people get the ritual texts from Tibetan areas and these contain spells against the Mongols. But they use them because they can’t understand the text properly”.

## CONCLUSION

Henan Mongolness cannot be easily labelled as a top-down artificial construct 'by the state'; although this is a common current perception enhanced by the use of Inner Mongolian models, foreign to the local community. The issue is more complex and comprises a number of local historical legacies and ongoing concerns (such as territorial claims) which, however, seem to emerge more in the locally managed rituals than in the events organised by the county government. It also involves a great deal of strategic use of cultural and political spaces and these seem to be open to multiple interpretations.

We have noticed that the modern *xiang* organisation reflects to a significant extent the ancient administrative system that blended ancient Mongolian banners and Tibetan *tshobas*. In fact in the 1980s the Chinese State reorganised the local administrative structures that in many ways allowed ancient systems to re-emerge with their cultural and religious features. In the case of the organisation of the Tsendiri *latse*, the six *xiang* leaders seemed to fulfil a double-function and to behave like chieftains. Although they moved within and used modern political structures, for example they used a Peoples' Congress meeting at county level to decide on a collective ritual, this had little to do with the county government and belonged to a different sphere. The six *xiang* leaders were operating as the six chieftains establishing a pact of co-operation for ritual purposes and for the common good of the six communities.

The former county governor who instated the *naadam* seemed also to be caught 'between worlds' but in a different way. While re-inventing a festival that used to be organised by the traditional leadership he operated within a legitimate Chinese state framework. His position—complicated by the fact that he was originally a Tibetan and the son of a pre-revolutionary official—can therefore be interpreted in at least three ways from different standpoints: 1) that of a Tibetan collaborator who opted for the government ethnicity project that constructs an 'island' of artificial Mongolness in a Tibetan region; 2) that of a skillful promoter of local culture, who did this by carefully selecting the framework and the terminology that was most acceptable to the higher authorities; 3) a hero of re-discovered Mongolness who promoted this enterprise relying on government structures.



In conclusion, we realise that it is very difficult to separate, neatly, community from government. Leaders might play multiple roles both formally and informally. And multiple 'interpretative communities', defining meanings of symbols and practices, seem to cut across both categories. These determine to what extent and on whose terms an appointed cadre can be seen also as a member 'of the people', and is endowed with those qualities that Stephan Feuchtwang and Wang Mingming (2001) described as 'grassroots charisma'.

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Plate 1: People throwing *lung rta* at the Tsendiri *latse*. Photo by Humchen



Plate 2: Encampment of the people celebrating the Tsendiri *latse*. Photo by Humchen



Plate 3: Celebrating Tsendiri *latse*. Photo by Humchen



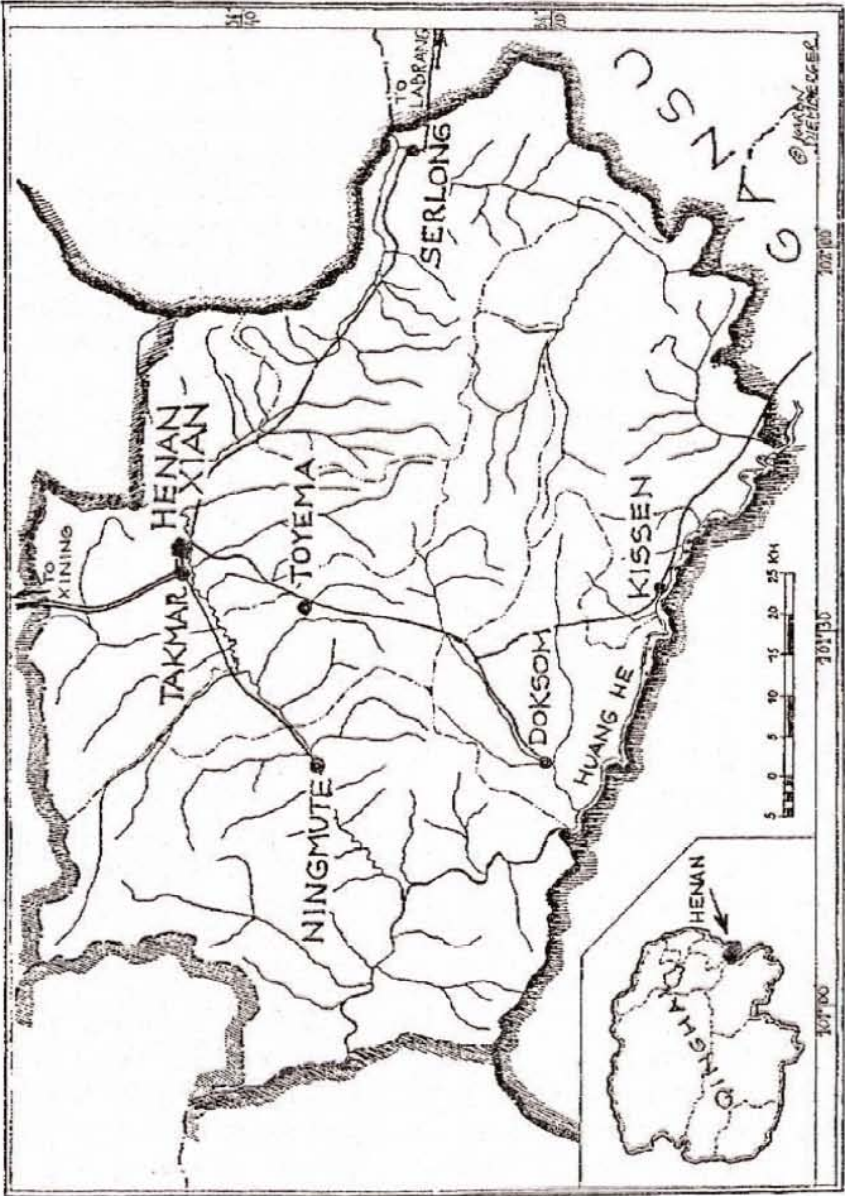
Plate 4: Monks participating in the rituals. Photo by Humchen



Plate 5: Keru *lha khang*. Photo by Pasang Wangdu



Plate 6: Tsendiri *latse*. Photo by Humchen



Map 1: The Henan Mongolian Autonomous County. Graphics by Karen Diemberger



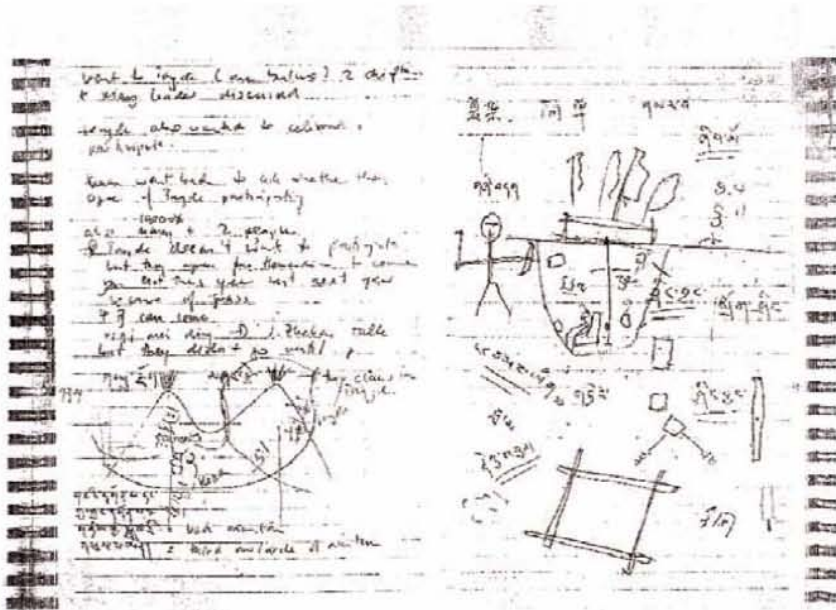


Figure 1: Sketches by Henan official in a fieldwork notebook. Figures 2–4 are based upon sketches in this notebook

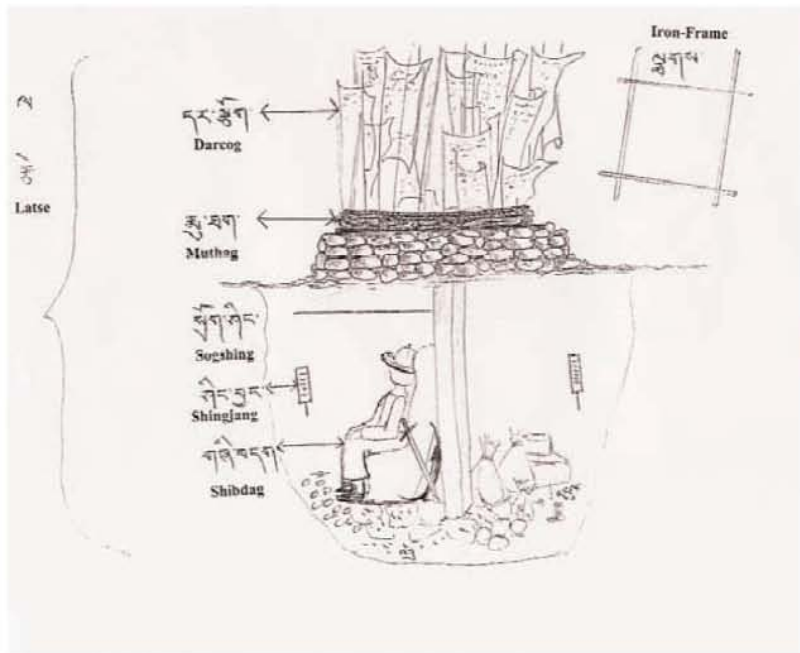


Figure 2: Henan Latse, shrine for a local deity. Graphic by Jana Diemberger according to a local sketch (see Figure 1)

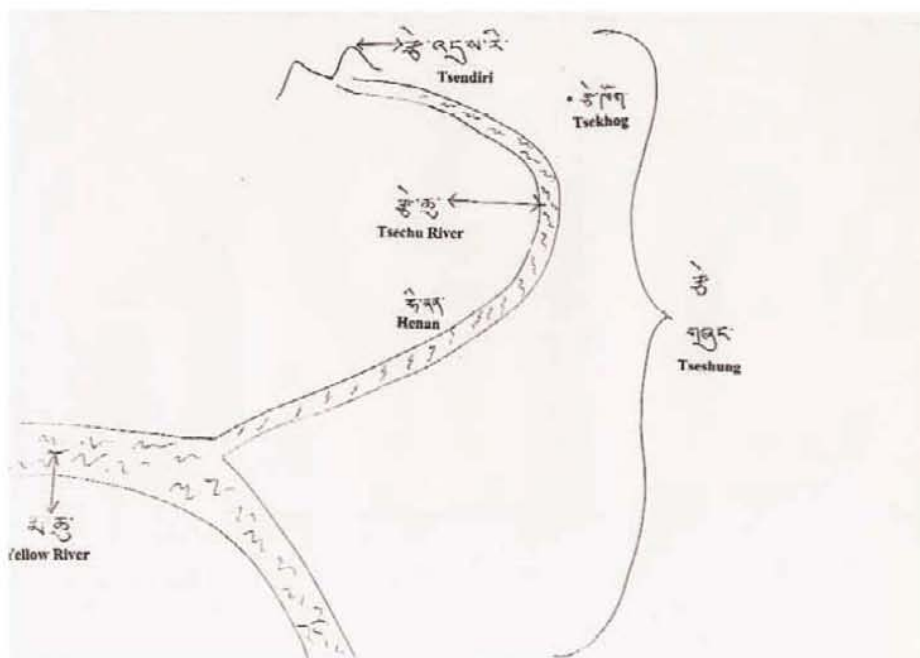


Figure 3: Tsendiri twin-peak located at the source of the Tsechu river. Graphic by Jana Diemberger according to a local sketch (see Figure 1)



Figure 4: Tsendiri twin-peak. Graphic by Jana Diemberger according to a local sketch (see Figure 1)

# RITUAL IDIOMS AND SPATIAL ORDERS: COMPARING THE RITES FOR MONGOLIAN AND TIBETAN 'LOCAL DEITIES'

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## INTRODUCTION

Comparison of the *la rtse* and *obo* (*obuy-a*, *ovoo*, *oboo*)<sup>1</sup> rituals reveals a series of similarities. The cairns of stones with their Wind Horse flags themselves look almost identical; both rites are traditionally attended by adult males and are followed by horse races and archery contests. Similar offerings and prayers are employed, and both aim to propitiate spirit masters/owners or deities of a local territory. In the Tibetan case the local entities concerned might be *gzhi bdag*, *yul lha* or *sa bdag*. The equivalent Mongolian local spirits were *gajarun ejed* [*gazaryn ezed*] (masters of the land), and spirits were classed as *sa bdag* and the eight classes of lords of land and water by the monastic establishment.<sup>2</sup> The spirits associated with a given *obo* and locality have different characters and preferences with respect to offerings.<sup>3</sup> The prayers made at these ceremonies typically call upon the local spirits for protection

<sup>1</sup> These are common alternative spellings, the transliteration from classical script being *obug-a*. Here I choose *obo*, following Bawden and Birtalan. I write contemporary Mongolian place and personal names using the standard transliteration system for the Cyrillic script. When quoting words and passages from sources written in the classical script I transliterate these and include the Cyrillic transliteration in square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> See Heissig (1980: 103–5).

<sup>3</sup> Some, for example a *chagan luu* [*tsagaan luu*] (white dragon spirit), should be offered white foods such as dairy products and rice, not meat or alcohol; while at those *obos* associated with *har-a luu* [*har luu*] 'black' spirits, offerings should include these items. The usual Mongolian terms for rice and dairy products both include the word *tsagaan*—white—while *har* (black) has been associated with both alcohol (*har arih*) and meat (see the Secret History section 167, Cleaves 1982: 91). However, the term *tsagaan budaa* appears to be a translation of Chinese term *baimi*—white rice—and may not be the original Mongol term, which is apparently kept in Ordos as *duturga* (Bulag 2005, pers. comm.).

from illness, plague, drought, storms or other adverse weather, cattle-pest, thieves, wolves and other dangers, and request long life, increased herds and good fortune.<sup>4</sup>

In both cases the practices had and continue to have important political aspects. In the Tibetan case Karmay (1998: 423–50) argues that the concept of *gzhi bdag / yul lha* local deities reflects the territorial divisions of the polity of the early Tibetan clan society, and their rituals may have originally resembled the muster of warriors by local leaders. In Qing times the Mongolian rites expressed the administrative divisions and subdivisions of the state and reflected the relations of political subjects to district authorities (Sneath 2000: 235–50). Bulag (2002: 37–41) has described the use by the Qing of the ceremonies for the Höhnuur lake deity to legitimate and regulate the use of land between Tibetan and Mongolian groups in the Höhnuur region. In Mongolia the *obo* ceremony has now become expressive of the political order once again, after decades of Soviet-inspired disapproval and marginalisation. A ceremony for Otgon Tenger mountain was carried out in 2003 by President Bagabandi in his home province of Zavhan, with rites performed by monks brought in from the central monastery of Gandan in Ulaanbaatar. The rite had been adapted to better reflect the current political order—women attended in significant numbers, for example, and the importance of the national sacra was indicated by the use of a Great Bow of State fired by a national champion at the end of the ritual.

The history of these *obo* rites is a product of the relationship between Mongolia and Tibet, and the worship of mountain and other local deities can be read as an index of notions of political and territorial order. In the Tibetan case Petech (1988) and Diemberger (1994) describe the association between ceremonies carried out at ritual sites on sacred mountains and royal jurisdiction over given territories. In his study of *yul lha* local deity worship in Dolpo, Schicklgruber (1998: 100) argues that mountain gods and their characters can be seen as abstractions of the social order. He describes *yul lha* as usually mountain deities that are:

the ideal centre of a clearly defined community in a clearly defined area, iconographically depicted as mythological heroes in the style of a traditional warrior, bound by oath to protect Buddhist doctrine, watching over

<sup>4</sup> Heissig 1980: 105–6; Bawden 1958: 38–9; Tatar 1976: 26–33.

the social order and morality. In exchange for regular worship and offerings they act as protectors of the area. They or rather their goodwill are the precondition for the settlement of the area (Schicklgruber 1998: 99–100).

This analysis closely resembles the one I offered for contemporary Inner Mongolia *obo* rites which employ a symbolic logic to place the spiritual ‘masters of the land’ under an obligation to favour the worshippers in a way that is analogous to patronage (Sneath 2000: 245–47). The rites and offerings at the *obo*, I argue, allow the people of a given locale to petition the local spiritual authorities for good conditions—timely rain, good pasture, mild winters, herd increase and so on. This is necessarily a political act, as it also recognises the human authorities entitled to represent a particular group of subjects in their dealings with local deities.

But there is a limit to what studies of contemporary practices can reveal about the past, and to explore the history of the *obo* and its relationship with Tibetan ritual we must look to historical texts that shed light upon its origins.

#### TEXTS ON THE FOUNDATION OF AN *OBO*

As Heissig (1954) and Bawden (1958) have pointed out, the eighteenth century was a time in which the monastic establishment was concerned with satisfying the demand among the Mongol nobility for Buddhist ritual. Probably the best-known texts describing the foundation of *obos* and the associated rites of worship are the eighteenth century works of the Mergen Diyanchi Lama<sup>5</sup> of the Urad studied by Banzarov (1955), Heissig (1954), Bawden (1958), and Evans and Humphrey (2003).

The Mergen Diyanchi Lama explains that such is the demand from worshippers for a practical manual for the construction of *obos* and the worship at them that he has reluctantly agreed to write one. He adds:

Now there has been a great deal of chatter in our land about the erection and worship of *obos*, and so on, and it is rumoured that there was an ancient rite, but so much apart, this ancient rite was never widely diffused in our country, and no original text of it has been seen, nor have books of regulations been composed by learned scholars in our own

<sup>5</sup> Here I follow Bawden and Birtalan in writing of the Mergen Diyanchi Lama rather than using a title such as Gegeen.

quarter. Though there was an ancient Mongol text from the olden days, it would be difficult for its practical application and reading to be understood, and I myself asked about it, but was unable to hear about it, and since the specialists are without knowledge of it, I wrote this sourceless text. The fact that it escaped my attention will, on becoming known, be a matter of endless shame to myself and of disgust to scholars, but it is impossible to refuse those who have said that they wish to have worship made to *obos*.... (Bawden 1958: 27)

The text describes the Mergen Diyanchi Lama's solution to the problem of providing proper instructions on the construction and worship at the *obo*. It is particularly interesting, then, to examine a text on the *obo* that was written about a century earlier. It would be tempting to imagine this might be a copy of the ancient text that the Mergen Diyanchi Lama searched for in vain, but this seems unlikely. However, it does represent an example of the earlier writings on the *obo* that the venerable lama refers to.

THE TEXT OBUGAN-U EGÜDKU JANG ÜILE SELTE ORUSIBA  
[OVOONY ÜÜDEKHIIN ZAN ÜIL SELT ORSHIV]  
(RITES AND SO ON FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN *OBO*)

This text is now kept in the Mongolian National Central Library (manuscript location 5109/96, registration number 79380) and was the subject of a detailed study by U. Erdenetuya (2002: 1–5).<sup>6</sup> It was handwritten sometime between 1649 and 1691 on Chinese paper. Comparison of this text with the Mergen Diyanchi Lama's provides a number of revealing insights.

It is very clear that the model—or at least one very powerful guide—for these new plans for *obos* was Tibetan ritual. Both the Mergen Diyanchi Lama's text and the 1649–91 one are full of elements that must be drawn from Tibetan examples. The image of the garuda bird (the kite-like king of the birds and steed of Vishnu in Indian mythology), for example, is to be set on the central wooden post of the *obo*. Both texts include this Tibetan term, which is described in Tibetan texts as nesting in the tree atop Mount Sumeru (Stein 1972: 209). Both texts

<sup>6</sup> I would like to thank U. Erdenetuya for introducing me to this text, discussing it with me, and allowing me to reproduce it.

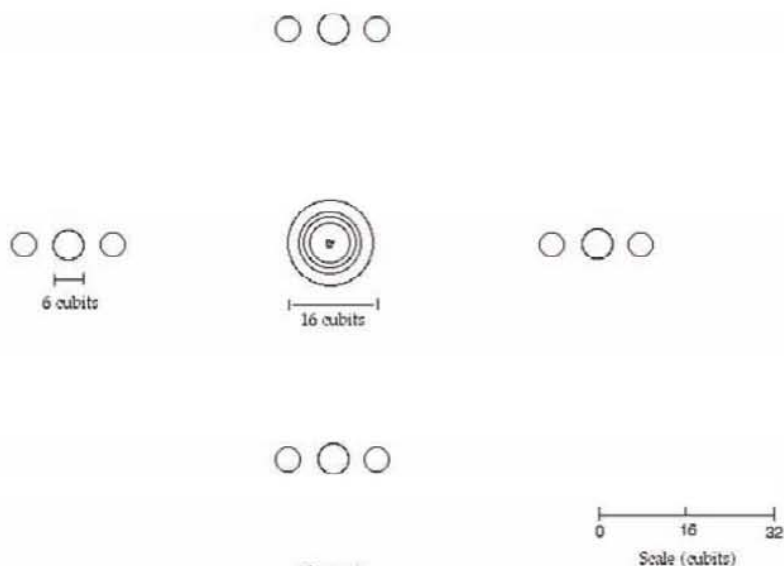
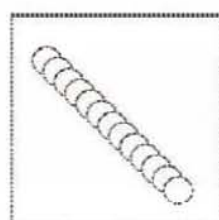


also require that 21 smaller birds be placed around the garuda, as well as lapis lazuli, silk, and a series of trees that are described in genealogical terms. Juniper is described as the ‘father of trees’, bamboo the mother, tamarisk as the son,<sup>7</sup> birch the (maternal) uncle, willow the daughter. The 1649–91 text also lists a number of blessings that an *obo* will bring to worshippers, and notes: “In addition to this it is said that there are many benefits for followers [of these rites] as taught by Teacher Badmasambava”. This reference to a figure closely associated with Tibetan Nyingma-pa traditions is also found in the Mergen Diyanchi Lama’s text (Bawden 1958: 36) and suggests that both authors were looking to existing Tibetan ritual for models in drawing up this manual on *obo* construction. This reflects other key Buddhist references such as the garuda bird and Mount Sumeru that also imply Tibetan connections. Such a body of ritual might, or might not, have been combined with indigenous Mongolian innovations or elements from some older set of practices.

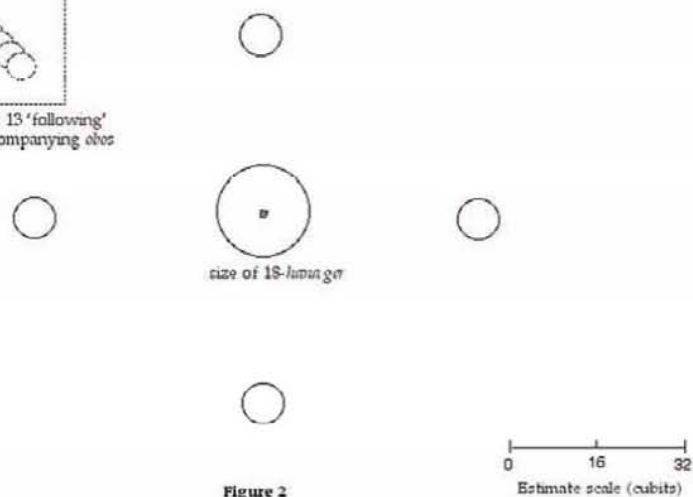
It is particularly interesting to examine the differences between the texts. In general the Mergen Diyanchi Lama’s text describes a more elaborate approach to construction, more complex sets of assemblages of ritual items and sutras, and seems to contain more Tibetan references. The formula in the 1649–91 text is somewhat less scholarly, and is perhaps closer to the Mongolian vernacular of the time. The size of the *obo*, for example, is described as that of a ger (*yurt*) made with 18 qanatu [*hana*] (sections of yurt wall) in the 1649–91 text. The Mergen Diyanchi Lama, however, does not rely on such vernacular measurements but gives precise dimensions in *tohui* [*tohoi*] cubits. The 1649–91 text makes no mention of the three layers on top of the *obo*, which the Mergen Diyanchi text describes and gives dimensions for. The 1649–91 text simply describes the four *obos* at the cardinal directions as lesser (öcükən [öchüühen]) *obos* and describes them as sentinels or watch-posts (qaragul [*haruul*]), whereas the Mergen Diyanchi Lama shows his erudition by comparing the sentinel *obos* to the four great continents of Buddhist cosmology.

This suggests that the author of the 1649–91 text might have been less well versed in Tibetan Buddhist ecclesiastical literature than the

<sup>7</sup> In Mergen Diyanchi Lama’s text this is tamarisk, whereas in the 1649–91 text the plant is ‘*balqun*’—which although I cannot positively identify, appears to be similar enough to *balgu* (tamarisk) to be the likely meaning.

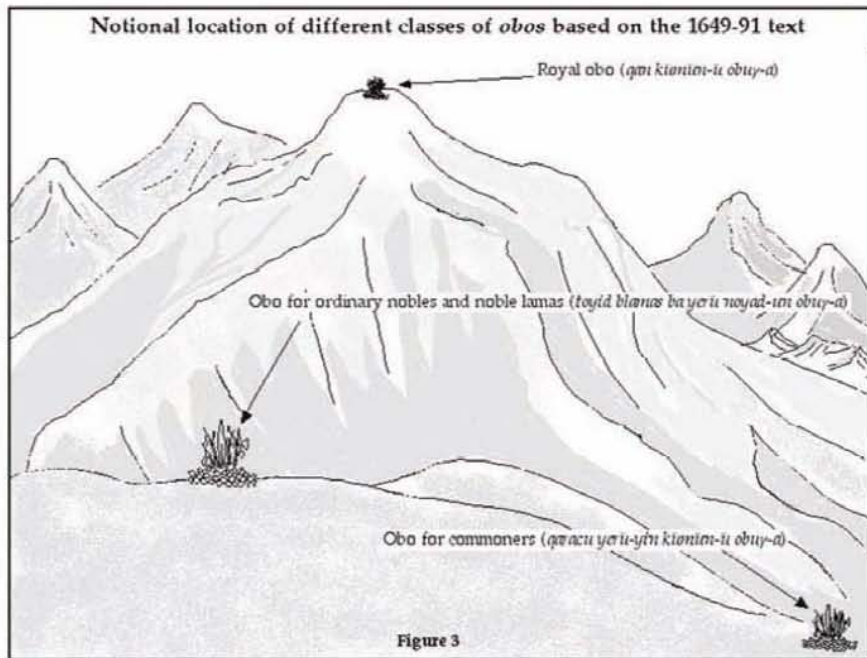
Plan for the *obo* from the Mergen Diyanchi Lama's textPlan for the *obo* from 1649-91 text

Placed somewhere: 13 'following'  
(*hoiwoos daruul*) accompanying oboes



learned Mergen Diyanchi, and there is evidence to suggest that his views might reflect the interests of the Mongolian aristocracy to a greater degree.

Because one of the most striking differences between the Mergen Diyanchi and 1649–91 text is the way in which the spatial arrangement of *obos* reflects the secular socio-political hierarchy. The Mergen Diyanchi Lama, whose own position rested on ecclesiastical rather than royal structures, notes that “much is said about the erection of a royal *obo* upon the summit of a high mountain” but he himself suggests that there is no need to do so.<sup>8</sup> The venerable lama might have been commenting on the 1649–91 text itself, because it does instruct that royal *obos* (*qan kümün-ü obuy-a* [*han hümüünii ovoo*]) should be built on the



<sup>8</sup> The passage reads: “Now further, in the erection of an obo, much is said about the erection of a royal obo upon the summit of a high mountain, but in the ordinary run of events, since obos in this land of ours are made as a shrine and receptacle in which will dwell the gods and dragons and eight classes of the lords of land and water... as to the question of what terrain may be appropriate, one should erect them... upon majestic, elevated ground... such as to make the whole mass of the people fall to their knees when assembled” (Bawden 1958: 28–29).

summit of high mountains. Furthermore, it insists that two entirely different obos should be built for the two broad classes of royal subjects—nobles and commoners. The *obo* for noble lamas and ordinary nobles (*toyin blamas ba yerü noyad-un obuy -a* [*toin lam ba yör noyodyn ovoo*]) should be located on high terraces or plateaux, and the *obos* for commoners and ordinary people (*qaracu yerü-yin kümün-ü obuy -a* [*harts yörüin hüümüünii ovoo*]) should be located in low mountain passes. A comparable separation between *obos* for different social strata is also mentioned in one of the early Tibetan texts that may predate both the Mergen Diyanchi Lama and 1649–91 text. The text by Blo bzang nor bu shes rab studied by Gerasimova (1981) and Birtalan (1998) describes five types of obos including ones for royalty and commoners.

#### RITUAL ORDER AND POLITICAL SPACE

This vertical separation reflects a ‘logic of the concrete’ linking senior status with elevation and size. This is so familiar as to have become almost invisible to us. As Leach (1972: 335) notes:

the very words we use in English indicate how deeply ingrained is the idea that this kind of social relationship can be represented in the ‘logic of the concrete’ by differences of relative level, above—below.

The way in which we express concepts of differential social importance is governed by an underlying metaphorical scheme in which the location of items signify their relative importance, and by which ‘high’ is conceived of as more senior than ‘low’. In almost any description of the social ranking, we make use of this metaphorical foundation by which location and posture denote social importance.

The ‘cult of height’ and the participation of certain mountains in what Berounsky and Slobodnik (2003: 265) term ‘ruling power’ in the Tibetan case appears to rest on idioms that are also found in Mongolia long before the 1649–91 text was written. *The Secret History of the Mongols* records that at least one mountain—Burhan Khaldun—was an object of worship in twelfth century Mongolia, although in this case the ceremony described appears to be an innovation on the part of Temujin after the mountain saved his life by offering him a place of refuge. He is recorded as announcing that every morning he and his descendants would sacrifice and pray to the mountain. The only ritual mentioned,

however, is a relatively simple matter of hanging his girdle about his neck, taking his hat in his hand, striking his breast and making nine obeisances before offering a libation in a way that almost certainly conformed with established notions of ceremonial homage of the time (see Cleaves 1982: 37; de Rachewiltz 2004: 33). But it seems very likely that traditions of sacred mountains existed at that time, as de Rachewiltz (2004: 253) suggests. It is known that the Kitans of the tenth–twelfth century Liao state had a number of holy mountains which were the seats of different gods. One of which, Mount Mu-yeh, was a central site of worship for the entire Kitan people, at which annual rites were conducted. The Kitans had other annual ceremonies, and many of these were festive rituals that included sporting contests of wrestling, archery and equestrian skill (Franke 1990: 406). White was a sacred colour, and it is interesting to note its association with divinity in *la rtse* and *obo* ceremonial texts. It seems probable, then, that annual rites of some sort with associated contests of archery, wrestling and equestrianism were at least well-known in Mongolia, if not universally practised.

There is no mention in either of the texts of a pre-existing *obo* or other structure. The instructions on how the place for the foundation of the *obo* was to be chosen, and the base marked out, suggests that these rites were not designed to be a method of Buddhist sanctification of existing sites, although this may of course have happened in practice. But it is interesting to note that some archaeological work on early Scythian mortuary sites suggests that the use of piles of rocks to help preserve items buried beneath them was a well-understood steppe technique that was applied to the burials of leading figures, perhaps so as to preserve their remains (Asanbekov *et al.* 2002). Given the widespread use of rocks to mark graves in the Orkhon Turkish period and the possibility that there was a tradition of noble burials on mountains in twelfth century Mongolia (suggested by de Rachewiltz 2004: 593), it might well be that the construction of cairns as mortuary sites was a practice that was known long before the ‘third wave’ of Buddhism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—particularly among powerful lineages with good reason to manifest the importance of an ancestor. But we need not assume such continuities to see the appeal that the new or transformed *obo* practice might have for the Mongolian elite.

Stein (1972: 206) notes that the Tibetan cairns represent what he describes as ‘warrior deities of the mountains’ and also called ‘gods of the country’ (*yul lha*), ‘gods of the males’ (*pho lha*) or ‘warrior gods’

(*dgra lha*). One can certainly see the appeal to the Mongol warrior nobility of rituals of this type—the worship of local deities that could preserve distinctive elements of local political mythology while fitting into the well-established Tibetan categories. The notion of ‘masters of the land’ *gajar-un ejed* [*gazaryn ezed*] in Mongol or *sa bdag* in Tibetan, seems also to be an indigenous Mongolian concept—a reference is made to them in the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Secret History*.<sup>9</sup> Although there is no mention of any sort of markers associated with these entities or rituals directed towards them, it suggests the concept was a familiar one and that a fund of local myths may have already existed to draw upon.

We can detect a certain disdain for the practice, at least on the part of the Mergen Diyanchi Lama who specifically notes that he is writing his manual at the request of others. One could imagine, then, that these demands might come from Mongol noblemen who might have been aware of the martial *lha tse* rituals and found it a particularly attractive practice. We can appreciate the appeal to nobles of earning merit in the eyes of the Buddhist establishment through rituals towards distinctively local topological and perhaps mythological figures portrayed as warrior gods. Particularly if this involved the creation of spectacular ritual structures that marked royal or noble rank. However, by the time of the Mergen Diyanchi Lama if not before, there were senior members of the monastic establishment that had little interest in the marking of royal rank with mountain-top *obos*, and who were more concerned with ensuring local practices followed ecclesiastical teachings.

Throughout the period described by the 1649–91 and the Mergen Diyanchi Lama texts, then, the ecclesiastically-sanctioned *obo* was a popular, spreading and, it appears, a somewhat contested ritual form. The *obo* can be treated, perhaps, as a ritual technology with powerful political applications that developed and spread as the Tibet-oriented monastic establishment interacted with Mongol elites.

<sup>9</sup> The lords and masters of the water and land—*gajar usun-u äjät qat* [*gazar usany ezed had*]—are mentioned in section 272 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (see Cleaves 1982: 212; Pelliot 1949: 112). These particular spirits (located in China) were said to have become angry and caused the illness of Ögödei Khan.



## INTER-RELATED POLITICO-RITUAL IDIOMS IN MONGOLIA AND TIBET

The institutions of local deity appear well-adapted to the ritual expression of territorial orders, they seem distinguishable from the monastic tradition in Tibet, and probably predate widespread monastic Buddhism in Mongolia. Could they represent a class of politico-cosmological notions common to both parts of Inner Asia? At the level of state administration there are a number of parallels in the ways in which the centre and constituent parts of the polity are constituted and oriented. The Tibetan state made use of administrative distinctions between eastern and western 'horns' since the time of Song Tsen Gampo's seventh century empire if not before. Politics of the Mongolian steppe display parallel distinctions, some of them extremely ancient. The administrative space of the Xiongnu empire of the third century BCE was described in the *Han shu* as the 'four horns' and 'six horns'. Since that time steppe polities have persistently utilised similar idioms of spatial orientation and distribution, such as the *tölis* and *tardush* (eastern and western wings) of the sixth century Turkish empire.

The *stong sde* 'thousand-districts' were fundamental administrative units of Song Tsen Gampo's state (Uray and Uebach 1994: 913). These were grouped into the 'four horns' *ru bzi* of Tibet: the *gyon ru* (left horn), *g.yas ru* (right horn) and *dbu ru* (central horn). The *ru lag* 'additional horn' was added in the 8<sup>th</sup> century Du Song period. Such administrative units of one thousand also appear to be an Inner Asian politico-military form of very long standing. Sima Qian in the *Shi ji* records that the Xiongnu were administered in units of one thousand. The myriad (*minggan*) was the basic administrative unit of the Jurchens of the twelfth century Jin state (Crossley 1997: 27), as was the *minggan* [*myangan*] unit of Chinggis Khan's thirteenth century Mongol empire. The administrative divisions of the early Mongol state resembled Song Tsen Gampo's more closely than either the Xiongnu or Jurchen in that thousand units were grouped into a 'right hand' (western) a 'left hand' (eastern) and a 'middle' forming units of ten thousand (*tumen*). These administrative forms are clearly different from the Chinese *jun-xian* tradition in which 'commanderies' (*jun*) are made up of 'county' districts (*xian*) of a notional 500 hearths—as can be seen from the study of areas in which one system replaced the other—such as eighth century Dunhuang (Takeuchi 1994: 856).

The division into the centre, the right and the left are also military institutions of very long standing. As with other steppe institutions, such as the unit of a thousand, it would thus combine administrative and military functions, or at least would conceptually match these requirements. This suggests that idioms and notions of military-civil statecraft have been widely borrowed and adapted by the state-building elites in Inner Asia since very early times.<sup>10</sup>

The Mergen Diyanchi Lama's text also reveals this orientation of the human body and the body politic to the south, and the organisation of space into left (east) and right (west). The four sentinel *obos* are each described as having two companion *obos*, and it is clear from the text that Mergen Diyanchi Lama assumes without explicitly stating, that these are located to the left and right of each sentinel. It becomes clearer to see why both texts compare the *obo* to a glorious warrior facing his enemies. From very ancient times military-administrative organisation had been bound up with the ordering of space, and the ritual practice of the *obo* reflected such order.

#### CONCLUSION

The rites to local deities can be read as expressive of political as well as cosmological orders. In the seventeenth century the 1649–91 text reveals the way in which the spatial order of the landscape was represented as reflecting the political order, and the way that *obo* ritual practices reflected both. For the body of opinion represented in the 1649–91 text, the relatively new Buddhist *obos* (whether replacing older cairns or not) were to be divided in the same way as political subjects, between royal, noble and commoner. The high mountains were the preserve of royal ritual and the seat of local deities who embody the martial values of great steppe lords. But this ritual order, if not the political one, is contestable and the Mergen Diyanchi Lama appears much more concerned that the new rites should reflect Buddhist scripture than royal distinction.

The mountain and local deities appear to have been part of a repertoire of mutually-comprehensible politico-ritual institutions that span

<sup>10</sup> I do not wish to imply that these borrowings were limited to Inner Asian polities, indeed, it is important to recognise their links to the wider political traditions of East Asian and even Eurasian statecraft.

Inner Asia. They express a world of order through relations with lordly and/or royal power. Their rites represented an idiom for the expression of the legitimate occupation of territory and the political relations within these territories, and they could also allow for the expression of larger political units. If it seems too speculative to imagine such repertoires existing over such long distances as to link Mongolia and Tibet, and such lengths of time as to connect the thirteenth century with the eighteenth century, it is worth noting the longevity of other political orders—e.g. the administrative unit of the thousand, the southerly orientation of the political body, and division into central, western (right) and eastern (left) administrative units.

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## ADDENDUM

*obuyan-u egüdku jang üile selte orusiba*

(Original Mongolian text reproduced by kind permission of U. Erdenetuya)

*Translation*

## RITES AND SO ON FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW OBO

*The requirements for the erecting of an obo are*

The *obos* of royal persons [should be] on the top of high mountains, and  
 The *obos* of noble lamas and ordinary nobles on high land terraces  
 The *obos* of ordinary common people on mountain passes (saddles)  
 Therefore, generally the sort of place for the rituals [should be]  
 With water in front (to the South) and complete [with] land of each type, and  
 [where the] skirts (*hoshuu*) of mountains meet, visible from near and far,  
 Looking like a sentinel, so as not to harm the benefactor's bodily elements  
 Like a crossroads where dignitaries and commoners are gathered.  
 Such a place is always very good

*The benefits of erecting and worshipping at an obo*

In this life to dispel ghosts and  
 Multiply children and grandchildren and  
 Increase produce, livestock, goods and property,  
 Wipe away impermissible bad ulcers and  
 Ill fortune from others and  
 Three hundred and sixty devils, four hundred and four illnesses,  
 The one thousand and eighty unforeseen obstacles, [let them] cause no harm,  
 obtain good fortune  
 By pleasing the stern authorities, great lords of the land, find rebirth in a great  
 noble lineage  
 In addition to this it is said that there are many benefits for followers [of these  
 rites] as taught by Teacher Badmasambava.

*Now this is the rule for erecting the obo*

Take armour, quiver, bow, arrow, sword, spear,  
 Split a cedar three cubits long, on it write twenty one times the heart mantras  
 of Yamandaka, Mahakala, Okin Tngri, and Vanchirbani.  
 Wrap it with multi-coloured [silk] gauze and make it a central shaft

Make a white *baling* (dough offering), make eight *shavdag* (Tibetan class of local deities) [images], make twelve years [animal images],

A good arrow fletched with eagle feather, a piece of silk, multi-coloured [silk] gauze, seven red pearls,

Turquoise, lapis lazuli, amber, seashell, cowry shell, silk of five colours,

The three taste-types of fat, yoghurt, milk, honey, treacle, raisins, plum, various fruits,

The six sovereign remedies and so on, include the medicine of the *luus* (local deity / water spirit)

Create the body of a great king *garuda* bird and fix it on the top of the central shank,

Make twenty-one small birds around it

Fill up an urn or good clay bottle with these treasures

The three taste types of various medicines and seed of many types of grain,

Wrap the [vessel's] mouth with [silk] gauzes of five colours,

Place a wheel of male and female, matter and mind, above and below,

Place the bottle inclining its mouth in the direction of sunrise.

#### *Now to erect the obo*

Fill up the area of an eighteen *han* (wall section) *ger* (yurt) with stones,

Place a white *baling* in front (to the South) of the central beam stuck [there]

Place around the twelve year [animals] each in a different direction

Erect a high body of the *obo*

Around the top place 21 stones on which the six-letter prayer (*um ma ni pad me hum*) is written

Raise (build) the base beautifully round

In the four directions erect four small *obos* as sentinels

Erect 13 *obos* to follow behind

Upon those four sentinels place a great juniper bush, father of trees,

A bundle of three jointed bamboo, mother of trees, a bundle of *balqun*,<sup>11</sup> son of trees,

A big bush, with roots, of birch, maternal uncle of trees, willow daughter of trees and

Various trees to be objects of veneration of the *obo*,

Eighty one arrows, eighty one spears, eighty one swords and armour [and] quivers,

<sup>11</sup> Unknown term, possibly it indicates *balgu* (tamarisk).



Place bows and arrows, swords, spears and so on to be weapons of the *obo*,  
 Place a standard and brasier and so on as the equipment of the *obo*,  
 Fix an animal bristle pennant to a good spear  
 Put on a flag with a picture to the west for multiplying *kei mori* (prayer flags)  
 Count thirteen *bum bsang*<sup>12</sup> and place about the *obo*

Like a heroic [warrior] person attacking enemies  
 Or a girl or woman person wearing clothes and jewellery  
 It is good if [the *obo*] has a complete set of the various treasures  
 As the emperor of mountains, the glorious Mount Sumber

### *Readings*

Read Öljei Qutug Naiman Gegeen and Qarsi-yin Naiman Gegeen, Qas Erdeni-yin Naiman Gegeen and Ebügen Emegen Sutra, Gajar-un Jirüken-ü Sutra and Dolugan Qosigun-u Sutra, Altan Dusal, Luusan Chovaka, Luusun Qanggal and then Thirteen Bum Bsangs Luusun Bsangs, Ündüsün Bsangs and so on. Thereupon, lamas imbue [the *obo*] with blessing, scatter libations [of milk] to consecrate [the *obo*]

Sacrifice chicken and sheep and then a bull and so on,  
 Bring before the *obo* consecrated (*seter*) [livestock] of the four [sorts of] livestock, and put [them] circling [the *obo*]  
 Invite favour from [the] four directions  
 Tie hair from the slaughtered livestock around the tree branches of the *obo*,  
 Offer [what is] called the sixth *balin* to the four directions,  
 Offer a *dorma* (dough offering) to the [spirit] master of the land

Then circle the *obo* reciting *mani* (*um ma ni pad me huum*)  
 Beg blessing of the lamas, gain benediction of [long] life  
 Nine riders on white horses [should bring] white food (diary products) and all sorts of food to offer  
 Galloping swiftly from the four directions  
 Spread white silk beneath the teacher (lama) conducting the rites  
 Or else spread a big white felt  
 Bless and assume [form], imagine having become Ochirvaani  
 Hold an arrow in [silk] gauze and intone in this way.











**obuŋan-u egüdkü jang üile  
selte oruşıba**

- 1 -

obuŋ-a bosqaquı keregtü bolbasu  
qan kömün-ü obuŋ-a öndür ayula-  
yin orgıl ba, toyıd blama ba,  
yerü noyad-un obuŋ-a yaçar-un  
degere debseg öndür, qaraçu  
yerü-yin kömün-ü obuŋ-a-yi  
kötél yaçara, teyimü-eçe takıyda-  
qu, yerü yaçar-un yançu bürin  
kiged, emüne usutai ba, yaçarun  
tusburı çoyçalaysan ba, olan  
ayula-yin qoşıyü neyilekü metü,  
ende tendeçe ilete üjegdekü metü,  
qarayul qaraysan metü, öglige-  
yin ejen-ü maqabod luŋ-a qarsi  
busu metü, olan jam ende tende-  
eçe ireküi yekes aran ba olan  
ulus-un çiyulqu metü, imayta  
teyimü qaçarun bolbasu ülemji  
sayın bui, obuŋ-a bosqan  
takıysan-u ači-anu, ene törül-  
dür amin nasan-u jedker arılaqu  
ba, köbegün ači üre delgereküi  
ba, adal mal ed tavar terigüten  
arbidqu kiged, ülü bolqu mayu  
yarus arılaqu ba, öljei busu  
busud-aça könegekü ba, yurban

- 2a -

jayun jıran ada, dörben  
jayun dörben ebedçin-ü genedte  
uçıraqu mingŋ-a nayan todqar  
terigüten ülü könegeged öljei  
qutuy orusiqu erketen  
berketen yeke yaçarun ejen bayasuŋ-  
san-iyar, çisun törül yeke  
ıjıayur obuŋ-i oluy. egün-e  
busud-bar dayan bayasun nöğüçeg-  
sen-ü ači tusa anu yeke buyu  
kemeküi terigüten-ü badma  
sambhava  
bayısi-ber nomlajuquı.  
edüge obuŋ-a bosqaquı-yin yosun

inu eyimü buyu, quyay, sayaday  
numu sumu, jıda, ıldü oruqu  
bui. qusi modun-i tallaju  
urtu-inu yurban toquı,  
tegün-dür yamandaka, mahakala,  
okin tngri, vaçir banı,  
eden-ü jırüken-ü tarınası  
qorin nijiged biçijü eriyen  
kib-iyer orıyayad dumdadu  
youl keyigdeküi, nige  
çayan baling ki, naiman sibday  
ki, arban qoyar jıl ki.  
nigen sayın bürgüd ödutei

- 2b -

sumun, nigen eng toray-a, eriyen  
kib, doluyan ulayan subud, ogyu  
nomin, quba, dung ibayu, tabun  
öngge toray-a yurban amtatu  
tosu, taray, sün, bal burum, üjüm-  
siker, çibay-a, eldeb jimis, jıryuyan  
em terigüten luusu-un em-üd  
oruqu bui, nige yeke qan  
Garudi sibayun-u biy-e ki, egüdcü  
dumdadu youl-un oroi degere  
qadqu, tegün-ü yadayur qorin  
nigen öçüken sibayun ki. erdeni-  
yin bumba ba ese bögesü sayın  
şabar longqun-dur tere olan  
erdeni-yin jüyil, yurban amtatu  
eldeb em-e ba olan tariyan-u üres-i  
dügürtele kiju amasari tabun  
öngge kib-iyer boyuyad degere  
dourui-inu qourtan-u ere eme-  
yin aray-a bilig-ün kürdün-ü  
talbiju nara uryuqu jüg  
longqun-u amasari öçüken kel-  
beyilgejü talbi, edüge bosayaqu-  
inu, eng urida arban naiman  
qanatu gerün tedüi dügerig-  
lejü, çilayu-bar dayusuyad

- 3a -

qadquysan youl modun-u emüne  
çayan baling talbiju tegünü  
yadayur arban qoyar jıl-i jüg  
jüg-inü adal ügegüye toyurıyul-



un talbi, obuyan-u biy-e-yi önder  
 bosay-a, oroi-dur qorin nigen  
 çilayun-a jiryuyan üsüg mani  
 biçiju toyrıyulun talbi,  
 sayuri-inu sayiqan düğürig  
 bosy-a, dörben jüg-tür qarayul  
 josutu dörben öçüken obuy-a  
 bosay-a, qoyina-aça dayayuli  
 arban yurban obuy-a bosay-a,  
 tere dörben qarayul-un degere,  
 modun-i eçige arça, nige buta  
 modun-i eke yurban üyetü  
 qulusu nigen baylay-a, modun-  
 i köbegün balqun nige baylay-a  
 modun-i nayacı qusu ündüsütei  
 nigen buta, modun-u okin buryasu  
 ba, eldeb modun-i obuyan-u  
 sitügen bolyan talbiydaqui,  
 nayan nigen sumu, nayan nigen jida,  
 nayan nigen ildü ba, quyay sayaday  
 numu sumu, ildü jida terigüten-i

- 3b -

obuyan-u jer jebe bolyan talbiy-  
 daqui, tuy tuy-a terigüten-  
 i keregtü bolyan talbiydaqui,  
 nigen sayin jidan-dur kiira  
 kilyasun keyijü dalbay-a örüne-  
 dür kei morin delgeregüleküi  
 körüg-i jiruju talbiydaqui,  
 arban yurban bum bsang toyrı-  
 ju obuy-a toyrıyuluyad  
 talbiydaqui, adalidqabasu  
 bayatur kömün dayisun-dur  
 oruqu metü, okin ba ekener  
 kömün qubçasu çimeg emüsüg-  
 sen metü ba eldeb erdeni-yin jül  
 bündüg-sen metü bolbasu sayin  
 bui, ayulasun qayan sümbüri  
 metü jibqulang-tu boluyu,  
 ungsily-a lnu öljel qutuy  
 naiman gegen ba, qarsi-yin naiman  
 gegen, qas erdeni-yin naiman gegen  
 ba  
 ebügen emegen sudur, yajar-un

jirüken-ü sudur ba, doluyan  
 qosiyun-u sudur, altan dusul,  
 luusun çovaka, luusun qangyal kiged  
 arban yurban bum bsangs luusun  
 bsangs, ündüsün bsangs

- 4 -

terigüten-i ungsi, tegünü  
 qoyina blam-a öllei qutuy oru-  
 siyul-un saçay saçuydaqui ami-  
 latuyai, takiqui-dur takiy a ba,  
 qoni kiged buq-a terigüten-iyer  
 takiydaqui, obuyan-u emün-e-dür  
 dörben qosiyun mal-dur seter  
 tatayad toyrıyulun talbi, dör-  
 ben jüg-eçe kesig-i url, tere  
 alaysan mal-un üsün-i obuyan-u  
 modun-u  
 möcir uy-a talbi, dörben jüg  
 jiryuduyar kemeküi baling ög,  
 yajurun ejen-e gdorma ög,  
 tegünü qoyina obuy-a toyrıin yabu-  
 ju mani ungsi, qutuy yuyun  
 blam-a-aça nasun-u irügel ab,  
 yisün çayan moritu kömün-iyer  
 çayan idege ba, aliba idegen-i  
 öggün dörben jüg-eçe türgen-e  
 dobtul yosun bui, takiyçi  
 bagsi-yin douru çayan toray-a  
 debis, ese olbasu yeke çayan  
 doluy debis, irüger toytaju  
 tegünü qoyina vaçir bani bolun  
 sedkiged yar-tayan kib-tü sumun  
 bariju eyin kermen ögülegdeküi.

# VITAL FORCE: THE STORY OF DUGAR JAISANG AND POPULAR VIEWS OF MONGOLIAN-TIBETAN RELATIONS FROM MONGOLIAN PERSPECTIVES<sup>1</sup>

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This paper concerns Mongolian folk views of the relation between military force and religious authority. In the late 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in very general terms, these two different kinds of power were held to epitomise the complementary character of Mongolian and Tibetan leadership. This convention, in line with Qing ideology, identified the Mongols with military-governmental power and the Tibetans with the spiritual authority of Gelugpa Buddhism. The Qing perspective can be traced back to the ideology of mutually reinforcing ‘patron-priest’ relations found in ruling circles in various guises from the Yuan Dynasty onwards. Folk views in the 20<sup>th</sup> century likewise sustained schematic distinctions between the polities of Inner Asia, associating the Mongolians with Ochirvani, the deity of strength, Tibet with Aryabal, the god of compassion, and the Manchu with Manjushiri, the god of wisdom.<sup>2</sup> But what ideas underlay the nature of this ‘force’ and what was the character of ‘religion’ as envisioned by ordinary Mongols? We can obtain some insight into this question by examining the story of Dugar Jaisang, the subject of this article. It turns out that military strength, as envisaged by ordinary Mongolians, was not simply legitimated and made auspicious by Buddhist validation, as in the conventional ‘patron-priest’ model. Mongol force also had quite other sources of vitality, sources that gave its bearers their own ability to understand what was virtuous and true—and this in turn endowed the Mongols with the right and duty to intervene in Tibetan affairs.

Dugar Jaisang was a legendary Mongolian warrior attributed with a historical existence. In brief, in almost all the stories of Dugar Jaisang,

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Mongolian’ here includes the Buryats.

<sup>2</sup> Hüreibaatar (personal communication) explaining views of the Horchin Mongols in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

he is said to have travelled the long and difficult road to Tibet in order to cleanse that country of Nyingmapa (known in Mongolia as 'Red Hat') influence<sup>3</sup> and re-assert the dominance of the Gelugpa ('Yellow Hat') tradition. Dugar Jaisang accomplished this task by *super* natural force, represented in the legend by his ability to force a tiger into submission with his bare hands. Having such extraordinary abilities, he burned and rased to the ground many Nyingma monasteries, killed or banished countless Nyingma lamas, and in some versions helped re-establish Gelugpa rule in Tibet. In Mongolia and Buryatia his image gained an iconic status. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, paintings and wooden statues of Dugar Jaisang were widespread in ordinary people's homes as well as in temples. Hung over doorways, these images were said to debar the evil magical power of gossips and curses from entering. Dugar Jaisang became not quite a deity, but an idealised figure attributed with beneficial magical power, parallel to, and almost equivalent in popularity to, the White Old Man (*Tsagaan Övgön*), the icon of natural fertility and prosperity in northern regions.

In very general terms, we can say that the idea of Dugar Jaisang asserts a Mongolian interest in the very quality of Tibet, that is, in its character of representing 'religion'. The Mongols, this story says, preserved the *true* Buddhist religious practice, and it was they who, through their military force, were able to re-assert the right and sacred way in Tibet itself. At the same time, this is a perspective that pertains to the Mongols' own lives. As will be described below, the wrong path of the Nyingmapa came to be associated with the everyday and ever-present threat in Mongolia itself of misfortunes attributed to malignant emotions, the evil tongues of magically-powerful cursing. Dugar Jaisang stood for the positive force that both cleared away the 'wrong' form of religion and exorcised the maledictions in the locality. This link indicates, it will be suggested, that the idea of 'military force' was imbued with its own positive morality and that this ethic was not tied to monastic clericalism, which was held easily to become degenerate or be misled. On the contrary, this was an ethics of *lay* origins. This is not all there is to be said about the stories of Dugar Jaisang, however, which reveal further facets of Mongol-Tibetan relations. But before proceeding further, I provide details of the information and sources used for this paper.

<sup>3</sup> In some versions of the story the evil influence is said to be Karmapa ('Black Hat') (Zhukovskaya 2001: 373).

Let me first mention the visual images of Dugar Jaisang (see illustrations). This cannot pretend to be a complete survey of types and represents only a partial collection of both published and unpublished sources. Even in this limited survey, both paintings and wooden carvings are found, employing a number of different styles. With regard to dating, the images available range from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to examples in use in the present day.<sup>4</sup> As for geography, the images of Dugar Jaisang are wide-ranging across Inner Asia. Their distribution attests not only to the existence of common cultural themes across this vast region but also to the association of these ideas with Mongolian peoples, rather than the Mongolian state or nation. The images illustrated here were found among the Halh of Mongolia, various groups of Mongols from Inner Mongolia, the Buryats of Southeast Siberia, and the Deed Mongols of Kōkōnuur (Qinghai in Chinese). It is also well known that images of 'the Mongol leading a tiger' (*sog po stag khrid*) are also widespread in Tibet, a topic I will mention later.

Ten legends about Dugar Jaisang have been collected, dating from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present day. Five of these are from the Buryat region of Russia, one from the Halh region of Mongolia, one from a Durbet of Ulangom in the western part of Mongolia, two from the Deed Mongols in Kōkōnuur, China, and one from the Horchin Mongols in Inner Mongolia, China.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, in most cases the versions of the stories available are not directly linked to the particular images collected, but were recorded at different times and places. However, the two Deed Mongol stories (nos. 8 and 9) were directly linked to illustration three, as these legends were told to the ethnographer Bumochir Dulam in 2003 as explanations of this very picture. Illustration two, a painted wooden carving from Buryatia, is also associated with a legend (no. 11).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> No. 3. Also, at least one example was observed by Hūrelbaatar in a modern monastery in Ulan-Ude in the late 1990s, though an illustration is not available.

<sup>5</sup> 1) Natsov (A); 2) Natsov (B); 3) Natsov (C); 4) Nomtoev; 5) *Dugar Jaisang kemekii tus*; 6) Potanin; 7) Sampildendev; 8) Deed Mongols (A) (personal communication), Urt Moron Banner; 9) Deed Mongols (B) (personal communication); 10) Horchin Mongols, Hūrelbaatar (personal communication).

<sup>6</sup> The caption to this illustration reads: 'Dugar Jaisan was a Mongolian prince who sided with the Gelugpa ('Yellow Hats') in their battle with the Karmapa ('Black Hats'). He was victorious, the legend says, over the 'harsh means' of the tiger, which had been sent by magical power. Dugar Jaisan was the reincarnation of the god Dugarma (Tib.: *glugs skar*), the Tantric form of the destruction of all delusions. In one variant of the story, the opponent of the Gelugpa was the 'Red Hats' (Zhukovskaya 2001: 373).

It is also worth noting that the popularity of Dugar Jaisang has declined during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Natsov, the Buryat scholar of the early Soviet period, says that images of Dugar Jaisang were found in almost all homes of Buryat Buddhists at that time (Natsov 1998: 147), but the legend of Dugar Jaisang is not well known today. In Buryatia even ethnographic specialists have little information,<sup>7</sup> and in Mongolia shop-keepers selling the image do not know the story. In Kōkōnuur the story remains rather well-known, but in Inner Mongolia it has been forgotten.

Let me detail now what seems to be the most common version of the story of Dugar Jaisang, since it is found with few differences in both Mongolia (no. 7) and Buryatia. The following is a Buryat account (no. 4), collected and published recently in Russian in a newspaper by the Buryat writer Nomtoev.

When I was young, in some houses people hung a picture over their door, this being of a man of heroic appearance. He was making a tiger submit, and was tearing out its tongue from its mouth.

When I asked who this man was and why his picture was hung up, everyone gave the same answer: "This is Dugar Jaisang Baatar, who hated gossip, calumny, falsehood, cursing and misdeeds, and therefore waged a constant war against them". It was a folk tradition to hang up this picture over the door. It was done to prevent the entrance into the house of people with evil tongues (*muu amatai*), and also so there should be no cursing and quarrels in the household. The following story is told about him among the people.

When Buddhism was spread in our country, the monks in each monastery deeply studied Buddhist texts, books about nature, animals, various kinds of knowledge and medicines. But in one western monastery, they did not study religious teachings but the opposite, various methods of black magic (*haraalai jadha*). In the end, these monks started to say bad words about the true religion, and this brought harm to the people. The few real monks left were anxious. A great and respected teacher wondered how to stop the spread of evil doing. A monk came in, opened the holy book Jodbo,<sup>8</sup> and started to read it. The teacher asked him if he read this book in every house and the monk replied that he did. "You are doing great good", said the teacher. "Go to Tibet and continue

<sup>7</sup> Tsymzhit Vanchikova 2003 (personal communication).

<sup>8</sup> This may refer to the Buddhist text known among Horchin Mongols as Tarba Jodbo or Tarba Chimbu. It was widespread among ordinary people, who read it to avert the sufferings of their souls in hell after death. There was a saying among the Horchin: *tal-i tuulag, targon mori*; *tam-i tuulag, tarba jobdo* ('to pass through the steppe you need a fat horse, to pass through hell you need the Tarba Jodbo') (Hürelbaatar, personal communication).



to spread the word of this book. Go into every single house". As the monk was setting out the next day, the teacher wrapped the holy Jodbo book in a large black cloth with a small patch of yellow flower pattern at the end of the cloth. The monk reached Tibet and started to read the book in every house. He reached the home of Dugar Jaisang, who observed him with interest and invited him to stay the night. "Who gave you that black cloth?" he asked. The monk replied, "A lama from my monastery". Dugar Jaisang said, "That is right. There are very few lamas now studying Buddhist teaching in the right way. There are many people engaging in black cursing and the true religion is dying out. That black cloth represents the enemies of religion, and the yellow flower shows how true teaching has become rare". Then Dugar Jaisang said, "I must go quickly and see to matters". He mounted his pale yellow female camel and set off for a distant country. He crossed the mountains, and suddenly a dangerous black cloud appeared right over his head. He jumped off his camel and at this very moment a huge tiger appeared from the cloud, with sharpened fangs and extended claws, which roared and sprang at him. Dugar Jaisang grabbed the tiger's neck, ripped out its tongue, beat the tongue flat and trod it into the ground. He hurried on and arrived at a monastery. He ordered all the lamas to appear and told them that the god Tsagaan Shikurtu<sup>9</sup> had taken pity on them and would give them a teaching. The lamas arrived next day and sat on their seats. Dugar Jaisang, leaving his pale yellow camel at the door, entered the temple dressed as Tsagaan Shikurtu, holding a glittering sword, and said, "All show your tongues". Some had red tongues and some had black ones. Dugar Jaisang told those with red tongues to sit in the main seats and read their texts. The monks with black tongues were to sit on the ground, with their heels tucked under. He then brought out something wrapped in a sacred cloth (*hadag*) and opened it before their eyes. From one *hadag* there fell out an artificial red tongue, which Dugar Jaisang put in a yellow *hadag* and placed on the seat for the Geleng Lama. From the other *hadag*, a totally black tongue fell out. Dugar Jaisang put this on a black cloth, chopped it to pieces with his sword and stamped on it. Waving his glittering sword, he said: "You are not reading sacred books. You are reading cursed evil-bringing books. If you try to read such books again, I'll not only cut out your tongues but cut off your heads". He made the black-tongued lamas read the right holy books three times. Then he ordered the black-tongued people to go out to the flat stony steppe to the south-west and bring in sand to the height of a high hill. "Carry sand for three days", he ordered. Praising the true lamas, he finished his instructions. The black-tongued people constructed a hill. On the soft sand at top of this hill Dugar

<sup>9</sup> Literally: 'With White Parasol'. It is not clear which deity was intended here. The parasol or umbrella was one of the eight auspicious symbols of Tibetan Buddhism and symbolised protection (from the heat of desire and suffering) and wealth and royalty (Beer 1999: 176–80).



Jaisang's yellow camel gave birth to a sweet (*höörhön*) reddish coloured calf. Everyone rejoiced in many regions and countries. "May the true faith flourish in your region and may you be happy and prosperous. The law of nature is strong, the affairs of the people are pure", said Dugar Jaisang, and he mounted his camel and set off home, leading the camel-calf behind. (Nomtoev, n.d.)

In this story, it is clear the Dugar Jaisang does not just represent the idea of human physical strength. He himself has magic power, to defeat the tiger sent against him by the Nyingma monks, the ability to know the truth, and to know how to find out which are the faithful and which the evil monks. Perhaps we can say that this magical power is a 'super natural' quality (or quintessence of natural quality) attributed to lay military power, which is thereby seen as not inferior to religious teaching. The military character of Dugar Jaisang, associated with his ability to test and check Buddhism for truth, is even more clearly apparent in the story told among the Deed Mongols of Urt Moron Banner, Kōkōnuur<sup>10</sup> In the legend above, which is almost exactly the same as one collected and published by Sampildendev in Mongolia (no. 7), this force is clearly identified with 'nature'. This is evident from Dugar Jaisang's parting words, (*baigalyn yos bat*—'the law of nature is strong', Sampildendev 1999: 186), and also from the episode of the camel splendidly giving birth above the hill constructed by the subdued evil-doers. The theme of military force in harmony with nature emerges even more strongly from the pictorial images. Dugar Jaisang is always depicted in a landscape. He is fully armed, with a mighty sword, bow, quiver, and arrows. Yet it is not an accident, I think, that in the most famous image (illustration six) he is shown as seated centrally in 'nature'—between a wild animal (the tiger) and a domestic animal (the camel), between moun-

<sup>10</sup> Herders of Urt Moron Banner told Bumochir Dulam the following story (no. 8) in September 2003. Dugar Jaisang was a military leader who came from the Inner Mongolian direction. He used to ride a white camel and his soldiers had camels of other common camel colours. The whole troop went to Lhasa, where Mongols and camels were forbidden to enter. There, in the city, Dugar Jaisang hit all the statues and figures of Buddhist deities to check which ones were real. If the god (*burhan*) made a noise when it was hit then he considered it a real god and left it. But if the god did not make a sound he threw it away into the river. Once a god statue did not say anything until it was taken to the river, when suddenly it said a word. So Dugar Jaisang left it beside the river. When Dugar Jaisang left Lhasa he broke the city gate so sand would flow down and gradually cover the column (incorporating the statue) that was part of the gate. He said he would return when the column/statue was covered completely. Therefore, Tibetans used to take away the sand that threatened to pile up and cover the column.

tain creatures (the deer) and creatures of the lake (the swans). In the sky, to complete this cosmological picture, both a sun and a moon are shining.

The other main quality of Dugar Jaisang is that he is a relational figure, he moves between Mongolia and Tibet. His place of residence is uncertain and varies from story to story. In one version, told by a Dörbet Mongol in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, he travels in the contrary direction, from Tibet to Mongolia, in this case having suppressed two tigers (Potanin 1883: 335).<sup>11</sup> The reversible quality of this 'movement' between various groups seems to suggest that ordinary Mongols did not necessarily adhere to a clear demarcation between ethnic groups on the ground, but were more concerned with different principles of conduct that could apply in any region.

The Dugar Jaisang legend nevertheless has a background in the history of Mongol-Tibetan relations and this was acknowledged by some of the tellers of the story. Natsov, the Buryat ethnographer working in the 1930s, having cited an informant who said Dugar Jaisang was "our own Mongol lord and a reincarnation of Ochirvani, the protector of the Yellow religion", added that the legend probably did not accord with history written in Tibetan (Natsov 1998: 147–51). He quoted one Buryat informant<sup>12</sup> on this history as follows:

During the time of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, the famous Öölet warrior Tseren Dondob, together with Tobchi Jaisang and Dugar Jaisang set off for Tibet with 3,400 soldiers. At this time Tibet was ruled by Lhavsang [Lhazang], who was a Mongol from Gushri Khan's clan. Knowing Lhavsang supported the Nyingma, they had set off to defeat him. Having killed him and burnt down a large number of monasteries, and killed many monks, they thus supported the Yellow religion. The lazy and faulty monks were sent home. A Tibetan was put forward to rule Tibet. On the way back the Mongol warriors invited Galsan-Jamso from Kumbum Monastery to be

<sup>11</sup> The Dörbet story is as follows: "A married Halh Mongol was living in Tibet. One day the lamas went into the temple, but at the doors were two tigers (*bar*), which would not let them in. Then Dugar Jaisang killed one tiger and put chains on the other and led it by hand. Either the Dalai Lama or the Banchin Bogdo discovered from holy books that Dugar Jaisang was nominated to manage the temple of Abatai Sain Khan [the Halh prince credited with reviving Buddhism in Mongolia, C.H.] and he was sent to Halh. Because Dugar Jaisang was already married, Halh lamas are also married. Dugar Jaisang was a reincarnation of Tsagaan Shikurtu. He brought elephant milk and water from the Gangen River to Mongolia". (Potanin 1883: 335)

<sup>12</sup> 63 year old Jab Budaev on Hunhuur village in Aga Aimak.

the 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. They returned home, having fought Chinese soldiers on the way. The Dugar Jaisang in this story, and the Dugar Jaisang in the pictures kept by our Buryats, are the same person.

Accounts of this period can be found in several histories of Tibet<sup>13</sup> and they attest to the intervention of the western Mongols at this period.<sup>14</sup> The name 'Dugar Jaisang' is not found, however, in these factual accounts and appears to belong to a different realm of discourse. For this and other reasons, it is necessary to retain a separation between three different entities: the history, the various legends, and the magical image of Dugar Jaisang. Even if we suppose that the legends were 'based on' the retelling of these particular historical events—which is not necessarily the case, since Dugar Jaisang is sometimes identified with the earlier period of Abatai Khan (no. 6)—it is not clearly established that the pictorial image of the 'Mongol leading the tiger' has the same origin as the story. This question returns us to the fact that the image is also commonly found in Tibet<sup>15</sup> and India.<sup>16</sup> Now according to Robert Beer (1999: 78) the Tibetan explanation of the picture is broadly the same as the Mongolian one.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, among Mongols, as recounted by Natsov, it was held by some knowledgeable people that

<sup>13</sup> On the partiality of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama towards the Nyingmapa and his involvement with Dzogchen, see Samuel 1993: 529; Norbu 1986: 41–42; Karmay 1988: 144–46.

<sup>14</sup> "The profligate behaviour of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama provided an excuse for Lhazang Khan, Gushri Khan's grandson and inheritor of his rights, to intervene and depose the Dalai Lama, who died soon afterwards on his way to China in 1706 [...]. For the next half-century, the political situation continued to be disordered and violent, both in central Tibet and Bhutan. There were two who claimed to be the 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, one supported by the Manchus and the other supported by Lhazang Khan. Another Mongol tribe, the Dzungars, attacked and plundered Lhasa and killed Lhazang Khan, as well as destroying the two most important Nyingmapa *gompa*. The Manchu regime in China sent an army to Tibet, which was defeated, and then another which succeeded in expelling the Dzungars, with Tibetan assistance, in 1720. The Manchu candidate was installed as 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama" (Samuel 1993: 530–31).

<sup>15</sup> The image is common in monasteries in central Tibet (Hildegard Diemberger, personal communication).

<sup>16</sup> The picture of 'the Mongol leading a tiger' is found at the entrance of Tibetan monasteries in India (Tsymzhit Vanchikova, personal communication).

<sup>17</sup> "A commonly painted image often found on the walls of Gelugpa monasteries is that of the 'Mongol leading a tiger', where a Mongolian lama or dignitary leads a tamed tiger on a chain. The Mongol symbolises the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, the chain Vajrapani, and the tiger Manjushiri. Its more sectarian symbolism is the supremacy of the Gelugpa school, symbolised by the Mongol, over the older 'red hat' sects, symbolised by the tiger" (Beer 1999: 78).

the original image of the 'man leading a tiger' was not of Dugar Jaisang at all. A lama of the Gandan monastery in Ulaanbaatar told Natsov the following:

In the period when Buddhism was only just starting to spread in Tibet, Lobon Badma Jin (i.e. Padma Sambhava, the founder of the Nyingmapa sect in the 8<sup>th</sup> century) arrived from India in order to spread the Buddhist teaching. Lobon Badma Jin had magical powers (*riddhi hubilgantai*) and in the books of the Nyingmapa it is written that he, with his bare hands, subdued a tiger by grabbing its neck. One thousand years after this picture of the man with the tiger was first created, it was associated with the Mongol Jaisang (Natsov 1998: 150).<sup>18</sup>

What we see from this is the paradox, recognised by at least a few Mongols, that the hero, who rescued Tibet from the Nyingmapa, was attributed with the very same image of magical power as that proper to the Nyingma leader himself.

Having said this, the far more widespread folk legends about Dugar Jaisang tell a different story. He is identified, I suggest, with the ideal ethical qualities of the Mongol herdsman—manly strength, uprightness, certainty, and the capacity for action. The tiger he defeats is the symbol of wild, even abnormal, ferocity (in some variants the tiger is said to be monstrously large (*avarga tom*, Sampildendev 1999: 185) or 'rabid'/'mad' (*galzuu*). The hero himself is linked with the pastoral life and domestic fruitfulness (symbolised by his camel giving birth its dear little calf). Dugar Jaisang is depicted as a straightforward and impetuous person. For example, in one version (no. 1) the lama who arrives with the sacred book wrapped in a red cloth (forbidden among the Gelugpa) unwraps it only to reveal a second red cloth inside. He unwraps a further red layer and then another. Since 'red' indicates the wrong faith, Dugar Jaisang is jumping with impatience. At the fifth layer he unsheathes his sword, lays it by his side, and says to himself that he'll cut off the lama's head if the final seventh layer is again red and not yellow. The sixth layer finally reveals the book wrapped in yellow, and the lama then explains that he had to hide the book because

<sup>18</sup> Another version of this story comes from the Buryat archives: "If we explain the truth, when Padma Sambhava came from Tibet from India there were 35 yogi-gurus in Tibet educated in magical (*tarni*) customs. One of them was called Mongol Baljin, who led a long-toothed creature by its neck. This is recounted in old Tibetan history, and I think it is right. It seems very likely that the picture widely spread in Buryatia is of the yogi-master Mongol Baljin". (*Dugar Jaisang kemekü tus*)

the red Nyingmapa lamas were intent on destroying the yellow Gelugpa. Hearing this, Dugar Jaisang flies into a rage, flames come out of his eyes, nose and mouth, he leaps from his seat and orders his white-yellow camel to be saddled immediately (Natsov 1998: 148). In such details, we see revealed the characteristically ardent values of Mongolian folk self-representations.

By contrast, Tibetans in these stories are depicted as easily misled, passive, and subordinate. Even the Gelugpa lamas appear somehow as cowards who need to be rescued. All active agency in managing the famous 'power/religion' relationship is attributed to the Mongolian side. Among Inner Mongolians the story of Dugar Jaisang (no. 10) is held to be a 'reminder' to the Tibetans: "Your Gelugpa Buddhism was rescued by our Mongol warrior". A Mongol lama who spent time in several Tibetan monasteries during the 1930s told the following story on his return. When the Tibetan lamas became irritated at the learning and superior ability of the Mongol lamas and threatened to send them home, the Dalai Lama is said to have pronounced as follows: "Don't forget Dugar Jaisang! He has now reached the age of ten, he's looking this way and he's laughing (*Dugar Jaisang arab hürchigeed, naash haraad, ineej baina*)". This meant, you had better be careful, Dugar Jaisang has been reincarnated and is reaching maturity, and he may attack again (Hürelbaatar, personal communication).

It is significant that in these stories no reference is made to the classical supports of Mongolian kingship *tenggri*, Chinggis Khan, or the idea of *törü* (the state). Instead, we have a vision rooted in the ethics of ordinary secular life of people living primarily by herding. One reason for this, I have argued, is that the 'power' of the manly and domestic Mongol hero is imagined not just as military but also as having an essential cosmological dimension, drawing magic capacity from its central place in 'nature', as depicted in the Mongolian painting.

The wide distribution of Dugar Jaisang in the popular imagination in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the re-working of the stories locally, gives us some clues about actual values held at this time. The practical efficacy attributed to the paintings, i.e. to deflect the witchcraft-like effects of evil words, and the association of this everyday evil with the degeneration of the Buddhist lamas, shows that many Mongols groups had an alternative understanding of the relation with Tibet. This was quite different from the conventional master narrative of the 'patron-priest' propounded from above.

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Figure 1: Small b&w photo (Buryat)



Figure 2: Painted wooden carving of Dugar Jaisang (Buryat).  
Zhukovskaya (ed.) 2001: 373

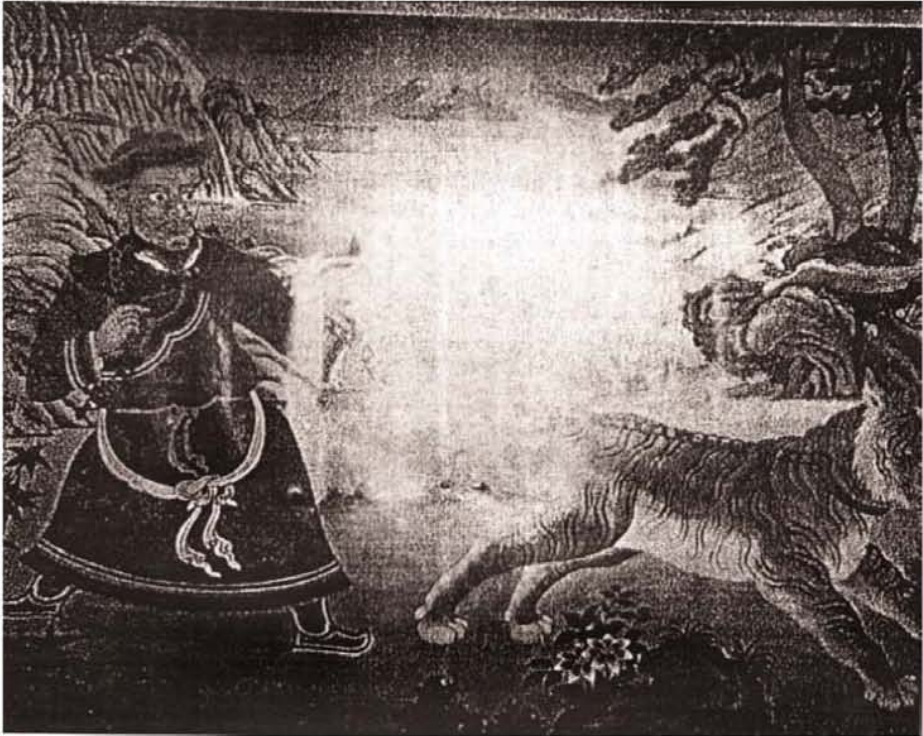


Figure 3: Reproduction of painting of Gushri Khan. Deed Mongols. From the Deed Mongols living in Xining in China we have the following image (photo taken by Bumochir Dulam in 2002). This picture was kept in the private flat of a Mongol living in Xining city and it is a reproduction printed in Lhasa and sold in large numbers in Kumbum monastery. Here the picture is said to represent not Dugar Jaisang but Gushri Khan, but the story is otherwise the same: Gushri Khan, a Mongol prince, went to Tibet to rescue the true Gelugpa tradition from the bad influence of Nyingmapa. A Deed Mongol lama told Dulam the story locally associated with the picture: "The Tibetans planned to kill Gushri Khan and they sent him a tiger which they had cursed (*barand haraal hiij yavuulsan*). The tiger was quite out of control and had the single aim to kill Gushri Khan. But Gushri Khan was able to calm the cursed tiger. At that time everyone believed that the Mongols were really powerful and a single Mongol could defeat a tiger, even a cursed tiger"



Figure 4: Photograph of an Inner Mongolian wall painting of Dugar Jaisang taken by G. Montell in the 1930s. Place and date unknown. Held in archives of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge



Figure 5: Wooden carving of Dugar Jaisang: Ulaanbaatar. This wooden carving was for sale in 2002 in a little shop for religious necessities, along with incense, lamp-bowls, statues of deities, Buddhist prayer books, etc. This carving was one of a pair with a similar carving of the 'White Old Man'





Figure 6: Tsagaan Jamba, painting of Dugar Jaisang: Ulaanbaatar. This painting of Dugar Jaisang is a copy, sold in the state department store in Ulaanbaatar in the 1970s, of a well-known painting by Tsagaan Jamba, which now hangs in the Fine Arts Museum in Ulaanbaatar. Another copy of this painting was found in Amarbayasgalant Monastery, Mongolia, in 2001 (personal communication, Dan Berounsky)



Map

TAME FROM WITHIN:  
LANDSCAPES OF THE RELIGIOUS IMAGINATION  
AMONG THE DARHADS OF NORTHERN MONGOLIA

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INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about Buddhist domestication projects and the search for hidden valleys in the borderlands of Tibet (see e.g. Blondeau & Steinkellner 1996; Huber 1999; Ehrhard 1999a,b; Diemberger & Hazod 1999). Less attention, however, has been paid to similar politico-religious agendas at play at the northernmost fringes of Inner Asia. Here, various representatives of the Mongolian Buddhist church were also engaged for centuries in an uneven struggle for domination with local shamanist practitioners, usually to the effect that the latter became marginalised in society or even disappeared altogether (Heissig 1980; Even 1991). The Buddhist clergy often cast these conflicts and developments in the idioms of ‘domestication’ and ‘purification’. The remote forests of northern Mongolia, for instance, seem to have represented a treasured pilgrimage spot for a certain class of lamas, the so-called *badarchid* (‘itinerant lamas’) (see Pozdneyev 1971: 343–44; Charleux 2002: 169). There is every reason to think that, as was the case in Tibet’s southern borderlands, these lamas ventured out to discover “an untamed wilderness, one which awoke anxieties and terrors but also held the prospect of spiritual satisfaction” (Ehrhard 1999a: 228; see also Charleux 2002: 195–200).

Given that the above correlations represent a distinct aspect of the Tibetan-Mongolian interface, this article aims to contribute to the emerging research concerned with how Tibetans and Mongolians have interacted with one another in history.<sup>1</sup> As implied by Diemberger (2002: 171), the Tibetan-Mongolian interface refers to more than the actual territories where Tibetans and Mongolians have overlapped his-

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torically and perhaps interact today. The Tibetan-Mongolian interface, it seems to me, also refers to a more *virtual* territory, namely to those particular spaces of imagination where the ideas of Tibet are made apparent to the Mongols—and *vice versa*.

My objective here is to elucidate the characteristics of one such landscape of imagination. More precisely, this article is concerned with certain ramifications of Gelugpa Buddhist activities in the shamanist hinterlands of pre-revolutionary Outer Mongolia during, primarily, the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. My main contention is that the spatial contrast between steppe and *taiga* zones in the Darhad Depression of north-west Mongolia is perceived as an asymmetrical opposition between a homogeneous centre (the steppe zone) and a heterogeneous margin (the *taiga* zone), and that this contrast is replicated in contemporary constructions of Darhad personhood.<sup>2</sup> Thus Darhads see themselves to consist of two sides, a Buddhist 'yellow side' (*shar tal*) and a shamanic 'black side' (*har tal*), and these two essential components of the person are homologous to the topographical contrast in question.

Unquestionably, the Darhad notion of the 'yellow side' is related to the Mongolian Buddhist domestication interventions made on the Darhads and their land during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the Darhad Depression comprised the main territory of the Darhad *Ih Shav'*, an ecclesiastical estate belonging to the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, the leading reincarnation of pre-revolutionary Mongolia's Gelugpa order (see e.g. Bawden 1986).<sup>3</sup> Yet, according to certain local narratives which I have collected, the Mongolian Buddhist church did not bring anything new to the Darhads, it rather served to bring out a sacred yellowness latent within them. From this perspective, then, the Darhads were not so much *made* yellow by the Buddhist church, as they already contained the pure qualities of the 'yellow side'. Rather, as I shall show, the Darhads' yellowness had to be revealed by someone

<sup>2</sup> Fieldwork in the Darhad Depression was carried out from October 1995 to January 1996, from June 1998 to August 1999, and from June to August 2000. I thank the Danish Research Academy; King's College; the William Wyse Foundation; The Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology, Aarhus University, Mindefondet; King Christian X's Foundation and HH Queen Margrethe and Prince Henrik's Foundation for their financial support.

<sup>3</sup> Although little is known about the status of the non-Gelugpa schools in pre-revolutionary Mongolia (see Charleux 2002), there is widespread agreement among scholars that Mongolia constituted a Gelugpa stronghold. Given the Darhad *Ih Shav'*'s intimate affiliation to the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, there is every reason to expect that this ecclesiastical estate reflected this general pattern.



imbued with the magical capacity to make it visible to the outer world as well as the Darhads themselves.

In what follows, I begin by giving a brief introduction to the Darhads and their current positioning at the geographical, cultural and political margin of post-socialist Mongolia. I then outline core aspects of contemporary constructions of Darhad personhood, with particular emphasis on how the 'black' and the 'yellow sides' correspond to the topographical contrast between marginal *taiga* and central steppe zones. In the second part of the paper, I address in some detail the historical Buddhist domestication of the Darhads and their land, and also consider the narrative evidence on which Darhads entertain an alternative view of their cultural history.

### THE DARHAD PEOPLE

The Darhads, who presently number around 18,000, are a Mongolian speaking group of pastoralists, hunters and village dwellers, who inhabit the north-western corner of Mongolia's Hövsgöl Province, some 1,000 km away from the national capital of Ulaanbaatar, and some 200 km away from the provincial capital, Mörön. The Darhads originate from a complex mix of ethnic groupings only some of which were Mongolian in cultural and linguistic terms, whereas the rest were Tuvan, Turkic and, possibly, even Tungus. Today these original groupings, which at some point became known as 'clans' (*ovog*, *yas*), are largely defunct in sociological and economical terms, though people still make reference to certain clans; particularly in the context of the Darhads' shamanist religion, in which they play a crucial role (see also Badamhatan 1986; Dulam 1992).

The Darhads are clustered around a region bearing their name. The Darhad Depression is an isolated lowland situated in between three large mountain complexes, south-east of Mongolia's border with the Tuvan Autonomous Republic of Russia. In topographical terms the Darhad Depression is quite unique in Mongolia, for it is comprised of a largely uninterrupted flat steppe zone surrounded on all sides by coniferous forests and high alpine lands (collectively known as the *taiga*). The Darhads' predominance in this region is no coincidence: over a period of nearly two hundred years, the Darhad *Ih Shav* came to define the Darhads as an ideally homogeneous group of ecclesiastical

subjects (*shabinar*) corresponding to a geographically and politically bounded territory of land. It was this ecclesiastical estate that served to firmly establish the Buddhist religion in a region which, by all accounts, had been a shamanist stronghold.

Still, shamanism continued to play a crucial role in Darhad social life, even during the hey-day of the Darhad *Ih Shav'*. Indeed, as Even (1991: 200) has noted, it is somewhat 'paradoxical' that "the Darkhad region, [as a] stronghold of shamanist traditions...was controlled by the Buddhist church". Zhamtsarano, visiting the region in the late 1920's, was also surprised. The Darhads, he observed, had "a blossoming monastery with more than 1000 lamas". Yet, shamanism was "widely practised" (Zhamtsarano 1979: 16). In contrast to most other areas of Mongolia, then, the Buddhist church never managed to eradicate the Darhads' shamanist religion. Rather, shamanism and Buddhism seem to have co-existed side by side, giving rise, as I shall substantiate below, to the common conception that Darhad persons consist of a 'black side' and 'yellow side' respectively.

Today, the situation is very different. Gone are the "more than 1000 lamas", and the Darhad Depression is home only to a small number of shamans. This should come as no surprise, for the Communist cadres went to extreme measures to ensure that all religious 'superstition' was eliminated from Mongolian society (see Bawden 1986: 328–80). Of course, with Mongolia's democratic revolution in the early 1990s it became possible to practise religion openly again. Yet religious life today is perceived to be in a state of turmoil; particularly so in the more peripheral regions, where few resources are available for rebuilding religious institutions. For the Darhads, this religious loss seems to especially involve Buddhism (*burhany shashin*), though the fate of shamanism (*böö/böögiiin shashin*) is also subject to concern. Still, several shamans (*böö*) are active in the Darhad Depression today, which is more than one can say about lamas, of whom only a few former monastic students (*bandi*) are left from the late 1930s, when the Communists' final crackdown on the Mongolian Buddhist church took place. For lack of Buddhist institutions proper, local believers instead seek out those households known to be in possession of powerful paraphernalia from the former temples in the region.<sup>4</sup> It is true that in the early 1990s a small prayer temple (*hural*) was constructed in the Renchinlümbe dis-

<sup>4</sup> In the district of Ulaan-Uul, for example, scores of people every year perform a Lunar New Year (*Tsagaan Sar*) visit to a certain household in order to pray and pros-

trict, near to the location of the old Zöölön monastery (see below). This hural was sponsored by Tömör, a high-ranking lama from Ulaanbaatar's leading Gandantegchenlin monastery, himself a Darhad and born in the Darhad Depression. However, in 1999, this prayer temple was closed down due to lack of sufficient funding from the local people. When I last visited the site in 2000, the caretaker was using the temple to store his old motorcycle, and there was no sign of religious activity.<sup>5</sup>

### THE BLACK SIDE AND THE YELLOW SIDE

How do other Mongolians view the Darhads? Tellingly, little attention is paid to the Darhads' notable Buddhist history. Indeed, the Darhads are widely known to be the shamanist ethnicity (*yastan*) in Mongolia. Thus non-Darhads,<sup>6</sup> when asked to characterise the Darhads, tend to single out three traits: 1) The Darhads, due to the extreme remoteness of their homeland, are wild, crude, and poor. 2) The Darhads are deeply shamanic, and they all have the ability to curse (*haraal hiih*). 3) The Darhads are inveterate jokers, about whose intentions one can never be sure. Taken together, these traits clearly signify a general notion of alterity in opposition to which non-Darhads can identify themselves. If They are shamanists, then We are Buddhists; if They are wild, then We are civilised; and, since They are positioned at the very margin/border (*zah*, *hil*, *hyazgaar*) of the Mongolian nation-state, We are positioned closer to its centre (*töv*).

But the Darhads are not only seen to occupy the margin in geographical, economical and political terms; they are also known to be marginal in sociological and psychological terms. The Darhads are thus not

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trate in front of a solid gold statue of the Green Tara (*Nogoon Dar Eh*) known to originate from the former Zöölön monastery, for which it played the role of the most important and respected protector. Apparently, 21 such Tara statues were distributed among pre-revolutionary Mongolia's main monasteries.

<sup>5</sup> This decline of Buddhism is bound to continue, as little interest is present among Mongolia's lamas to support the (re)institutionalisation of Buddhism in the Darhad Depression. Indeed, when asked about the state of Darhad Buddhism, lamas from both the regional capital and from Ulaanbaatar tend to respond with the same standard line: "But Darhads are not Buddhists. They are wild shamanists!"

<sup>6</sup> By this term I here refer mainly to Mongolia's Han majority, whose stereotype of the Darhads many of Mongolia's other ethnic minorities seem to share, or so at least in the capital Ulaanbaatar.

held to be as *shuluuhan* ('straight, direct') as other people, in particular Mongolia's Halh majority, who, at least in Northern Mongolia, are known to be especially *ilen dalangüi* ('open, earnest'), *töv sanaatai* ('balanced', lit. 'to have centred feeling-thoughts') and *töviig baridag* ('balanced', lit. 'to be holding the centre').<sup>7</sup> Tellingly, as Bulag (1998: 70–76) has argued, where the Halh originally constituted one *halh* ('flank, shield') of the Mongolian heartland, they are now widely considered to be positioned at its very *gol* ('core, centre').

In other words: the Halh's 'balanced' and 'centred' *inner* positioning seems to correspond to their *outer* positioning in Mongolia's political economy. The Darhads, conversely, are known to be 'unbalanced' (*töviig baridaggüi*, lit. 'not holding the centre'), and, far from being 'straight and direct' (*shuluuhan*), Darhads are feared for being the ones 'always to speak in a roundabout way' (*dandaa toiruu yaridag*). Indeed, Darhads are widely believed to have 'layered minds' (*davhar uhaan*). Interestingly, *davhar*, in addition to meaning 'double', 'layered' or 'stratified', is also used to denote processes of impregnation (e.g. *biye davhar boloh*—'(for a body) to become pregnant') (Hangin *et al.* 1986). From the non-Darhad point of view, then, the Darhads' political-economic marginality seems to correspond to an internal state of multiplicity: every Darhad person is understood to constitute an existential manifold within (cf. *davhar uhaan*).

Yet, from the Darhads' own point of view, a Darhad person is not only unique in the manner held by non-Darhads, a Darhad person is *also* unique in the obverse sense. It is this double uniqueness which Darhads refer to as their two 'sides'. The 'black side' comprises everything which is violent, uncontrolled, harmful, morally ambiguous, and—therefore—stereotypically shamanic. The 'yellow side', on the other hand, comprises what is peaceful, balanced, benevolent, morally unambiguous, and—therefore—stereotypically Buddhist. Indeed, Darhads commonly distinguish between shamanism and (Gelugpa) Buddhism as the 'black religion' (*har shashin*) and the 'yellow religion' (*shar shashin*) respectively.<sup>8</sup>

On the face it, then, the Darhad notion of the 'black side' is identical to the (negative) ethnic stereotype outlined above. Typically, when

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hangin *et al.* 1986. As Sneath (2000: 144) points out, *töv*—whose general meaning is that of 'centre' or 'middle'—also means 'orthodox and righteous'.

<sup>8</sup> All non-Gelugpa traditions, on the other hand, are known under the residual heading 'red religion' (*ulaan shashin*) (see Charleux 2002: 205 ff).

people talk about the ‘black side’, it revolves around the well-known hostility of Darhad shamans towards the Buddhist lamas of the Darhad *Ih Shav’*. A multitude of legends (*domog*), curses (*haraal*, *zühel*) and shamanic invocations (*duudlaga*) play on this popular theme. Common for such narratives is the alleged ability of Darhad shamanic spirits (*ongon*, pl. *ongod*) to undergo constant and unpredictable metamorphoses (*huvilgaan*). In one narrative, for example, the spirit of a female shaman (*udgan*) transmutes into a rainbow hovering across a valley, where a caravan of Buddhist lamas is passing through. The lamas are terrified: the rainbow is defiling them, for it is also the underneath of a menstruating shaman. Eventually, a high-ranking lama (in some versions the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu himself) says a powerful prayer, and the rainbow dissolves. We have here a fine example of how the historical conflict between shamans and lamas takes the form of a contest over control of the Darhad landscape (just as it is strongly gendered).

However, an additional notion underwrites the idea of the ‘black side’, namely one in which the Darhad Depression plays the role of a topographical index of the Darhads’ uniqueness. Consider, for example, the following explanation, offered to me by a prominent Darhad hunter:

There is a kind of uranium (*uraan*) around here. Nature (*baigal*) contains it, and the flowers, wild animals and so on receive it, and pass it on to humans. A wild goat may have *uraan* and rest where the blueberries are growing. The blueberries will then receive the *uraan*, and their taste and colour will become excessively nice. So, humans will eat all the berries and receive the harmful things (*hortoi yum*). Their eyes will become light blue and they sight will deteriorate. I think, if Darhad people were able to avoid this influence from nature (*baigalyn nölöö*), we would live for 200–300 years. Darhads are different because the nature is different around here. We are receiving many things from nature—too many things—and this makes our minds very powerful (*hüchtei*) and very strange (*hachin*). What are these things? They are the many different things of nature (*yanz büriin baigalyn yum*), different things that influence peoples’ minds and render them powerful. This is why we have shamans here, and why we have the ability to curse. Some people will not admit this, but they ought to, for it is part of them.... People who have left the Darhad Depression generally have success; their heads are working very well. During their time here, they received enough energy for the rest of their life. People who stay usually do not have good lives—they are receiving too much power from nature. So why don’t we leave? Because we cannot: Nature is pulling us back.

Not surprisingly, migrant Darhads seem to agree with this characterisation. An elderly Darhad man living in the provincial capital of Mörön made the following observation:

Why, I am a real Darhad, but I also did right in leaving my homeland. The Darhads living in our native land are smart enough, but their problem is that they can't see to the end of things (*etsest n' hürgehgüi orhidog*, lit. '(they) cannot meet the ending').

The native Darhads, it would appear, are not 'straight' enough in their heads, at least not in the superior manner the Halh are known to be. Certainly, this is the message of the following observation, made by a middle aged businessman from the ethnically mixed Arbūlag district, located some eighty kilometres south of the Darhad Depression. The man classified himself as *erliz* ('of mixed breed'), half Darhad and Halh, and is (as I was later told) very rich. 'You see', he said,

in our district, the Darhads are doing extremely well. We are the best in school, we are highly skilful (*chadvartai*), and we are hardworking. This is because we are living in close proximity to the Halh. In the Darhad Depression, people do only what they feel like doing, which sometimes is very much, but usually is very little. But, here in Arbūlag, the Halh leaders know to praise the Darhads so that they will work all the time.<sup>9</sup>

Again, we are presented with the idea that the Darhads are out of balance. Their minds are hazy and unclear. They cannot see properly. They are unable to carry things through. Too many things are distracting them, influencing them. But the quotation from the hunter also shows that, when Darhads talk about the 'influence from nature', they tend to do so with reference to the *taiga*. Thus the vehicles of *uraan* clearly are associated with the *taiga* (blueberries and mountain goats), and not with the steppe zone. The Darhads, it seems, are not at risk of receiving *uraan* from the life forms of the steppe, such as the domestic livestock or the grass on which these animals feed. In fact, the steppe is generally not associated with shamanist activities. Indeed, the steppe is known as a peaceful (*taivan*) place. It is where the pastoralists nomadise; it is where the wild predators (ideally) do not come, and it is where everyone, man and beast alike, enjoys a carefree life during the lush and plentiful summer.

<sup>9</sup> For more on the Darhad minority districts in the Hövsgöl province, see Lacaze 2000.



We can now return to the discussion of marginality and multiplicity. For if we look at the first quotation again, we realise that nature (*baigal*) here is evoked to express the idea of a manifold. There are “many different things” in the Darhad Depression, “too many different things”, in fact. Diversity, not unity, is what the hunter’s explanation is about, apart from ‘power’ (*hüch*). Certainly, *uraan* is used as an all-encompassing metaphor for the “influence from nature”; yet it is surely no coincidence that this term is adopted for this purpose. Uranium, after all, is known for its inherently unstable nature—and for the harmful power that springs from this instability. *Uraan*, it seems, represents an apt metaphor for conveying the popular Darhad notion that the *taiga* zone is a vehicle of transformation, of mutation (of one’s eyes, for example), and, above all, of multiplicity.

To the Darhads, I propose, the *taiga* zone constitutes an external homologue of, what from the perspective of non-Darhads (and migrant Darhads), is internal to all Darhad persons. The steppe zone, on the other hand, is understood to provide the inhabitants of the Darhad Depression with what moving away from the Darhad homeland has accomplished for the migrant Darhads, namely a sort of spatial refuge from the ‘black side’. But how did this refuge come into being? Why is the steppe zone beyond the reach of the dangerous ‘influence from nature’? In order to answer these questions, we need to consider how the Mongolian Buddhist church governed the Darhad Depression during the centuries up until the Communist revolution.

#### THE DARHAD IH SHAV’

There is reason to believe that Darhad Ih Shav’ entertained a quite privileged position within the total ecclesiastical estate (Shav’ yamen)<sup>10</sup> of the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu. The first reason is that the Darhad Ih Shav’ was one of a few *shav’* situated inside the politically ambiguous borderland (*hyazgaar*) between the Qing and the Russian empire (Ewing 1981). Not only was the Darhad Ih Shav’ uncharacteristically open to Russian influences, but also that its ecclesiastical subjects were literally sealed off from the Outer Mongolian *aimags* located to the south of the *hyazgaar* (Badamhatan 1986: 26). Secondly, because of its

<sup>10</sup> In the Western literature, the name of this institution often appears as ‘Shabi yamen’.

location within the forest belt of Northern Mongolia, the Darhad Ih Shav' must have constituted the Shabi yamen's primary source of fur and pelt revenues, obtained from the *shabinar* in the form of direct taxation as well as religious alms (Badamhatan 1986: 27–34). Finally, as Bawden notes (1986: 69), "the *Shabi yamen*, did not control actual territory, apart from the pastures of the Darkhat in the far north-west of Mongolia".

So not only does the Darhad Ih Shav' seem to have comprised the largest and economically most vital population of *shabinar* within the Shabi Yamen estate. It also comprised the only *land* in Qing Outer Mongolia under *de facto* sovereignty of the Buddhist church (see also Ewing 1981). These vital facts allow us to interpret core aspects of pre-revolutionary Darhad social life in light of the Tibetan Buddhist discourse of 'domestication'. For it is a well-known fact that "part of the aspiration of Tibetan religious ideology is to eliminate wilderness by subjugating it" (Ramble 1997: 133). Essentially, it is the long-term effects of this attempted 'subjugation'—albeit in a Mongolian Buddhist context—that I wish to explore here.

On several levels, I propose, the Darhad Ih Shav' imposed a scale upon the Darhad Depression which had not been there before. The very entity known as the 'Darhad people' is a case in point. For, even if one assumes that a grouping with this designation was found in north-western Mongolia before the Darhad Ih Shav's creation at the Khuren Belchir Assembly in 1668, it is still unquestionable that this original group subsequently were infused with a range of other ethnic or political groupings (Badamhatan 1986: 62–63). Indeed, the Darhad Ih Shav' probably was created by a close alliance between the Mongolia's Buddhist church and its Halh nobility with the explicit aim of imposing a degree of political stability on the Hövsgöl region, which had suffered from civil war and general political unrest for several centuries (Wheeler 2000). One could even argue that the very concept of 'domestication' is inscribed into the Darhad ethnonym. Among other things, the term *darhan* (pl. *darhad*) thus denotes something 'sacred', 'protected', and, most interestingly, "an area set aside for religious reasons or rites" (Hangin *et al.* 1986).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The origin of the Darhad ethnonym is obscure. This is partly due to the polysemic nature of the term *darhan/darhad*, which, among other things, also means 'blacksmith' and 'freedman' (Hangin *et al.* 1986; Jagchid & Hyer 1979: 288–90). In fact, according to certain legends, the Darhad Sharnuud clan is an offspring of the so-

It is not entirely clear how many monasteries the Darhad Ih Shav' comprised at a given time in history. Several monasteries were relocated or perhaps even closed down due to the ongoing conflicts with local shamans (see below) as well as, during the Russian Civil War, warlords from the White Army (Pürev 1980: 46–48). But it is reasonably certain that the first monastery dates back to 1757, at which point the Darhads apparently resettled in their homeland following their forced migration to the Selenge region during the various Jungar invasions of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Badamhatan 1986: 25, 44–45; Badamhatan & Banzragch 1981: 13–15). This was the Zöölöngiin Hüreе (also known as the Darhadyn or RENCHINLHÜMBE Hüreе), which was to become the religious, administrative and commercial centre of the Darhad Ih Shav' for the next 175 years or so (see, for example, Sandschejew 1930). The location of this ecclesiastical centre was, however, changed several times. Initially, the Zöölön monastery was built at the mouth of the river Ivd, which is located in the present day Soyot sub-district of the Ulaan-Uul district. But, partly for religious reasons (see below), and partly for practical ones, the Zöölön monastery was later relocated in two stages, eventually to find its permanent base East of Darhad Depression's geographical centre, close to the present day RENCHINLHÜMBE district centre (Dioszegi 1961).

At some point between 1821 and 1855, the Darhad Ih Shav' underwent an administrative reform. Until this point, this Buddhist estate had been organised into one *otog* (i.e. the ecclesiastical equivalent to the *hoshoo*, the main administrative unit in Qing Mongolia), but it was now reorganised into three *otogs*, known as the East, West and North *otog* respectively, each administered by an office headed by a secular *otog* leader (*otogyn darga*) ultimately answering to the ecclesiastical authorities (Badamhatan 1980: 26; see also Legrand 1976: 81–82; Vreeland 1962: 11–23). Not surprisingly, the introduction of this tripartite administrative structure was soon followed by the introduction of a tripartite monastic structure as well. Thus, in 1880, a second monastery was built at a place called Tsaram, but was soon relocated to another place called

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called Five Hundred Yellow Darhad Families Of The Principal Shrine, who, since the reign of Khublai Khan (1260–94) and up until the communist take-over, protected the sacred shrine (*ordon*) of Genghis Khan in the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia. (Badamhatan 1986: 47–9; Even 1988–9: 106–9). However, even on the assumption that the Darhad ethnonym did not originally denote 'sacred'/'protected' in the Buddhistised sense of the term, many Darhads are today making this link themselves.

Burgaltai, after the river with the same name. Later, the monastery was moved once again, finding its permanent location south of the Hög River in the present Ulaan-Uul district, though it kept its former name, the Burgaltai Hüre. In 1890, a third monastery was established, which in the early 1900s, was *also* moved to the aforementioned Ivdiin Am. Henceforth, this third monastery became known as the Ivdiin Hiid. Finally, two smaller prayer temples (*hural*) were at some point constructed to the north-east of the Zöölön monastery, namely the Töhiin Hural and the Mandalyn Hural respectively.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, then, there seems to have been five (or possibly six) monastic sites in the Darhad Depression, all located within the territory of the Darhad Ih Shav'. Now, if one plots these locations onto a map, something resembling a star-shaped figure emerges. This might suggest that there was a deliberate design behind the construction of monastic sites in the Darhad Ih Shav'. Still, plenty of pragmatic reasons may account for the location of these sites, just as a variety of more contingent religious factors should also be taken into account, such as the possibility that the monastic locations were determined by divination activities carried out *in situ*, by the nature of the water flow of local streams and so forth.

If the strategic positioning of monasteries was one way in which the Mongolian Buddhist church sought to domesticate the Darhad Depression, then its appropriation of pre-existing sacred sites was another. Now there are many different kinds of sacred places in the Darhad Depression, some of which are (still today) distinctly shamanist in nature. Here I will focus solely on the so-called *ovoos* (i.e. sacred stone or wooden cairns constructed at prominent spots in the landscape to appease local 'land-masters' (*gazaryn ezed*)). Both the written sources and my informants suggest that, by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Darhad Ih Shav' had taken over the management of most prominent *ovoos* within its territory. Badamhatan (1980: 24) writes that, in 1855, the Darhad Ih Shav' comprised 26 *züüinj*<sup>12</sup> *ovoos* and 24 *hilnii ovoos*, where the former apparently served 'monastic' purposes, and the latter marking the borders of the non-ecclesiastical administrative units in the vicinity of the Darhad Ih Shav'. It is not known whether the 26 *züüinj ovoos* existed before the creation of the Darhad Ih Shav', but it is likely that the majority did so, as these must have played an important

<sup>12</sup> I have not been able to find any translation for this term.

politico-religious role for the indigenous patri-clans of the region (cf. Humphrey 1995). So, it is reasonable to assume, as these and other clan migrant groupings became incorporated into the administrative structure of the Darhad Ih Shav', the corresponding *ovoos* and their 'resident' *gazaryn ezed* underwent a similar domestication, as local lamas gradually took over the ceremonial roles previously performed by shamanist clan-elders at these *ovoo* sites.

Nevertheless, the *ovoos* did not lose their pre-Buddhist significance with the increasing institutionalisation of the Darhad Ih Shav'. My data suggest rather that the former clannish cult-sites became subsumed under standardised liturgical forms imposed by the Buddhist church, and by equally standardised bureaucratic interventions instituted by the Darhad Ih Shav's secular arm. For example, a high-ranking lama from the Ivd monastery each year would preside over the *ovoo* ceremonies of the North Otot. The latter's territory, like that of the two other *otogs*, is likely to have comprised several *ovoos* as well as several clan groupings. So, if the *otog* leader of the North Otot encompassed the diversity of human groupings (households, clans) within this *otog*'s territory, the high-ranking lama assumed the leadership of the diversity of non-human entities ('land-masters' etc.) within the same *otog*. In that sense, the North Otot and its corresponding Ivd monastery seems to have fulfilled the same encompassing role towards the clans and *ovoos* within their territory as did the larger Zöölön monastery towards them.

We are reminded here of Tambiah's model of the 'galactic polity' (1985). As Samuel (1993: 62–63) notes, this model only partly fits the Tibetan case, since the latter was often characterised by several politico-religious polities in conflict with one other. A similar objection might be raised with respect to long periods in Mongolian history, although the case of the Qing colonial polity does, in fact, fit Tambiah's model (cf. Bawden 1986: 108; Humphrey 1996: 275). Indeed, when it comes to the Darhad Ih Shav', Tambiah's model seems to work very well. For it is clear that the Zöölön monastery was the centre of this micro-cosmos, and it is now also clear that its four adjacent monastic sites performed the role of 'satellites' in Tambiah's sense, replicating (if to a higher or lesser degree) the political, economic and religious properties of the former, but on a smaller scale.



IN THE HOLLOW OF THE *TAIGA*

Might we conclude, then, that the politico-religious interventions of the Buddhist church turned the Darhad Depression into “an enclosure, not necessarily circular, which separates a sacred area from the...profane world” (Snellgrove 1987: 198)? In my view, this would imply the existence of a particular point from where this encompassment could be *seen* (or at least imagined); that is, a spatial vantage point from where the *entirety* of the Darhad *Ih Shav’* could be apprehended in a mandala-like way. In fact, the so-called Jargalantyn Ovoo (also called the Zöölöngiin Ovoo) seems to have constituted precisely such a spatial vantage. This *ovoo* was—and still is—located on a hill top near the geographical centre of the Darhad Depression. Indeed, as the proud locals seldom fail to tell you, Jargalantyn Ovoo is “the only place from where it is possible to see the whole Darhad Depression”. At this site, I was told, seven lamas from the Zöölön monastery used to perform an important annual ritual.

First, the seven lamas would visit a sacred lake, at whose midst there was—and apparently still is—a tiny island with seven Siberian Larch trees (the lake is probably Deed Tsagaan Nuur). Here, the lamas made offerings and read prayers to the seven trees, which were named after the Great Bear Constellation (*Doloon Burhan Od*).<sup>13</sup> Following this, the lamas would climb the nearby hill, at whose peak the Jargalantyn Ovoo is located. Only the lamas were allowed to ascend all the way up to the *ovoo* itself. The laymen assembled for the ritual were left behind on the hill below the *ovoo* site (women were not allowed to participate at all). The seven lamas would then perform a full-blown *ovoo* sacrificial rite (*ovoony tahilga*), in which sacrifices (*tahil*), sutra-readings and beckonings (*dallaga*) were made for the local ‘land-masters’/gods of the Great Bear. Finally, a big celebration of games (*naadam*) was held at the pass below, in which subjects from all over the Darhad *Ih Shav’* participated.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. ‘The Seven God/Buddha Stars’. The constellation is widely known in Mongolia as ‘The Seven Old Men’ (*Doloon Övgöd*). Its religious significance seems to date back to the time of Genghis Khan, if not before (Heissig 1980: 81–3). Pegg (2001: 117) presents a short Darhad wish-prayer for this star constellation, which is worth quoting due to its explicit Lamaist connotations: “Risen above // The Seven Gods of the firmament // Guard [us] like a hat // Guard us as a shadow // Please banish misfortune and evil spirits. (*Oroid mandsan // Ogtarguin Doloon Burhan // Malgai met mana // Süüder met sah’ // Gai bartsat gamshig totgoryg arilgaj hairla*”; translation original).



In discussing a comparable (Bon) case from the Tibetan context, Ramble suggests that:

the pattern that formed around the site were, like a mandala in the most general sense, a magic circle that changed everything that came within its perimeter. The changes are thus not uniform but in accordance with *possibilities of form* offered by the nature of the quantities concerned: divinities are ranked hierarchically, stray events find themselves drawn into a unifying narrative, rocks are accorded resemblances to suitable subjects, and wildlife becomes tame. (Ramble 1997: 134; emphasis added)

This observation is highly pertinent for our present purposes, for it emphasises that a given project of domestication does not give rise to a perfect real-world instantiation of the mandala shape. Indeed, it is to some degree *beside the point* of the present analysis whether the Darhad Depression was ‘really meant’ to be transformed into a mandala or not. What matters is that the Darhad Depression—with its unique hollow shape—must have offered the Mongolian Buddhist church a near-perfect “possibility of form” through which it could carry out its agenda of subjugation. Indeed, the term *hotgor*—which I elsewhere in this article have translated as ‘depression’—also means ‘concave’, ‘a cavity’ and ‘hollow’ in the Mongolian language. Incidentally, Darhads informally refer to their homeland simply as ‘The Hotgor’.

But what was the outer perimeter of the sacred enclosure delineated by the Darhad *Ih Shav*? It is relatively certain that the Buddhist sphere of influence did not reach into the depths of the *taiga*. Rather, the border zone between the steppe and the *taiga* appears to have been the major battlefield in the lamas’ continuous struggle to subjugate the Darhads and their landscape. The frequent relocation of monasteries within the Darhad *Ih Shav* testified to this. Clearly, had the Buddhists not met so fierce resistance from the local shamans, all these relocations might not have been necessary. We may therefore view the vectors delineated by the monastic relocations as indices of the changing power balance between shamanism and Buddhism in the course of Darhad history. The famous narrative published by Dioszegi, for instance, refers to the earliest days of the Darhad *Ih Shav*, namely to a time when the only Buddhist site in the Darhad Depression was a temple inhabited by a sole lama; and to a time when the Buddhist church was forced to move this temple further into the steppe zone, because “shamanism was flourishing in the region” (Dioszegi 1961: 202). Then,

as the ecclesiastical estate gained more strength, its activities gradually expanded outwards towards the *taiga* zone, such that, eventually, the Ivdiin Hiid was erected at the very same spot from where the first temple originally had been removed (cf. above). But this liminal zone between the steppe and the *taiga* also seems to have come to define the outer range of the Darhad Ih Shav's sphere of influence. The *taiga* zone proper, with its 'too many different' animal and spirit entities, seems to have been left for the shamans and other non-Buddhist specialists to deal with (Pedersen 2002; see also Pürev 1999: 342–44).

But a more general point also springs to mind. Just as in the comparable cases from Tibet (see MacDonald 1997), the Buddhist subjugation of the Darhad Depression never was—and nor could it ever have been—completed. The more the Mongolian Buddhist church succeeded in transforming the Darhad Depression into one encompassing unity, the more extensive the 'residual repository' of entities and beings which were *not* part of this unity must have become. As forcefully argued by Mosko with respect to various Polynesian and Melanesian cases (1992), processes of hierarchical encompassment do not only lead to a given constellation of entities being subsumed under a larger order, it also means that these very entities will be stripped of some of their internal complexity, or, to adopt Latour's terminology (which, incidentally, echoes that of Lamaist theology itself), that these entities will become internally reduced by virtue of their increasing 'purification' (Latour 1993; cf. also Strathern 1988).

This, I suggest, is precisely the logic on which the Darhads conceive of *taiga* as the 'cause' of their own marginality, so to speak. It is, for example, now clear why the shamanist religion is so strongly associated with the *taiga*, for, even on the assumption that similar associations were made before the establishment of the Darhad Ih Shav', there is no doubt that the aforementioned interventions of the Mongolian Buddhist church served to push the domain of Darhad shamanism even further towards the *taiga* zone. Indeed, we now also understand why the present day Darhads seem to be mapping their own 'layered minds' onto the marginal multiplicity represented by the *taiga*, for, in doing so, they are only following in the footsteps of the Darhad Ih Shav' lamas in attaining a perspective from which the *taiga* zone appears as a residual repository standing in asymmetrical opposition to the purified enclosure demarcated by the natural contours of the steppe zone.

## TAME FROM WITHIN

Purification, then, is what the 'yellow side' is all about. Of course, no worries of dangerous 'influences from nature' are surfacing here, for nature (i.e. the steppe zone) is now seen to be *particularly* pure. In fact, everything is calm and beautiful. But there is one important twist, for the people are not necessarily in a position to *see* this. Instead, as we shall now see, Darhads need *to be seen* by someone else in order to ascertain their own 'yellowness'.

Consider the following story, told to me in several different versions during fieldworks in the Darhad Depression:

Many years ago, a Tibetan lama came to our land: he had been sent by the Bogd Khan.<sup>14</sup> As the lama reached to top of Öliin Davaa he was breath-taken: so beautiful was the sight that met him.<sup>15</sup> He exclaimed out loud: "This is a land of happiness. It is full of white merit (*tsagaan buyan*). This is because of the three Darhad White Animals: the Darhad White Sheep, the Darhad White Fish, and the Darhad White Horse". The merit of the Darhad White Sheep comes from its special tail-bone, which is bigger than that of Halh sheep. The merit of the Darhad White Fish has to do with the healing powers of the water in the Shishged River. When one takes out a White Fish from the river, it will shine like gold. Also, the White Fish is very rare in the world.

This is the story about the Darhad White Horse. Once, there were two friends, and one was very ill. Shamans had been called in, but to no avail. Aware that his friend was about to go to Urga, the sick man sent for him.<sup>16</sup> "Take this gold and buy me medicine", he said, handing his friend a muddy stone. The friend took the stone and went off to Urga. But no one wanted to sell him any medicine, for all he had to pay with was the stone. Desperate, he went to see the Bogd Khan. The Bogd Khan weighed the stone in his hands, knocked it onto the wall, and said: "Yes, this is gold. I will now tell you the cure. Back in your country there is the Darhad White Horse. Your friend must drink a cup of mare's milk three times a day and eat the mutton from the Darhad White Sheep. Then he will be cured".

The friend gave the stone to the Bogd Khan and travelled back home. Arriving empty-handed, the sick man scolded him for not having brought the medicine. He told of the Bogd Khan's advice, only to be met with the

<sup>14</sup> I.e. the 8<sup>th</sup> Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, who, for two brief periods (1911–15, 1921–24), were the official head of the Mongolian state.

<sup>15</sup> Demarcating the only entrance by road to the Darhad Depression, the Öliin Davaa is the most important mountain pass in the region, and home to a very prominent *ovoo*.

<sup>16</sup> I.e. the present-day Mongolian capital of Ulaanbaatar.

angry reply that the ailing person already had been drinking large amounts of fermented mare's milk (*airag*), and to no effect. Some time now passed, and, as the sick man was feeling worse and worse, he decided to heed the advice. And indeed, after nine days he began feeling better, and after one month he had completely regained his health. His companion, meanwhile, had been worrying: might his friend be dead? One day, as he was sitting inside his *ger*, his children shouted from the outside: "Three horsemen are arriving". "Oh no", he thought, "could they be coming after me?" As he stepped outside his fears increased as he saw three proud men dismount and approach him. But, behold, it was his friend who was running up him, shouting: "The cure worked!"

Tellingly, neither the Tibetan lama nor Bogd Khan are bringing anything new to the Darhad people. The lama is only saying out loud what can already be found in the Darhad Depression, namely the sacred blessing (*buyan*) of the three Darhad White Animals. Similarly, the Bogd Khan is pointing to a cure that is already available, namely the healing power of the milk from the Darhad White Horse. The stone/gold contrast seems to carry the same message. Only the sick man (because he is near to death?) can apparently glimpse its hidden golden quality; his friend and everyone else needs the Bogd Khan to weigh it and knock it against the wall, and thus make its inner purity visible to the world.

How are we to interpret this? I would suggest that the core idea is one of attraction. The Darhad Depression was attracting the Buddhist church to come to it, for it contained a superior 'whiteness' that proved irresistible to the Tibetan lama (and his many Mongolian successors). But the attractor may not be aware of its own attraction: it may need someone or something to bring about its irresistible appeal, like when a fish requires to be pulled out of the water in order to shine golden, or when a piece of gold is revealed behind its outer shelter only if adequately moulded. Still—and this is crucial—*everything was there from the beginning*. The 'white blessing' was already in the animals, and the muddy stone was already made of gold; it was simply that these hidden qualities needed to be extracted, so to speak.

What, then, happened to that untamed wilderness which needed to be 'domesticated' by the Buddhist church? It is unquestionable that the aforementioned conception is related to the historical existence of the Darhad *Ih Shav'*. The notion of 'white merit' is explicitly Buddhist, for instance. More generally, as I showed earlier, the various politico-religious practices of the Darhad *Ih Shav'* evidently were meant to render

the Darhad steppe zone (and its native inhabitants) into a self-contained whole, into a purified unity. In that sense, we might say that the hegemony of the Buddhist church (and later the Halh Mongolians) served to 'colonise' the Darhads' consciousness as an ethnic minority, because a whole range of external religious, cultural and political inventions over the last 250 years clearly have been formative for the Darhads' sense of who they are. And yet, on the Darhads' own understanding, the nature and effects of this 'colonisation' were always somewhat different. It was not just that the Darhads asked to be protected by the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu (though several narratives certainly carry this message). No, it was also that the Mongolian Buddhist church was attracted to the Darhads as well as to their land. What is more, according to certain contemporary narratives like the one I have considered here, the Buddhist church did not bring anything new to the Darhad Depression; it merely *brought out* a sacred quality which has always been there.

From this subaltern perspective, then, the Darhads were not actually domesticated by Mongolia's (Gelugpa) Buddhist church, for, not unlike the natural refuge demarcated by the steppe zone, the Darhads were already *tame from within*. Like the muddy stone with the golden cavity inside, or for that matter those 'hardworking' Darhads who are now so 'successful' outside their homeland, the Darhads' 'white' or 'yellow' side just needed to be extracted by a person, or a group of persons, who could sense this sacred attraction, and who had the unique capacity to make it visible. Invariably, in the different stories I have collected, this person was the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu himself (or various Tibetan representatives of him).<sup>17</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In this article, when I have argued that Darhads *see* themselves from certain perspectives, then this must be taken quite literally. I have not been talking about a purely discursive domain of free-floating imaginations. Rather, I have tried to elucidate certain configurations which the

<sup>17</sup> However, Tatar (1976: 8) writes that, according to her informants, "a Chinese man, *hyatad Sonomhia* gave new names to the long worshipped sacred mountains surrounding the Darkhat basin on the basis of different [Buddhist] 'tokens' (*shints*)".



Darhad entity acquires when seen or imagined from particular points of view, or, to put it the other way around, about the particular perspectives which the Darhad entity *requires to be seen from* (cf. Viveiros de Castro 1998). And my point has been that these imaginations are grounded in actually existing points of view afforded by the natural contours of the Darhad Depression, and more generally, by the political-economic landscape of the modern Mongolian nation state. This, of course, is not to say that this environment determines how the Darhads see themselves. It is only to suggest that the Darhad Depression, like any landscape, only offers certain “possibilities of form”, and that it largely is *from within these forms* that the current Darhad self-imagination is taking shape.

Needless to say, these findings only carry additional weight in a situation where the Darhads, like so many other Mongolians, experience a profound sense of religious loss, for which they seek to compensate by looking, for instance, towards their Tibetan neighbours in the South. In that sense, we should regard the Darhad Depression itself as one distinct territory of the Tibetan-Mongolian interface, for this landscape evidently constitutes a particularly dense imaginative terrain, at once actual and virtual, across which the concepts Mongolia and Tibet are able to traverse.

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# ON CHINGGIS KHAN AND BEING LIKE A BUDDHA: A PERSPECTIVE ON CULTURAL CONFLATION IN CONTEMPORARY INNER MONGOLIA\*

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## INTRODUCTION

Many residents of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (hereafter the IMAR or Inner Mongolia), including both ethnic Mongols and Han Chinese, know not only who Chinggis Khan is, but also that his 'mausoleum' is located in a south-western part of Inner Mongolia. In many cases they acquired their knowledge of this historical figure either from magazines, books, films and television programmes based on the story of the thirteenth-century Mongol leader, or from visiting this 'mausoleum' and/or paying 'religious homage' (M.: *mörgök*) there. The 'mausoleum' is located in Ejen-horoo Banner—literally 'the lord's sanctuary'—in Ordos Municipality<sup>1</sup> which is now only a three-hour drive from Hohhot, the capital of the IMAR.

The 'mausoleum' consists of a central building with three connected halls, with a roof in the style of a Mongol yurt. It is located in grounds some 225 square kilometres in size, surrounded by flat pastureland. The site is managed by the Chinggis Khan Mausoleum Administration Bureau and, on the appointed dates each year, it carries out rituals pertaining to the great Mongolian Khan and members of his family including his wives and sons, as well as the Black Standard of the Mongol Empire (M.: *qar süilde*). People from Ordos, including herders from the countryside and people from towns and cities, as well as those from other areas in Inner Mongolia and the rest of China, visit the site either to pray for their well-being, to pay respects to Chinggis

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<sup>1</sup> Before the region was renamed Ordos Municipality (*E'erdusi shi* in Chinese) in 2001, it was Ihe-juu League, an administration level equivalent to prefecture.

Khan as an ancestor of ethnic Mongolians, or a hero of the Chinese nation, or just for fun. Some, especially young students, visit the site on tours organised by schools or government work units in order to provide them with an 'education in patriotism' (*aiguozhuyi jiaoyu* in Chinese), since the 'mausoleum' has been formally identified as a 'site for patriotic education' by the government of Inner Mongolia. Different visitors clearly attribute different meanings to Chinggis Khan during their tours of the site.

Chinggis Khan has likewise been interpreted in strikingly different ways in Mongol historical writings. One can observe at least four distinct stages in his portrayal in the historiography of Mongols living in what is now called the IMAR. During the first stage, exemplified by the thirteenth-century text, *The Secret History of the Mongols*—the earliest historical writing in Mongolian—Chinggis was represented as a human being with many outstanding qualities, including shamanic charisma. Some flaws in his personality were also described. Both were demonstrated in the accounts of his role as a leader as well as in his function in everyday life as a son, husband and brother. The second phase of Chinggis Khan's portrayal is illustrated by historical writings produced in the seventeenth-century, a period in which Mongols adopted the teachings of the Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism as their national religion, at a time when they were confronting the possibility of being incorporated into the Manchu regime. These writings show another face of Chinggis Khan: he became an incarnation of the Buddha who was able to perform any miracle at will to prevent the sufferings of his devotees (see Sagang Sechin 2000). A third stage emerges some 200 years later, mainly in the historical writings of Injannashi, a well-known writer of the nineteenth-century. The representation of Chinggis Khan became more Confucian, embodying ethical principles such as benevolence (C.: *ren*) and righteousness (C.: *yi*), key concepts for rulers in Chinese society. In this way his actions were understood to revitalise the Mongol people as a whole. By the nineteenth-century Chinese tradition had somehow been adapted into a main source of secular reference by Mongol intellectuals who were seeking a way for Mongol society to improve its then worsening conditions. These were a result, in their view, of the penetration of Buddhism into areas of social life: for them, Buddhism was a key factor in negative social change.

The twentieth-century, especially the first half, was a crucial period for the Mongols in terms of politics and society. When the Qing



dynasty collapsed and Outer (northern) Mongolia became an independent polity, Inner Mongolia became a part of the new Republic of China and, later, of the People's Republic of China, the successors of the Qing Empire. This situation required Mongols who lived within the new China to reinterpret their history, including that of their famous leader, Chinggis Khan, in the light of the contemporary social and political context. This interpretation or cultural re-construction of Chinggis Khan was not something achieved by Mongols on basis of their own will or motivation. Other factors, including the dominant cultures of the ethnic Chinese and the policy of the state towards ethnic minorities, played a role in determining the use of past history and cultural resources, among which rituals and Buddhism played an important part.

This paper explores the way in which the great Mongol leader became identified by local believers, including both Mongols and Han Chinese, with a near-Buddha, the incarnation of Vajrapani (M.: *Ochirvani*). In doing so, it will give an account of the process of the cultural construction of Chinggis Khan. I focus on the historical and political context of Chinese society, where the Mongol community was incorporated as a part of the Chinese nation, and I base my account on contemporary ethnography and on historical documents as well as on the rite of Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum and its variants. In other words, I will look at how Chinggis Khan has been culturally constructed as a Buddha-like character through the reorientation of ritual by the state and by the Mongols.

To do this, it is necessary to understand the origin and history of the rite of Chinggis Khan's so-called 'mausoleum'. Let me make a brief description of the historical background to the rite.

#### A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RITE

Chinggis Khan was buried in his birthplace, a place called Burhan-haldun in central Mongolia, after he died in 1227 on a campaign against the Tanggud or Xixia state, according to historical records referring to the event.<sup>2</sup> Later, a ritual based on shamanistic belief was invented by Chinggis Khan's successor to commemorate the great emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Historical documents: Rashid-ad-din's *Collections of Histories, The History of the Yuan Dynasty (Yuanshi)*, and Mongol histories documented in the seventeenth-century,

Plano Carpini, a missionary sent to Mongolia by Rome in the thirteenth-century, observed that people worshiped in front of Chinggis Khan's portrait at midday in the court of Guyug Khan, a Mongol Khan who ruled from 1246 to 1251, seeking, he wrote, to obtain blessings in return (Carpini 2001: 52). D'Ohsson, a French historian of the ancient Mongols, wrote that a thousand people who had been exempted from military service protected the place where the great Khan was buried. A portrait of the Khan was kept there, and incense was always burning in front of it, without interruption. Nobody was permitted to enter, even those who were from the four *ordo* or palaces of Chinggis Khan. This rule was kept for one hundred years after the death of the Khan (d'Ohsson 1988: 916).

In fact, this ritual was reinvented in the period of Khubilai Khan, who had taken power after having being 'elected' by the *khuraltai*, a traditional Mongolian system of political succession. His rival for khanship, Arigbuha, supposed to be the more legitimate heir to the throne, had lost the contest after a military conflict. Khubilai's power derived partly from the support of Confucian Chinese landlords and intellectuals. Since it was known that he had usurped the throne in a palace coup, he needed to legitimate his status and authority by investing it with some kind of traditional Mongolian ideology, and the cult of Chinggis Khan was one of the cultural resources available to him; it was well suited to this purpose. As the fifth Khan of the Mongol Empire, and the first of the Yuan Dynasty, Khubilai transformed the cult into one with largely Chinese features, introducing the rite into temples such as the eight temples he established in Daidu (literally, 'the Great Capital', today's Beijing) in honour of Chinggis Khan, his wife Burtegeljen and others.<sup>3</sup> This was a clear break with the tradition of ancestor worship among Mongols, which had been conducted in *ger* and mobile *ger*, namely *comcoG* (Sainjargal 2001: 10).

The Mongol rulers expanded the ritual calendar of the cult to several fixed services a year, including a major rite offering a sacrifice of meat, dairy products, silk and money to the dead. This ritual, which was conducted in Daidu during the Yuan Dynasty, "became a ritual culture

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such as the *Erdeni-yin Tobci*, indicated that Chinggis Khan was buried somewhere in today's Mongolia.

<sup>3</sup> The eight temples were for Chinggis' parents, Chinggis and his first wife, Ögödeyi Khan and his first wife, and his wife.

which was a combination of Mongol and Chinese cultures of ritual” (Sainjargal 2001: 13). The Mongol rulers practiced a similar rite for the ancestors of the Golden Lineage (M.: *altan urug*) and for Heaven (M.: *Tngri*) in Shangdu,<sup>4</sup> another capital of the dynasty located in the area called Shuluun-hoh Banner in today’s Inner Mongolia, but the ceremony there was of a more Mongol type, involving the traditional practices of sprinkling mare’s milk and chanting Mongolian prayers and eulogies.

The new rite to Chinggis developed during the Yuan Dynasty was probably influenced not only by Confucianism but also by Buddhism, since Khubilai and his successors were converted to the latter faith. Marco Polo gave a description of religions in the city of Shangdu, summer capital of Yuan dynasty as follows:

For they have very large monasteries and abbeys dedicated to those idols. For I tell you that there are some of large monasteries so large that they are large as a small city, in which are according to the state and size of temples from 1000 to more than two thousand monks who serve the idols according to their custom, who dress more decently with more religious garments than all the other men do. For they wear the crown of head shaved and the beard shaved beyond the fashion of laymen. And they make the greatest feasts for their idols with greater singing and with greater lights than were ever seen. Besides them there are many other different idolater monks elsewhere in the region (Marco Polo 1976: 190).

Meanwhile the original shrine was maintained in Chinggis Khan’s birthplace in Mongolia itself, although the authorities there reinvented variants of the worship for their own political ends. Thus it is recorded in the *Yuanshi*, the Annals of the Yuan, that the Yuan court appointed a special official responsible for managing the shrine at Harahorin, the original Mongolian imperial capital, where there were nine *ordo* or palaces for the worship of Chinggis Khan (Sainjargal 2001: 15).

In summary, the changes in the worship that came into being during the Yuan Dynasty, for which the main sites were Daidu, Shangdu and Harahorin, included a range of new regulations for the event that were based on Confucianism and Buddhism and produced a version of the rite that served as a direct form of legitimating political power, in comparison to the earlier rite which had focused more on the commemoration of the great Khan himself.

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<sup>4</sup> *Tngri*, or *möngke tngri* (eternal heaven), was the main object of worship in Mongolian shamanistic tradition.

After the collapse of the Yuan Dynasty in China in 1368, Mongol rulers retreated to their homeland, the Mongol plateau. While they continued their dominance over the homeland, occasionally fighting with Ming troops that aimed to completely eradicate Mongol power, the rite of the great ancestor was still valuable to his descendents in their efforts to maintain his political heritage.

Although it is unclear how the rite was practiced in the period from 1368 to 1410 when the state faced somewhat unstable conditions, it was certainly being performed by the end of that period. Adai, according to Sagang Sechin, “came to the throne in front of the Lord [Chinggis Khan]” in the year of 1410. Clearly by that time the rite to Chinggis Khan had become a part of the process of political succession during the declining years of the Golden Lineage.

During the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries the Golden Lineage of Chinggis Khan, that formed the Mongol royal family, faced both internal and external challenges. From the outside came attacks by the Ming Dynasty, which never gave up its plan to destroy the Mongol government by frequent attacks across its northern borders. At the same time, the Mongol monarchs faced the risk of the whole society being divided or being taken over by Mongol rulers from outside the Golden Lineage, such as the Western or Oirat Mongols, who had become strong enough to dispute the legitimacy of Chinggis’ descendents. Togan Taishi, an Oirat leader who had no claim to royal descent, was a powerful figure in Mongol political circles in the fifteenth century. The Oirats had been marrying into the Golden Lineage since the time of Chinggis Khan, but still lacked the legitimacy to provide a Khan for all Mongols. Togan Taishi, dissatisfied with his position as a leader without the official title of Khan, came to the White Palace of the Lord Chinggis, where a ritual of worship to Chinggis Khan was carried out, and there he asked to be made a Khan on the basis of his descent from the daughters of the Golden Lineage. His pedigree was not deemed sufficient, however, and he was not recognised as a legitimate Khan within the Mongol polity by members of the royal lineage.

The way in which the rite functioned in the post-Yuan and pre-Manchu period of Mongol history can be seen from another historical episode. At the time Dayan Khan came to the throne in 1479, Mongolian society was disunited and there was competition for the khanship among the Mongol nobles since the previous Khan, Manduul, had produced no male heir to the throne. Manduul’s second wife,

Manduhai remarried herself after his death to Bat-Monghe, then a seven year old child, who, as a male member of the royal family, was regarded as an appropriate candidate for the position of Khan. Leading the young boy, Manduhai came to the White Palace of the Lord to vow that she would take care of the young Khan in order to maintain the line of legitimate Mongol authority (Sagang Sechin 2000: 652). The rules of the ritual did not allow women to participate in its ceremonies (Wangchugsurung 2004: 130), but the rite of Chinggis Khan was so crucial to the legitimisation of leadership that she, as a guardian of the young Khan, had to be allowed to attend for the sake of preserving the Golden Lineage.

The details of the rite came in turn to be formalised in terms of who was qualified to attend (Sainjargal 2001: 23). After Dayan Khan reunited Mongol groups and made some political reforms in his administration, the Jinong, the second highest power-holder in the Mongol political system, was put in charge of administering the rite as well as the western *tümens* (provinces). One can conclude that the rite came to be developed at this time as an official political procedure of which the chief function was legitimising the political system and its rulers. While objects for sacrifice were collected from various parts of the Mongolian territory, the rite itself was mainly located in Ordos, a western *tümen*.

From the very beginning of the Qing Dynasty, Mongols were incorporated into the regime as subjects, albeit as honoured, equal partners, and the rite was reshaped accordingly. First, the holder of the office of Jinong continued to manage the rite but was no longer the second highest leader of the Mongol polity. 'Privilege' was given to the last Jinong by awarding him the title of 'Junwang', which was hereditary for his lineage as ruler of the banner of Ejen-horoo. The rite had therefore become more local and less political.

Secondly, the Manchu authorities allowed five hundred households from Ordos to become *Darqads* or professional guardians of the shrine, free from the burdens of taxation and military service. The court also allocated five hundred *taels* of silver a year to fund the performance of the rite (CGC 1998: 57). The rite became isolated from other parts of Mongolia after the introduction of the system of banners and leagues, since these made local administrators directly accountable to the Qing court and reduced any horizontal political connections between Mongol areas. Although officials from the Ejen-horoo area raised



funds from other areas, especially the western parts of Mongolia, for the repair and replacement of the ritual site, events and activities related to the cult of Chinggis Khan came to be conducted mostly by the local people of Ordos.

Thirdly, the rite which in earlier periods had been restricted to the nobility, become more open to common people in the area. Fourthly, during the Manchu Dynasty, the rite became more Buddhist, and became a service in which people prayed for their own well-being.

Let me give some examples of the last two points. A Buddhist temple was constructed in Ejen-horoo for the Darqad guardians in the twenty-sixth year of Jiaqing (1821). According to relevant archives (CGC 1998: 71), the temple was built so that monks could recite the scriptures to “reinforce the ten thousand blessings of the Holy Lord [Chinggis Khan]” (*bogda ejen-ü tümen öljei batutgaqu-yin tula*). The Qing authorities also allowed forty lamas to work in the temple granted it an official title *biligtü erkimlegci süme* or, literally, the Monastery of Appraising Intelligence and allocated it an area of land. In the later years of the Qing Empire, lamas were invited to take part in the worship of Chinggis Khan. It is recorded in the archives that lamas were asked to write prayers for the worship under the reign of Xuantong (1909–1911), the last emperor of the dynasty (CGC 1998: 645).

Meanwhile the purpose of the sacrifice offered to Chinggis Khan was changed. The local authorities performed the ritual to end a drought in 1868, the seventh year of Tongzhi (CGC 1998: 247), and in the reign of Guangxu (1875–1908) it was performed to pray for peace and to avoid disturbances caused by bandits from neighbouring provinces (CGC 1998: 477). No ceremony for political purposes was ever held in Chinggis Khan’s White Palace during this period.

The traditional regulations about what kinds of people were qualified to attend and pray were modified in the Qing Dynasty as well. Women, either from Mongol communities including the Golden Lineage or from elsewhere, had been excluded from the ritual site, apart from the exceptional case of Manduhai. Ordinary Mongol men and non-Mongolians were also barred from the ritual, as had happened with Togon Taishi. But the archives contain records of a dispute in the mid-nineteenth-century about whether Mongol women and ethnic Chinese should be allowed to attend. In the third year of Xianfeng (1853), Enghebayer, head of Ihe-juu league, and other officials accused Biligundalai and other *yamutans* (clerics of the rite of Chinggis Khan)

of breaking some strict regulations of the rite. He was charged, for example, with having allowed some women from noble families and some ethnic Chinese to worship in front of the picture of Chinggis Khan. As a result of this violation of the sacred rules, according to the accusation, the area suffered plagues and a wave of crimes (CGC 1998: 134). The same charge reappeared during the reign of Guangxu, and the accused tried to exculpate himself by saying that he only let women and ethnic Chinese worship outside the yurt in which Chinggis Khan's portrait and sacred objects were kept (CGC 1998: 321). It is clear from these cases that women and ethnic Chinese, as average believers, had started praying for their own good fortune or well-being by worshipping or kowtowing at the ritual site. No doubt Mongol men, including those from lower strata, were also carrying out worship at the shrine for their own sake.

Whether the worship of the shrine of Chinggis Khan was to be conducted in the traditional yurt (*ger*) or in a building such as a temple had been a matter of debate for some time among Mongol nobles, who were of course the main participants in the rite. Khubilai Khan, who was regarded by traditional Mongols as having been influenced by Confucianism, constructed temples in Daidu and Shangdu, as mentioned earlier in this paper, whereas later Mongol rulers returned the rite to its traditional form, placing the ritual objects in a yurt once they had withdrawn to their homeland after 1368. During the Qing Dynasty, the shrine was again placed in a building, a move that provoked disputes among the Ordos Mongols. This quarrel was later mediated by the Ninth Panchen Lama in the early years of the Republic of China, as we will see in the next section.

Another more important change in the structure of belief in Chinggis Khan during the Qing dynasty was that people began to believe that Chinggis Khan had been buried in Ordos and that the rite was actually an act of worship at his 'mausoleum'. In this way the name 'the Mausoleum of Chinggis Khan' first appeared. People 'forgot' that the original ritual was directed not at Chinggis Khan's body, but at his *sülde* or charisma. *Sülde* is supposed to be a special property called *möngke tngri* (eternal heaven), which is a supernatural object (in Shamanist belief) attached to Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan's *süldes* are symbolically represented in the horse-mane-made standards in the ritual context. Of those *süldes*, the 'Black Sülde' was believed to contain powerful supernatural beings (souls or spirits) that protect the

Golden Lineage and their cause, by suppressing their enemies. Therefore rite for the 'Black Sülde' was practiced for victory before Mongols launched any campaign.

#### CHINGGIS KHAN AS A GREAT HERO OF THE NEW CHINESE NATION

The founding of the Republic of China in 1912 led to a period of construction for the Chinese nation in terms of socio-political organisation and in terms of the cultural integration of the nationalities or ethnic groups involved in the process. Mongols followed different historical trajectories, with those in 'outer' or northern Mongolia successfully achieving independence while those in 'inner' or southern Mongolia were incorporated into the new China. The nature and function of the rite continued to undergo transformation during this period.

The Outer Mongolians tried to take the ritual objects of Chinggis Khan from the Ordos shrine in the 1910s at the time when they proclaimed their independence and needed to take the necessary measures to legitimate the new state. A letter from the Mongol-Tibetan Affairs Bureau in Beijing to the head of Ihe-juu League in 1914 notes that some Halh Mongols were said to be conspiring with some of the Darqads from Ordos to move the 'Black Sülde' (the main ritual object) from Ordos to (northern) Mongolia, and the Bureau warned the league official to monitor the situation. Because

the 'Black Sülde' has been an object of veneration associated with Chinggis Khan since the Yuan Dynasty, and has been worshiped in our China for some one thousand years, it is therefore definitely not allowed that it should be given it to those stupid Halh who rudely do not understand the reasoning of heaven (*tengger-in jui*). (CGC 1998: 690)

Interestingly, the official of the Ihe-juu League denied that such a plan had ever been made in relation to the Darqads (CGC 1998: 691).

In fact the plan did exist. Arbinbayar, the head of the league, reported to the government of the Jebtsundamba in Mongolia in the first month of 1913 that the league, together with other leagues and banners, was coming under strong pressure from the Chinese government as part of its attempts to force them to accept Chinese sovereignty and give up their intention to join independent Mongolia. The head also said that although they had no choice but to follow the Chinese because of the military threat, they nonetheless had organised some rituals for

Chinggis Khan and his 'Black Sülde' in order to pray for the success of "the great undertaking (*ike üyiles*)" (Mongolian archive No. A.3: 51–52). A letter from the head of the Mongolian Ministry of Internal Affairs to Chagdarsereng, the Jinong or head of the Chinggis Khan shrine in Ordos, written at the end of 1913, makes it clear that due to his own involvement in military campaigns against China,<sup>5</sup> the plan had been delayed and that "Chinggis Khan's body, *sülde* and flag, and other objects of the cult should be prepared for removal" once the next campaign in the frontier area had been completed (Edunheshig *et al.* 1981: 208). Clearly the Outer Mongolian official misunderstood that the body of Chinggis Khan was buried in Ordos. The plan to remove the Chinggis Khan shrine was never put in practice, however.

The cult of Chinggis again became very sensitive during the Second World War. Japanese power was influential in central and eastern parts of Mongolia, since the eastern part of Inner Mongolia had become Manchuguo and was under Japanese occupation; the central area was under the rule of the Mongolian Allied League Autonomous Government from 1937 to 1939, and under the Mongolian Autonomous State from 1941 to 1945, both of which were led by Prince Demchogdongrub (also known as Prince De) under the strict supervision of the Japanese. Ihe-juu, however, remained under the Guomindang regime and therefore formed a frontier between territories controlled by the Japanese and the Guomindang.

Thus in 1939 Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum was moved on the order of the Guomindang, using troops they had stationed in Northern China, since they had received information that Prince De and the Japanese were planning to take it from Ihe-juu to central Inner Mongolia (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 348). According to the Chinese historian Fang Xiaogong, the Chinese authorities thought at that point of Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum as a symbol that

was in front of Japanese imperialists at that time. Japanese Imperialists had dreamt of acquiring the mausoleum and of placing it under their control as a way of cheating Mongols from their plan of 'constructing a great Mongolia'. (Fang Xiaogong 1991: 854)

In addition, a Japanese spy from Baotou, which was under Japanese occupation, visited Shagdarjab, then head of Ihe-juu league, to per-

<sup>5</sup> The Mongolian government initiated some campaigns against China to take back some Inner Mongolian territory in 1913. These ended in failure.

suade him to follow the demand from Prince De's government that Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum should be moved to a safe place in order to avoid the 'Chinese plot to plunder it'. The Ordos leader refused this request by saying that the shrine should never be moved and that the local people would not acquiesce if there were an attempt to carry out the plan. But he nevertheless accepted arms from the Japanese (Chen Yuning 1988: 74). The Chinese government, when they heard about this, became increasingly anxious about the main objects of the cult and ordered that they should be moved to Qinghai (Kokonor), forcing local officials to obey their decision although the latter were reluctant to do so.<sup>6</sup>

During the Second World War, the Guomindang and the Communists worked together against the Japanese, and the cult objects were sent to Yan'an, then the centre of the Communist controlled areas. The move was financed by the Guomindang authorities and the objects were escorted by specially assigned troops. On 21<sup>st</sup> June, 1939, when they arrived at Yan'an, the Communist authorities organised a large-scale sacrifice to Chinggis Khan in front of more than ten thousand people. The Central Committee of the Communist Party, including Mao Zedong, presented wreathes at what they referred to as the 'mourning hall' of Chinggis Khan, and Mao Zedong gave the building a title-board written in his own hand: the *Chengjisihan jiniantang* or Memorial Hall of Chinggis Khan (Wu Zhiyun 1988: 85).

When the convoy reached the ancient city of Xi'an in the Guomindang-controlled area, a public act of worship for Chinggis Khan was arranged on 25<sup>th</sup> June. Some 200,000 people attended,<sup>7</sup> and Jiang Dingwen, the Governor of Shaanxi province, officiated. Cheng Qian, director of the North-Western Office (*xibei xingying*) of the Guomindang, attended the rite as a representative of Chang Kaishek. Li Yiyan, a member of the Shaanxi province committee of the Guomindang, wrote a booklet entitled *China's National Hero, Chinggis*

<sup>6</sup> There are two different sayings on Shagdarjab's attitude toward moving Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum. One is that he initiated the plan, by actively submitting specific proposal to the Guomindang government (Chen Yuning 1988: 76). The other is that he was forced by the Guomindang authority to do so, and in fact he convened local officials to refuse carrying out the plan (Sainjargal 2001: 37).

<sup>7</sup> This number of attending people was mentioned in report by Chu Minshan, Guomindang official, to the central government (Chen Yuning 1988: 81). Another source cites that over 30,000 people were there (Wu Zhiyun 1988: 85).



*Khan* (*Zhonghua minzu yingxiong chengjisihan*) that was published by the provincial committee of the Guomindang in commemoration of the event (Chen Yuning 1988: 81). The author described Chinggis Khan as follows:

[His] grand talent and great strategy added glory to our Chinese nation, and [he is] the only person [of such greatness] since Qin Shi [huang], Han Wu[di] and Tang Tai[zong]. He left us a teaching: if we want to resist the enemy, we should unite. Today's conditions of our Chinese nation resisting the Japanese invasion, shows the necessity for our compatriots from the whole country to unite as one, in accordance with the Khan's words. (Chen Yuning 1988: 81)

Several days later, the convoy escorting Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum reached the county of Yuzhong in Gansu province, where they received a similar welcome and the performance of sacrifices by the top leaders of the province, including Zhu Shaoliang, the general commander of the 8<sup>th</sup> Military Area and governor of Gansu (Chen Yuning 1988: 81). Finally, the objects of the cult were placed in the hall of a monastery on the mountain of Xinglong in Yuzhong County. Zhu Shaoliang presided over the shrine at its inauguration at the new site. The government of Gansu province appointed an official to be in charge of the rite and provided a salary equivalent to the average salary of civil servants to the Darqads who served the shrine as well as paying other ongoing expenses. The government also sent troops to guard the temple while the Darqads performed the daily sacrifice (Wu Zhiyun 1988: 86).

The ritual objects were kept at Xinglongshan until the summer of 1949 when fighting between the Guomindang and the Communists became much fiercer. As Communist troops approached Gansu, the Guomindang troops who were guarding the 'mausoleum' left Xinglongshan. Various plans were put forward in the confusion of that time to try to move the shrine to a place of safety, either to Emeishan in Sichuan or to Alasha in the western part of Inner Mongolia (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 364). In the end, during that summer Ma Pufang, a warlord of Qinghai province, had the 'mausoleum' moved from Gansu to Kumbum monastery, known in Chinese as Taersi, to the west of the provincial capital, Xining. The ritual objects were installed in a hall at Kumbum with the help of local lamas. Ulaan Gegen, a Mongolian reincarnated lama from Ordos, re-consecrated (*ramnai*) them to initiate the shrine in its new setting.

After some months, the city of Xining and the areas around it, including the monastery of Kumbum, were liberated by Communist troops (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 365). He Banyan, a leading general in the People's Liberation Army, offered three sheep in sacrifice to the shrine of Chinggis Khan and presented *hadag* or ceremonial scarves and a flag inscribed with the words *minzu yingxiong* or 'national hero'.

Ihe-juu league was liberated at the end of 1949 and came under the rule of the North West Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party. The Bureau handed the league over to the Province then known as Suiyuan in 1950, although at that time western Inner Mongolia was under the administration based at present-day Hohhot. The Communist authorities emphasised the importance of the worship of Chinggis Khan as soon as the shrine was brought to the region. Although the main objects of the rite remained in Kumbum Monastery, the local branch Ihe-juu of the Communist Party organised rituals in the early 1950s in Ihe-juu. The office of the Jinong, the position responsible for supervising the ritual, was abolished and the local government established a committee in its place,<sup>8</sup> which was dominated by members of the local Party. Performances including dancing and singing groups were arranged during the period of the rituals by the committee in 1950s.

The government of Inner Mongolia, which had moved to Hohhot by 1954, in the same year had the ritual objects moved from Kumbum Monastery to Ihe juu, with permission from the central government of China. Ulanhu, then the Chairman of the Inner Mongolian region, officiated (*zhuji*) at the first performance of the ritual in Ejen-horoo, and declared the event a celebration of the return of the 'mausoleum' which had been 'stolen' by the Guomindang. Immediately afterwards he attended and took part in a ceremony laying the foundations for a new 'mausoleum'. The central government allocated funds for the construction.

The decision to build a fixed structure concluded the long-running debate about whether the shrine should remain in a yurt or should be in a mud or brick building. During the Yuan era, Khubilai had constructed the temples in Daidu and Shangdu for the cult, from 1368 to the sev-

<sup>8</sup> The administration body of the Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum is the managing bureau of the Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum. Today, the head of which, equivalent to the head of county/banner level, is appointed by the government of Ordos municipality (formerly Ih-juu league).

enteenth-century the Mongol rulers had reverted to the tradition of the yurt, and during Qing Dynasty the shrine had been placed in a building (a Belgian missionary described the hall, built in the Chinese style, in 1875 (Sainjargal 2001: 36)). The issue had re-emerged in the early years of the twentieth-century in Ordos, when an outbreak of plague among the Darqads had led local people to beg the Panchen Lama for help. He replied, it is said, by attributing the disease to the inappropriate way in which the shrine was housed, and subsequently the Darqads destroyed the building and restored the old tradition (Sainjargal 2001: 36).

The relocation of the shrine to Ejen-horoo of Ihe-juu in 1954 led to changes being introduced into both the structure of the 'mausoleum' and the form of the ritual performed there. Traditionally, the eight white palaces, where Chinggis Khan and his wives and sons were worshipped, were separate within the banner of Ejen-horoo, each with its own shrine for worship. In the 'mausoleum' completed in 1956 these shrines were built next to each other and 20 objects that had been worshipped in other places by Ordos Mongols were collected and brought to be housed in the new 'mausoleum' (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 379). The government moved the date of the main ritual from the third month (spring) to the summer, because spring is a busy season for herders and a poor time for livestock, and summer is a warm and prosperous time for herders (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 381). These changes were accepted by the local Mongols including Darqads who came to be exempted from duty to pay expenses for the shrine. 462 households and 2071 persons were eligible for the Darqad status according to a 1947 statistics (Wangchugsurung 2004: 195). A few of them were involved in activities for the shrine while most of them did other jobs for living.

Although the shrine was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, it was reinstated in the early 1980s and Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum was identified as a site for 'patriotic education'.<sup>9</sup> As we have seen, in the 1990s it became a key tourist site, and one can now see school children from Dongsheng and other towns arriving on buses arranged by schools so their pupils can experience 'patriotic education' on the day when the rituals are performed. Meanwhile, tourists from big cities such as Hohhot and Baotou visit for fun alongside local herders from Ordos who devoutly offer sacrifices to the shrine for their good fortune or to ward off misfortune.

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<sup>9</sup> The Chinese government identified localities with historical meaning in Chinese patriotism, as site for education of patriotism, in various parts of the country.

## CHINGGIS KHAN AS A BUDDHA IN THE RITUAL CONTEXT

Mongols living in the Ejen-horoo Banner and other banners in Ordos call Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum *bogda-yin süme*—literally, 'the temple of the holy'. In the prayers recited for Chinggis Khan, he is described as *bogda khan* or as *bogda ejen*, meaning the lord. The term *bogda* is roughly equivalent to the term lama or religious teacher in Tibetan and is used in Mongolian religious writing to refer to high ranking lamas such as the Panchen Lama and the Jebtsundamba, who are also known respectively as the *bancen bogda* and the *bogda gegen*. Describing Chinggis Khan in this way is common in prayers, eulogies and other ritual language relating to the ritual. This appellation itself reveals the local people's conception of Chinggis Khan as a Buddha or Buddha-like character who grants health, well-being and other wishes to those who offer sacrifices to the shrine.

Chinggis Khan is related in more than name to ideas of the sacred and to Buddhist tradition. The liturgy is designed to promote good fortune, mostly in secular life. In the first half of the twentieth-century, the ritual was performed, under the auspices of the Ihe-juu league, to prevent natural and social disasters. In 1912, for example, the ritual was held to "drive out bandits, thieves, illness and other internal and external malefactions" and to "bring peace and safety to various human beings and other creatures" (CGC 1998: 781). Such sacrifices were offered several times during this period, and no rituals for other collective purposes are recorded as having been held at the 'mausoleum' at this time.

In the second half of the century, the local government arranged for large-scale ceremonies to be held at the shrine on several occasions, especially in the 1950s and the early 1960s. The biggest was held in 1962 to mark the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Chinggis Khan's birthday. The newly established regime thus used the ritual to help give the new government legitimacy in the eyes of local Mongols. "The local Mongols deeply thank the Communist Party and the People's Government for the restoration the mausoleum", said an article in the Inner Mongolia Daily, the official Party newspaper for the area, when the 'mausoleum' was re-opened (*Neimenggu Ribao* 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1954).

After the Cultural Revolution, other purposes such as the pursuit of

leisure or personal welfare become customary uses of the shrine. Nowadays, rituals at Chinggis Khan's shrine have become daily events, intended for those who visited the site for 'play' (*wan-er*) or tourism, as much as for those who came to pay respect to Chinggis Khan and to seek his blessings. In particular, the *Dogsugulqu*, a specific kind of ritual for Chinggis Khan's 'Black Sülde', has been performed several times during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The 'Black Sülde' was believed to contain powerful supernatural beings (souls or spirits) who protect the Golden Lineage and their cause, by suppressing their enemies. Rites for the *sülde* were therefore conducted at crucial moments such as the declaration of war or in the face of the threat of invasion. The ritual was last performed in such circumstances during the first half of the century to repel a Muslim invasion in the Ordos area. But the occasions on which it has been performed since the construction of the 'mausoleum' at Ihe-juu have had no specific purpose, and may indeed have been done partly for touristic purposes. Except for those conducted for the 'patriotic education' of children, then, there are no more ritual actions for collective, socio-political ends. And the children are to show their respect, and do not participate in the actual rituals supervised by the Darqads.

When visitors arrive at today's 'mausoleum', they are received in the main hall of the 'mausoleum' by a *Darqad* or officiator in front of a statue of Chinggis Khan in white marble. If they feel like, for whatever purpose, they tell the officiator their names and he then chants prayers and declares, "these people [mentioning their names] have come before you, Holy Chinggis Khan, in order to seek a blessing". Incense, alcohol, butter lamps (*jul*), fruits and pieces of mutton are placed as sacrifices before the shrine, and individuals, especially those from local communities, contribute their own offerings. Those who are from towns usually burn some incense and put some money into a box in front of the statue. Those visitors who contribute offerings get *jang-giy-a*, a knot made of yellow ribbon or *hadag* for wearing around neck, *utulg-a*, crushed dry herbs for burning as incense, or *keshig*, a favour to believers, as being blessed by Chinggis Khan. The atmosphere of the hall is impressive, with the smell of incense and the sound of the chanting, which makes "visitors feel as if they are coming to a traditional monastery" (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 377). This seems to me to explain why local herders call the shrine *bogda-yin süme*.

A local Mongol herder told me during a ritual known as the *caga-*



*gan süreg-in tayilga* or 'ritual of the white flock' held in 2002, one of the biggest annual events in the shrine, that a person who performs the act of worship to Chinggis Khan is able to avoid illness and other misfortunes for at least a year afterwards. In 1999 I saw a group of lamas from a monastery in the banner of Ejen-horoo chanting Buddhist scripture in Tibetan outside the three main halls at the shrine; it was explained to me that the chanting was for Chinggis Khan, as he is a deity who is in harmony with Buddhism.

Whether Chinggis Khan is seen as a reincarnation of Ochirvani or as a deity, his rituals evoke worshippers' aspirations for the well-being of all human beings, without any reference to a specific class or ruling group such as the Golden Lineage, or a particular ethnic group such as the Mongols or a political entity such as the nation. This perception originated from the reinvention of Chinggis as a Buddhist figure by local Mongols during the Qing era, as we have seen. At that time, as Narasun has described it, the Gelugpa sect of Buddhism

explained that Chinggis Khan was a reincarnation of Ochirvani, and drew him in the image of a Buddha. As a result, local people of various strata started to believe this and nobles of the Borjigin lineage of the Hiyan clan [Golden Lineage] began increasingly to worship Ochirvani Buddha. (Narasun 2000: 210)

But irrespective of how Chinggis Khan was described in the Qing period, he was still associated with the Borjigin or Golden Lineage, because they were believed to be his descendants. But today Chinggis Khan is seen as the ancestor not only of the Borjigin lineage, but also of all ethnic Mongols. More importantly, he is now a 'hero' of the 'Chinese nation'. In fact the first two of these identities have been blurred by the last, that of the national hero. This has been growing in strength, prevalence and significance not only in the context of the cult itself but also in the dominant discourse through which the Chinese nation is constructed.

Almaz Khan recorded how Chinggis Khan was in the latter part of the twentieth-century "a symbol of ethnicity in the consciousness of the Mongol populace" (Khan 1995: 276). This was true in the 1980s when he observed the ritual, but conditions changed during the final decade of the century. One of these changes was the development of tourism at the site, which had been recognised officially by the government as a principal site for tourism in Inner Mongolia. As a result, the participants in the officially promoted cult are no longer exclusively ethnic

Mongols, as we have noted already, and in fact Mongols account for an ever smaller proportion of the visitors received everyday at the site. When a tourist reaches the gate of the 'mausoleum', a tourist guide immediately approaches, ready to serve him or her, explaining who Chinggis Khan was and why he is so great. If you pay enough, young guides, most of whom are young Chinese women dressed in 'traditional' Mongol robes, will tell you how Chinggis Khan, as a great hero of the Chinese nation, made glorious history.

Since the Qing period the Darqads themselves have in some senses been made more Buddhist. They have constructed eight Buddhist temples within their own communities<sup>10</sup> and some Darqads have served as monks in temples and as priests in the Chinggis Shrine. The Darqads have also themselves placed sacred Buddhist objects in front of Chinggis Khan's shrine (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 463–64) and on some ritual occasions have officially invited lamas to write prayers for the rituals and to chant prayers.

The prayers currently used at the shrine, which originate from the Qing era, contain Buddhist elements. For example, *ejen sang*, the incense-offering to the Lord Chinggis Khan, begins with this invocation:

*um-aa qung, um-aa qung, um-aa qung*<sup>11</sup>  
*ja! blama idem gurban cuqag degedü-ber ekelen*  
 (Sainjargal and Sharaldai 1983: 30).

In English this could be translated as:

Om Ah Hum! Om Ah Hum! Om Ah Hum!  
 Let us begin with the Lama and the Three Jewels!

The prayer calls upon Chinggis Khan to bless people with peace, health, fortune, knowledge, and so on, as well as asking him to help in the spreading of the religion and the destruction of other faiths. Sentences that take Chinggis Khan to be a reincarnation of the Buddha Ochirvani can be found in many other prayers and eulogies used in the shrine.

<sup>10</sup> Darqads can be taken as a community in that most of them lived at a place called Ejen-horoo in the banner of Junwang during Qing dynasty. Ejen-horoo was adopted as name for a banner that combined the previous Junwang Banner and Jasag Banner, and the place where the Chinggis Khan's shrine is located was named Ejen Horoo after 1956.

<sup>11</sup> Um-aa is a short or 'root' mantra, similar to the well known six syllable invocation of Chenrezig/Avalokiteshvara, o mani pad me hum.

The nature of the Chinggis Khan cult has thus been transformed at several points in time. The first stage was its incorporation within the Buddhist system, which took place during the Qing dynasty. In the second stage, the cult was reinterpreted within a greater narrative framework, a discourse that developed to construct the Chinese nation. This discourse has now overtaken other, older themes such as the Buddhist ones, but in this second, still contemporary stage, that religious meaning is still salient for some believers, especially for those who are Mongols living in areas adjacent to the shrine.

So how is it that Chinggis Khan can be believed in both as a Buddha and as a Chinese national hero? How are both of these identities actualised simultaneously among different groups of worshipers? Clearly “the signification of the Chinggis symbol often differs according to the parties involved”, as Almaz Khan has noted (Khan 1995: 276). Among the various meanings, however, there is a dominant, overriding and official one, namely the discourse of the Chinese nation, which acts as a form of what we might call ‘ultimate meaning’ for the other parties involved in this process of constructing meanings for the Chinggis figure. Although all the meanings of the Khan designated by the dominant party have not necessarily come into being as socially pervasive practices, it is still a powerful enough force that it can deny the emergence in practice of any contradictory factors. Relevant different factions in the contest over these meanings become themselves factors that cancel out or restrict each other in the transformation of the Chinggis shrine and of its meanings while the dominant one supersedes the others. In such a process Buddhism plays a role to weaken and even delete the meaning of Chinggis Khan as founder of the Mongolian Empire. In current Chinese historiography, Chinggis Khan is de-contextualised from the 13<sup>th</sup> century Mongolian history, by stressing that he was a great person who had united Mongolian tribes and established a solid foundation for the Yuan Dynasty. The latter is touted as a flourishing dynasty that united and extended Chinese territory thereby legitimating Chinese sovereignty over the ethnic populations and their homelands the Chinese state governs today. That is to say, the notion that Chinggis Khan is a hero of Chinese nation, obtained through a non-historical conceptualisation, shares a common ground with his another identity as Buddha to the extent that he has nothing to do with the political dimension of the historical context in which he achieved his great career. The Buddhist transformation of Chinggis Khan’s identity in fact serves as a motive force in the course of reinventing Chinggis as a hero of Chinese nation in this sense.

The process of the transformation of the Chinggis symbol is in fact a course of invention or reinvention of tradition, "essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" as Hobsbawm (1983) says. Ritualisation in this case seems to be a repetition of a historical practice, or more precisely a re-ritualisation, in reaction to a new socio-political context or historical period. The cult of Chinggis Khan's Mausoleum is a reinvented tradition, formed in the Qing Dynasty, reformed during the second half of the twentieth-century and again in the last years of the century.

Talal Asad points out that religion is "itself the historical product of discursive processes" (Asad 1993: 27). The meaning of Chinggis Khan, as seen in his cult, has been a result of grand narrative frameworks: the Mongolian Empire, the Manchu Dynasty and the modern Chinese nation-state. In this process, Buddhism served to weaken the Mongol imperial tradition under the Manchu regime and thus played a role in the construction of the new tradition of the Chinggis Khan Mausoleum. As to the function of Buddhism in the latter, i.e. post-Qing, stage, its role could be understood by using a Durkheimian explanation: the cult of Chinggis Khan, a source of well-being, is, in the end, the worship of the modern Chinese state in which the cult has been reshaped. Chinggis Khan, who as a Buddha grants a better life to people of any background, in fact legitimates the economic dimension of life, which is why the state, and society as whole, are emphasising economic aspects, including tourism, that is taking root at the site of the shrine.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the historical trajectory according to which the shrine to Chinggis Khan at Ihe-Juu has been shaped and reshaped, focusing on the social political contexts in which the transformations of the rite have taken place. During these processes of ritual change, two kinds of shifts in the identification of Chinggis Khan are highlighted here: the shift in political status from the founder of the Mongol empire to a hero of the Chinese nation, and the shift in religious recognition from being the ancestor of the Golden Lineage to being the reincarnation of the religious figure, Ochirvani. And there are interwoven interactions between the political and religious lines. Construction of the Khan's personality as a Buddha-like figure has acted as a deconstruc-

tion of his identity as the founder of the Mongol empire and even has weakened the ethnic dimensions of the rite. Conversely, being a hero of the China nation helps in the ritual context to legitimate the development of Buddhistic content at the shrine, much as other outstanding figures in the construction of the China nation have come to be eligible for worship in recent decades in the country, such as the shrine of Huangdi.

Buddhism has played a crucial role in the unmaking of Chinggis Khan's personality, as it existed in the past with its far stronger aspect of Mongolian ethnic politics and of national politics. The process of unmaking that personality is in fact inseparable from the process of making another character for him in a new political context, as we have seen occurred in the Qing era and under the China nation.

All parties involved in the current transformation of the rite, including the state, local Mongols, Buddhists and ethnic Chinese tourists carry out transactions between one another in the effort to generate meanings for Chinggis Khan and the rite; in the exchange of meanings for the shrine, the state plays the most imperative role. The others benefit or actualise partly their own agendas or go along with seeking the satisfaction of the regime. Once their interests appear as unconstructive to that of the state their presence is negated or eliminated from the field of practice. Since the generation of significances around the rite of Chinggis Khan is an ongoing cultural construction, the exchanges between the parties will continue in a similar manner, requiring us as observers to continue to study this vital cultural phenomenon transpiring in contemporary Inner Mongolia.

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Plate 1: A corner of the Mausoleum of Chinggis



Plate 2: An altar in the shrine



Plate 3: Chinggis' saddle as object for worship in the cult



Plate 4: Shop for tourists in the yard of the Mausoleum

## SOME PRACTICES OF THE BUDDHIST RED TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY MONGOLIA

HANNA HAVNEVIK, BYAMBAA RAGCHAA, AGATA BAREJA-STARZYNSKA<sup>1</sup>

It is the New Year Day or Tsagaan Sar in 2001 and in the Namdol Dechinlen (Rnam 'grol bde chen gling)<sup>2</sup> temple in Bayan Khoshuu, a poor suburb north of Ulaanbaatar, male and female ritual specialists are performing temple services together. Some of them are monks from the Gelugpa (Dge lugs pa) Gandantegchenlin (Dga' ldan theg chen gling)



Plate 1: The recitation of *luzhin* in Namdol Dechinlen  
(Photo: H. Havnevik)

<sup>1</sup> The data on which this paper is based were collected during two fieldtrips to Mongolia (1998, 2001) by Hanna Havnevik in collaboration with Dr Agata Bareja-Starzynska, Warsaw University, and Mr Byambaa Ragchaa, Library of Gandantegchenlin (Director). The field research was supported by the Institute of Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo, the Fridtjof Nansen Foundation, Warsaw University, and the Norwegian Research Council.

<sup>2</sup> The names of monasteries are given in their Mongolian spelling, and where possible, with the Tibetan transliteration.

monastery. The five women with long hair, seated behind and below the monks, look like laywomen, but wear the traditional Mongolian dress (*deel*) in monastic colours. The five women present in the temple are said to represent the five *ḍākinīs* of the five Buddha-families. During the performance all the ritualists don red and yellow monastic hats.

A statue of Padmasambhava occupies the central space in the assembly hall and large painted scrolls (*thang ka*) of Vajrayoginī (Rdo rje rnal 'byor ma) and White Tārā (Sgrol ma) hang from the ceiling. The temple is packed with devotees sitting on wooden benches along the walls; some circumambulate the assembly offering small notes at the altar, bowing their heads in veneration to the deities. In order to be blessed by the word of the Buddha, pious laypeople crawl under the bookshelves stacked with the canonical scriptures, the *Kangyur* (*Bka' 'gyur*). The air is thick with smoke from the burning of incense. This day *luzhin*, or *gcod*,<sup>3</sup> is performed for a recently deceased man from the neighborhood. The ritual is expertly performed by some thirty religious



Plate 2: Statue of Padmasambhava in Namdol Dechinlen (Photo: H. Havnevik)

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of *luzhin*, see below.



specialists and led by the head lama, Banzar Khenpo, a monk in his late eighties. The recitation is accompanied by the sound of hand drums, *damaru*, and before thigh bone trumpets (*rkang gling*) are blown to summon demons, the ritualists put black fringed masks (*dom ra*) in front of their eyes for protection.

In another temple, Narkhazhidyn Sum (Na ro mkha' spyod), said to belong to the yellow tradition, statues of Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa) as well as Vajrayoginī, the Green and the White Tārā occupy the central space of the assembly hall, and young women officiate. Apart from a couple of nuns with shorn heads dressed in Tibetan style robes, the girls wear long-sleeved maroon and yellow *deel*; their hair is long, and some of them wear shoes with high heels. A monk leads the assembly during invocations of Vajrayoginī and during *luzhin*. Although Gelugpa, the nuns wear red hats and perform daily rituals commonly associated with the red tradition.



Plate 3: Young girls, the ritual experts in Narkhazhidyn sum in Ulaanbaatar  
(Photo: H. Havnevik)

We soon discovered that in several of the newly opened temples in Ulaanbaatar, a sharp distinction is not made between rituals associated with the yellow and the red traditions. Only one temple in Ulaanbaatar, Dechin Choinkhorlin (Bde chen chos 'khor gling), is explicitly said to belong to the Nyingmapa (Rnying ma pa) tradition. The temple was established in 1992 by Purevsuren, formerly a monk in Gandantegchenlin. In 1998, the temple had around thirty religious specialists, eight of whom were female. The abbot had close ties with the Tibetan Nyingmapa lama Garje Khamtrul Rinpoche (Sgar rje Khams sprul) in Dharamsala, and in 1998 a monk from Mindroling (Smin grol gling) in Dehra Dun taught in Dechin Choinkhorlin. In Gandantegchenlin, the main Gelugpa monastery in Mongolia, performing *luzhin* is not permitted, and monks recite prayers to Vajrayoginī only when requested by devotees. Both for *luzhin* and Vajrayoginī rituals the monks go to red tradition temples.

Mongols in Ulaanbaatar distinguish between *sharyn shashin*, 'the yellow religion', and *ulaan shashin*, 'the red religion'. The yellow tradition is unambiguous and refers to the Gelugpas; 'red tradition', however, sometimes refers to the unreformed school of Tibetan Buddhism (Rnying ma pa), while at other times the category is used to cover all non-Gelugpa traditions.<sup>4</sup> Hardly anyone, apart from missionaries from Tibetan communities in exile, seems to care about, or regret, the present amalgamation of monastic and lay, orthodox and heterodox religious practices that have resurfaced after more than sixty years of communist repression (see e.g. Baabar 1999: 306–307, 354–55, 359–65).

Buddhist hegemony in Mongolia in pre-communist times shifted from Sakya (Sa skya) dominance in the thirteenth-century to Gelugpa in the seventeenth, but the traditions of the Kagyupas (Bka' brgyud pa) and the Nyingmapas were openly practised in Mongolia until replaced by Gelugpa dominance (17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century) (Bareja-Starzynska and Havnevik 2006). When the communists came to power in the early 1920s, and particularly during the purges of the 1930s, most temples and monasteries were closed, large numbers of monks were either

<sup>4</sup> In the scholarly literature about Buddhism in Mongolia the 'red religion' and the 'unreformed' traditions are often used as synonyms, and among informants in contemporary Mongolia, 'Nyingmapa' 'the unreformed tradition' and 'the red tradition' are vague categories used to cover the non-Gelugpa traditions. In Tibet only the Nyingmapa tradition is considered 'unreformed'. See Bareja-Starzynska and Havnevik 2006: 215, fn. 5.

killed or deported, and only a small contingent of monks were allowed to keep Gandantegchenlin open as a 'showcase' of religious freedom (see e.g. Baabar 1999: 401–402).



Plate 4: Mongolian monks from Dalai Guniy Khuree in Ovorkhangai who survived the purges. The picture was taken in the 1950s (private Mongol collection)

Religious experts continued, however, practising individually or in small 'underground' groups during the harsh suppressions. Among popular rituals revived in contemporary Mongolia is that of *luzhin* or *gcod*. *Luzhin* (*lus sbyin*) means 'to offer the body' and is a ritual sequence of *gcod* established and made popular by Machig Labdron (Ma gcig Lab sgron) and Padampa Sangye (Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas) in Tibet during the eleventh-century.<sup>5</sup> In Mongolia *luzhin* is connected with the red tradition and currently *luzhin* specialists perform the ritual collectively in temples, in small groups during pilgrimage in the countryside, or individually in the houses and *ger*<sup>6</sup> of the sick and the

<sup>5</sup> A number of studies have been published since the mid-1980s on the life and religious practices of Machig Labdron, see e.g. Gyatso 1985, Kollmar-Paulenz 1993; 1999 and Orofino 2000.

<sup>6</sup> The nomad tent (*yurt*) is called *ger* in Mongolian.

dying. In pre-communist Mongolia, laywomen were *luzhin* experts along with monks and laymen (Kahlen 1994/5), and today they actively participate in the revival.

### LUZHIN TRADITIONS IN MONGOLIA

Due to the suppression of Buddhism in Mongolia since the 1920s, particularly from 1936 onwards, we have scant information about the introduction, the spread and the practice of *luzhin*. A large collection of *gcod* ritual texts have been translated into Mongolian and in Gandantegchenlin we find *gcod* texts in Tibetan.<sup>7</sup> Mongolia came under the control of the Manchu Qing dynasty in the seventeenth-century, and one of the sons of the Manchu emperor Kangxi, Prince Yunli (1697–1738),<sup>8</sup> studied *gcod* for a number of years; a collection of *gcod* rituals in Mongolian translation bears his seal.<sup>9</sup> Machig Labdron's biography was also translated into Mongolian.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from the lineages brought recently by Tibetan teachers,<sup>11</sup> we have been able to identify five *luzhin* traditions<sup>12</sup> in Mongolia. These traditions can be traced back to Tibet, but were disseminated in Mongolia by Mongol lineage-holders, some of whom also wrote their versions of *luzhin* in Tibetan.

### NOYON KHUTUKHU'S LUZHIN

The most popular *luzhin* performed in Ulaanbaatar today is the one spread by the fifth Noyon Khutukhtu's reincarnation Danzan Ravzhaa or Tendzin Rabgye (Bstan 'dzin rab rgyas, 1803–1856), the famous

<sup>7</sup> They are preserved in the library of Gandantegchenlin and in other monasteries in Mongolia. Some of them are described in Byambaa 2004.

<sup>8</sup> *Alias* Kengse qinwang, the seventeenth son of the Manchu emperor (see Uspensky 1997: 1–5).

<sup>9</sup> Uspensky (1997: 18) writes that one of Prince Yunli's names, Buddha guru rtsal, shows that he was an initiated Nyingmapa.

<sup>10</sup> The biography is preserved in the library of Gandantegchenlin monastery.

<sup>11</sup> Lineages of *gcod* have been introduced to Mongolia in recent years by Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche, the ninth Jetsundampa, and Chado (Bya rdo), the previous head of Namgyal (Rnam rgyal) monastery.

<sup>12</sup> For four of the five, we have identified the texts, filmed the rituals and interviewed practitioners.

Mongolian bilingual poet who also wrote a Mongolian version of *luzhin* in Tibetan. There are three versions of Noyon Khutukhtu's *luzhin*: the long (*ikh*), the middle (*dund*) and the short (*baga*).<sup>13</sup>



Plate 5: Photo of a Mongolian *luzhin* expert kept in Baruun Khuree (Shankh Khiyd) monastery (near Erdeni Zuu). The photo was probably taken in the 1920s or 30s

Noyon Khutukhtu's *luzhin* is performed in the Narkhazhidyn Sum nunnery.<sup>14</sup> This temple or nunnery was established in 1994 by Abbot Mendbayar, who was interested in the red tradition, in *luzhin* and tantric practice, which he taught to a group of young women who currently, with the help of a Gandantegchenlin monk, keep alive the teachings they have received. While most of the rituals performed in Narkhazhidyn Sum today are Gelugpa, the twenty-odd young girls and nuns daily chant prayers to Vajrayoginī and perform Noyon Khutukhtu's *luzhin*, mostly the middle length (*dund*) one. One of the main statues in the nunnery is one of Vajrayoginī, flanked by the White

<sup>13</sup> The literal translations are: *ikh* 'great', *dund* 'middle', and *baga* 'small'.

<sup>14</sup> Charleaux gives an overview of the Nyingmapa tradition in Mongolia. She writes that there is a Nyingmapa temple named Övgön xiid (khiyd) in Gurvan bulag sum (see Charleaux 2002: 216). In 1995 Charleaux visited Ayui-yin süme which has roots back to the eighteenth-century in Alasha. It is reputed to be the only Nyingmapa monastery in Inner Mongolia (see Charleaux *ibid.*).



and Green Tārā, Machig Labdron, Tsongkhapa, the Buddha and the Dalai Lama. The nuns annually perform a one month Vajrayoginī retreat.

The temple Urzhin Shadublin (U rgyan bshad grub gling) was still in a *ger* in 2001 when its concrete temple was under construction. Urzhin Shadublin is defined by its founder Tagarva (b. 1944) as Gelugpa, but the monks are all well versed in *luzhin* and they recite Noyon Khutukhtu's long (*ikh*) version.



Plate 6: Tagarva in his *ger* temple Urzhin Shadublin (Photo: H. Havnevik)

Tagarva himself, who comes from Dundgobi, bases his religious tradition on religious teachings he has received from twenty-eight different lamas.

#### LUZHIN IN URGА

Another *luzhin* was practised in Ikh Khuree (Urga, Ulaanbaatar)<sup>15</sup> in the 1920s, in a *ger* temple called Zhagar Monlam (Rgya gar Smon lam). This tradition was revived in the 1990s in Namdol Dechinlen temple in Ulaanbaatar where *luzhin* is part of the daily service. The temple was

<sup>15</sup> Ikh Khuree used to be known as Urga. By 1924 Urga was called Ulaanbaatar.

established in 1990 in Bayan Khoshuu, and traces its roots back to the *ger* temple Zhagar Monlam in Ikh Khuree (Urga). The head of the temple in 2001 was Banzar Khenpo, who was a Gelugpa monk in Gandantegchenlin monastery before the communist repression of Buddhism. He used to spend most of his time in Zhagar Monlam and practised in red tradition milieus. Banzar thinks that the *luzhin* of Zhagar Monlam was introduced by way of Labrang Tashikhyil (Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil) monastery.<sup>16</sup> According to Banzar, there were three secret Nyingmapa *ger* temples in Ikh Khuree (Urga) before the purges: Zhagar Monlam, the assembly hall of Unzai (Dbu mdzad), and that of Bavuu Zhorvon (Dpa' bo sbyor dpon).<sup>17</sup> Today, only the tradition of Zhagar Monlam has been revived.<sup>18</sup> In Ulaanbaatar however, there are still religious specialists who remember Bavuu Zhorvon Khural.



Plate 7: Banzar (b. 1912), the abbot in Namdol Dechinlen, Ulaanbaatar  
(Photo: H. Havnevik)

<sup>16</sup> The famous Gelugpa monastery Labrang in eastern Amdo.

<sup>17</sup> According to Byambaa there also seem to have been some *luzhin* practices in Mongolia during communist times. Although there were hardly any temples of the Nyingmapa tradition, people were personally interested in *luzhin* and practised individually and secretly. Since 1990 these secret traditions have gradually become open.

<sup>18</sup> In September 1998, nine members of the temple, seven men and two women, had left for the countryside to practise *luzhin* meditation (*zharz*) at 108 haunted sites (*gnyan sa*), spending one night in each locality.

THE *LUZHIN* IN BAVUU ZHORVON

In 2001, we visited the almost blind female *luzhin* specialist Dashdorzh living in a *ger* in Bayan Khoshuu. Dashdorzh was born in 1919,<sup>19</sup> and when she was a young girl she practised *luzhin* in Bavuu Zhorvon Khural. Dashdorzh learnt this tradition at the age of six from her mother who came to Urga from Arkhangai. Bavuu Zhorvon's temple was in a *ger* located near a spring in Urga, not far from Zhagar Monlam. Bavuu zhorvon's *luzhin* is the third such tradition we identified in Ulaanbaatar, but it is one that has not been revived. Bavuu Zhorvon's *luzhin* is said to go back to the early fifteenth-century Tibetan master Tangtong Gyalpo (Thang stong rgyal po, 1361–1485) (see Gyatso 1981). The practitioners identified their tradition as belonging to the red religion. During pre-communist times, the *luzhin* specialists in Bavuu Zhorvon were mostly laywomen wearing ordinary clothes with a red band (*tashuur orkhimzh*) attached across their chests. Dashdorzh recalls:

In Bavuu Zhorvon we were not many, perhaps ten monks and ten to twenty laywomen. Our chanting was not impressive compared to the sound of the *luzhin* recitation in Zhagar Monlam where there were many practitioners. In the 1930s, during the purges, our temple ceased to exist. Under communism, however, four or five of us continued practising *luzhin* for the sick and the dying. We came secretly from different directions and carried our ritual implements in bags; we recited the prayers inwardly. For the dead we performed *luzhin powa* ('*pho ba*).<sup>20</sup> It was dangerous, and it happened that *luzhin* practitioners were arrested. We also did meditation of *luzhin* (*zharz*) during pilgrimage for eighteen days, not for the complete 108 days like they did in Zhagar Monlam. When we were forced to secularise, I married one of the male *luzhin* specialists. I was then in my twenties. Gradually there was less and less religious knowledge in Mongolia, and people did not even know how to make the offerings. It was very difficult and many were taken to prison. Nowadays, young people come to me and request that I teach them. I sit with them, and I have given some of my ritual instruments to someone called Dashtseren in the Dashchoilin temple.<sup>21</sup> He now knows *luzhin* quite well (Interview with Dashdorzh in February 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Dashdorzh passed away in 2004.

<sup>20</sup> In Mongolia, mainly red tradition practitioners do the '*pho ba* ritual, which is part of *gcod* (see Rønning 2005), while the Gelugpas perform it only unofficially.

<sup>21</sup> Dashchoilin is a Gelugpa monastery in the centre of Ulaanbaatar, also called Zuun Khuree.



Plate 8: Dashdorzh and Baigalmaa chanting *luzhin* in Bayan Khoshuu (Photo: H. Havnevik)



Plate 9: Pictures from Dashdorzh's collection; a *luzhin* expert in Tangtong Gyalpo's tradition at the top left

When requested to perform *luzhin*, Dashdorzh was helped to find the bag with her hand drum, *damaru*. She donned her red pointed hat and the black fringed mask, and to the accompaniment of her drum she recited in a rusty voice the *luzhin* she knew by heart from her childhood.<sup>22</sup>

#### KHUUKHEN KHUTUKHTU'S *LUZHIN*

A *luzhin* tradition currently practised in Ulan Bator is traced back to Khuukhen Khutukhtu from Gobi. A young monk, Damdinsuren (b. 1972) from Gandantegchenlin, was taught *luzhin* by an old monk Tsedev from Gobi, but says that the tradition originated in Tibet. Since the practice of *luzhin* is not encouraged in Gandantegchenlin,<sup>23</sup>



Plate 10: Damdinsuren (b. 1972) with his *luzhin* ritual instruments  
(Photo: A. Bareja-Starzynska)

<sup>22</sup> She was joined in the chanting by Baigalmaa, a younger *luzhin* practitioner from Namdol Dechinlen.

<sup>23</sup> The first Phabonkga Rinpoche (Pha bong ka, 1878–1943), a codifier of Gelugpa doctrine, showed sectarian intolerance towards the non-Gelugpa orders and the Nyingmapas in particular (Samuel 1992: 545–46). He refuted *gcod* which led to a gen-



Damdinsuren performs the ritual outside the precincts of the monastery, when he is called for by sick and dying persons. Damdinsuren regularly performs *luzhin* on the fifteenth day of the month, and each month he is requested to do so by about a dozen laypeople.

Damdinsuren asserts that his thighbone trumpet belonged to his teacher from Dundgobi, while his *damaru* is made from the skull of a famous *luzhin* specialist who lived during the time of Zanabazar, the first Jebtsundampa (Rje btsun dam pa), called Ondor Gegeen (1635–1723). He added that this *luzhin* tradition was maintained in Avar monastery in Dulgar.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE *LUZHIN* OF E-LAMA

The fifth *luzhin* tradition we could identify in Ulaanbaatar is traced back to E-lama Ngawang Geleg Pelsang (E bla ma Nga dbang dge legs dpal bzang, nineteenth-century). E-lama lived in Kumbum Jampa Ling (Sku 'bum byams pa gling), but was most likely a Mongol. E-lama's tradition was popular mainly in Alasha and also in Ovorkhangai and in Gobi-Altai. The *luzhin* text composed by E-lama is presently available in Mongolia (Byambaa 2004: II, 391), but we have not found traces of the revival of this tradition.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since religious freedom was granted in the Mongolian constitution of 1992, a large number of new religious institutions have been established,<sup>25</sup> the majority of which are Buddhist. The Buddhism practised in Mongolia today is partly a revival of beliefs and rituals that have been dormant for up to seventy years, and partly an adaptation of old

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eral neglect of *gcod* (*gcod dgag*) in the three main Gelugpa monasteries (Thupten Kunga Chashab, personal communication).

<sup>24</sup> We have scant information about Khuukhen Khutukhtu's *luzhin*, and more research needs to be done.

<sup>25</sup> There were 2000 Buddhist monks and 155 registered temples in Mongolia in 1996. According to figures collected at Gandantegchenlin monastery, there were 3000 monks and 200 temples in 1998. See Barcja-Starzynska and Havnevik 2006: 219.

practices to (post-)modernity. Furthermore, contemporary Buddhism is strongly influenced by zealous missionaries advocating their version of Tibetan Buddhism (see Bareja-Starzynska and Havnevik 2006: 29). In this process, yet another localised form of Buddhism is being created, and this amalgamation of revived and new beliefs and cults, some belonging to the yellow tradition others to the red, has its distinctive Mongolian character.

We may speculate that the present popularity of the red tradition answers a need for an inclusive tradition which permits lay religious specialists of both genders. The Mongols' adoption of *luzhin* in the past and its revival today may also be due to its superficial similarities between *luzhin* and indigenous Mongolian shamanism.<sup>26</sup> What is most important to contemporary devotees, is that they are again allowed to venerate Buddhist deities, make offerings and perform rituals in their chosen temple, ask for blessings for their dear ones, request divinations to guide them in important decisions, circumambulate sacred sites and perform pilgrimage. Old monks and female religious experts willingly pass on their specialist knowledge to young people who want to learn. At this initial stage of Buddhist revival in Mongolia, establishing boundaries between 'red' and 'yellow' practices is of secondary concern; the main priority is the survival of a tradition.

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<sup>26</sup> When Buddhism gained hegemony in Mongolia in the seventeenth-century, shamanistic elements continued to exist, but in Buddhist garb. Similarities between shamanism and *gcod* have been discussed by several scholars, e.g. Gyatso 1985 and Orofino 2000.

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# A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO NGAG DBANG DAR RGYAS AND THE ORIGIN OF RNYING MA ORDER IN HENAN COUNTY (SOGPO), THE MONGOLIAN REGION OF A MDO

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With regard to the dharma king Ngag dbang dar rgyas (1740–1807), I would say that there are three unique characteristics about him: First of all, he was crowned as the fourth prince of Sogpo, or today's Henan Mongolian autonomous county in Qinghai province, or in the region of A mdo, eastern Tibet. He had a strong belief in the Rnying ma order, devoted his entire life to it, and had built many Rnying ma monasteries in the area. The emergence of the Rnying ma tantric tradition in Henan (Sogpo) was nearly impossible because all the ancestors, or prior royal lineages of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, were followers of the Dge lugs pa tradition and were also the main donors of some Dge lugs pa monasteries of the region. Secondly, he was the master of many disciples who became famous not only in A mdo but all over Tibet, ensuring thus the continuation of his oral teachings such as the Guidance Text of *rdzogs chen*. His teachings have therefore never been interrupted and are still practiced at the present time. Thirdly, his subjects and their descendants, or the local Mongolian people from Henan (Sogpo), being followers of the Dge lugs pa order, have never ceased their resentment and criticism of this yogin of great religious accomplishment.

There are very few historical references about Ngag dbang dar rgyas and, in addition, historical facts have been distorted in some old texts with unjust accusations due to religious sectarianism. It is therefore extremely difficult to write a reliable biography of this person. However, I have been interested in the life of Ngag dbang dar rgyas for the last three years; during this period I have been involved in collecting and publishing his works and other relevant historical references about him.

In this paper, I will briefly discuss the reasons that made Ngag dbang dar rgyas believe in the Rnying ma tantric tradition, his works,

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\* Translated from Tibetan by Sonam Tsering. Edited by Yangdon Dhondup and Hildegard Diemberger.

and his disciples. I will also discuss why the Mongolians from his homeland disliked him. Finally, I will introduce the Rnying ma tradition in Henan (Sogpo) county, which is closely associated with Ngag dbang dar rgyas.

#### A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF NGAG DBANG DAR RGYAS

The twenty-nine major Mongolian banners in Mtsho sngon (nowadays known as Qinghai province) were known as the twenty-nine *wang ja sag*. Among them were the following five tribes (Mi Yizhi 1993: 231): The first front banner (*qinwang qi*), the right central banner in southern Ma chu (*da can zha sa ke*), the left central banner (*la jia zha sa ke*), the front banner in the south (*tu gu zha sa ke*) and the special banner (*ca han nuo meng han qi*).<sup>1</sup> These five banners were known as the Ma lho Mongolian banner or *ma phar kha' wang ja sag lnga* (The Five Wang Ja sag on the other side of Ma chu).<sup>2</sup> This area was ruled by the descendants of Gushri Khan's fifth son Tshe ring el tu chi, and the lineage continued with this latter's son Dar rgyal po shog thu, and then his son Tshe dbang bstan 'dzin.

Tshe dbang bstan 'dzin claimed the title and position of the first qinwang from the Qing court and became the founder of the Mongolian princely lineage in Henan (Sogpo). The princely descendants of Henan (Sogpo) are the following:

- Tshe dbang bstan 'dzin (1699–1735)<sup>3</sup>,
- His step son, Bstan 'dzin dbang phyug (1736–1752),
- His son, Rdo rje pha lam (1753–1770),
- His cousin, Ngag dbang dar rgyas (1772–1807),
- His son, Bkra shis 'byung gnas (1808–1833),
- His son, Bkra shis dbang rgyal (1834–1850)
- His brother, Bkra shis chos rgyal (1851–1884),
- The chief of Mda' tsan, Mda' tsan ja sag dpal 'byor rab brtan (1887–1916),
- His son, Kun dga' dpal 'byor (1917–1940),
- Kun dga' dpal 'byor's sister, Bkra shis tshe ring (1920?–1966).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Later on, the Tsha gan no mon chi'u tribe was separated.

<sup>2</sup> *Jasag* is the Mongolian word for Banner prince (Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, n.d.: 4).

<sup>3</sup> The dates refer to the ruling period and not to the dates of birth and death.

<sup>4</sup> Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, n.d.: 6.



Ngag dbang dar rgyas is the fourth in this princely lineage and was born in 1740. In 1770, Rdo rje pha lam, the third ruler of Henan (Sogpo), passed away without leaving an heir. The princely lineage was thus broken. The following is quoted from *Deb ther mes po'i zhal lung* (The Princely History of the Mongolian Tribes)<sup>5</sup> about the prophecy of several Buddhist protectors: "The tribes will be ruled from the east after sometime of interruption to the ruling power" (Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, n.d.: 336). At that time, Ngag dbang dar rgyas went to see the emperor Qianlong in Beijing. Under the initiation of the second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa 'Jigs med dbang po, the name of Ja sag Ngag dbang dar rgyas was submitted to the 'imperial preceptor' Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje as a candidate. Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje petitioned the emperor and it was subsequently approved (*ibid.*: 336). The Qing emperor Qianlong bestowed Ngag dbang dar rgyas the title of Junwang (*jun dbang*) in 1772 and he was enthroned as the chief of the right banner of the Mongolian tribe in Henan (Sogpo) in Mtsho sngon (present day Qinghai).

As for the characteristics of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, Dbal mang pandita, author of the *Gya bod hor sog gi lo rgyus nyung ngur brjod pa byis pa 'jug pa'i 'bab stegs bzhungs so* (A Brief History of China, Mongolia and Tibet), written around the 19<sup>th</sup> century, states that Ngag dbang dar rgyas was an expert in Tibetan and Mongolian language and was well read in the common traditional disciplines such as Sanskrit, poetry, medicine, history, and biography (Dbal mang pandita 1990: 106). His personality was gentle and he was kind to his subjects. Furthermore, Ngag dbang dar rgyas liked knowledgeable people and was a man with the characteristics of a *dharmaraja*, a Dharma King. Dbal mang pandita further writes that Ngag dbang dar rgyas was majestic looking, keen-sighted and of dark-brown skin colour (*ibid.*: 124). He devoted himself to the practice of lam rim *blo sbyong* (Training in the

<sup>5</sup> This is the medium length version of the history of the Malho Mongolian tribes. There exist three different versions:

Version one: *Gya bod hor sog gi lo rgyus nyung ngur brjod pa byis pa 'jug pa'i 'bab stegs bzhungs so* (A Brief History of China, Mongolia and Tibet), the short version written by Dbal mang pandita and reprinted in 1990;

Version two: *Deb ther za 'og ril ma*, the longer version which was lost during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976);

Version three: *Deb ther mes po'i zhal lung*, the medium length version which Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal rewrote from his memory (based on the longer version, the *Deb ther za 'og ril ma*).

Graded Stages of the Path).<sup>6</sup> It is claimed that Ngag dbang dar rgyas knew three languages: Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian (Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, n.d.: 337). He also studied Sanskrit and was an expert in *rgyud bzhi*, the Four Medical Tantras.<sup>7</sup> 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and his spiritual sons regarded Ngag dbang dar rgyas as being genuine with regard to his sharp and analytical approach to dreams (Brag dpon dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 254).

In 1772, after attending an audience with Skyabs mgon 'jigs med dbang po, Ngag dbang dar rgyas went to receive the *'jigs byed lha bcu gsum* (The Thirteen-Deity Initiation), a formal tantric permission, an oral transmission by Lho brag snyan rgyud according to the transmission lineage, an extensive explanation on *phyag rgya chen po* (Mahamudra) according to the *dga ldan phyag chen* (Dga ldan tradition), and an initiation and purification practice on *gdugs dkar gyi dbang* (The White Umbrella Empowerment) (Dbal mang pandita 1990: 106).

In 1779, by the order of the Qing emperor, Ngag dbang dar rgyas accompanied the sacred remains of Pan chen dpal ldan ye shes to Dbus, central Tibet. There, he preformed religious services in the spirit of a true descendent of a Dharma King.<sup>8</sup>

During his later years in central Tibet he was often a guest of Gter ston chen po Rwa ston stobs ldan rdo rje's disciples Rdo rje brtson 'grus, Tshe dpal, and the latter's servants. During his stay, he sought many Rnying ma pa initiations from Tibetan masters (*ibid.*: 119).

Ngag dbang dar rgyas accompanied his master Rdo grub rgan 'jigs med 'phrin las 'od zer on a pilgrimage to various holy places and also invited him to his Urge, his main seat in Henan (Sogpo). Ngag dbang dar rgyas then established a priest-patron relationship with some rulers of the Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) area and converted many of them to the Rnying ma order (*ibid.*: 120). Taking these two points into account, the wide spread of the Rnying ma order in those places during that time can be attributed to the efforts of Rdo grub rgan 'jigs med 'phrin las 'od zer.

<sup>6</sup> A text of Tsongkapa, founder of the Dge lugs pa sect.

<sup>7</sup> Brag dpon dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, author of *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Religious History of A mdo) and a scholar from Bla brag monastery also said that Ngag dbang dar rgyas recited the *rnam dag smon lam ma* and *grub pa'i dbang phyug ma* one hundred thousand times and that he was introduced into the trance of 'Ishangs pa and Rma chen. According to Rma chen's prophecy Ngag dbang dar rgyas also recited the *sher snying* (The Heart of Transcendental Knowledge).

<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Dga ldan pho brag and Rgyal mtshan mthong po also extended great honour to him. See Dbal mang pandita 1990: 115.

The remains of the Gsang sngags smin rgyas gling monastery, also known as Seng ge monastery and built by Ngag dbang dar rgyas can be seen in Henan county even today. Towards 1804, Ngag dbang dar rgyas invited Gter ston snyan grags dpal bzang, the fifth incarnation of Gter ston bdud 'dul rdo rje and the manifestation of 'Broq mi lo tsa ba, to his Urge. Ngag dbang dar rgyas then received seven major initiations such as the *zhi khro dam pa rig brgya'i dbang* (Hundred Classes of Peaceful and Wrathful Deities), the *bsam pa lhun grub* (Spontaneous Fulfilment of Wishes) and the *rig pa'i rtsal* (Qualities of Wisdom). Ngag dbang dar rgyas also received many other teachings such as the *yang tig nag po gser gyi 'bru gcig* (The Sole Golden Syllable of the Black Quintessence) according to the teachings of the *klong gsal chos skor* (Clear Expanse).<sup>9</sup>

Ngag dbang dar rgyas passed away in the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the third Hor (lunar calendar) month in 1807, accompanied by a heavy rainfall (Humchen 2002a: 4). Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol, when hearing of the death of his root lama, sang:

Kye-ma! Kye-hu!

Kind Lord!

Just to hear your name gives birth to devotion.

Just to see your face purifies all obscuration.

Just to hear your voice brings blessings into one's being.

The parents of the heartbroken child have died:

In whom can the poor orphan place his Trust?

The heart has been torn out of the body:

What can bring the dead back to life?

My heart, adrift, is torn with grief.

My body trembles like a baby bird.

My perception alternately clears and darkens,

And tears fall, beyond control—

The anguished mind has no means by which to resist.

Through practicing virtuous acts,

May I perfectly accomplish whatever pleases you.

May I always attend you;

May I never part from you.<sup>10</sup>

Grub dbang pad ma rang grol, another disciple of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, writes the following about the death of his master:

<sup>9</sup> Edited by Bkra shis rab brtan (1987: 97).

<sup>10</sup> Translated by Ricard (2001: 124–25).

During a ritual solicitation to Simhamukha,  
the wrathful subduer of demons,  
when sacrificial offerings caught fire and the smoke filled the cave,  
you forcefully banished the Devils out of the place.

O master,  
I humbly pray to you.

His prediction on past, present and future,  
when partaking the nectar from the Tshogs offering,  
would occur without fail, as prophesied.

I pray to the one with unrestricted clairvoyance.

At sixty-seven,  
on a drizzling morning of the eighth day of the third lunar month.  
In the fourteenth Rabjung year,  
he remained in the cross-legged position.

And with three utterances of HIKS and a sound of PHAT,  
you passed beyond this world.

I humbly pray to you.<sup>11</sup>

Brag dgon pa bstan pa rab rgyas, commenting on the death of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, said that he was cremated wearing the rosary with which he recited the Guru Siddhi mantra a hundred million times. To the amazement of all, the rosary did not burn and a statue of Buddha was seen on Ngag dbang dar rgyas's forehead (Brag dpon dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 251).

#### REASONS FOR NGAG DBANG DAR RGYAS'S BELIEF IN THE RNYING MA TANTRIC TRADITION, THE BUILDING OF A RNYING MA MONASTERY, HIS PUBLICATIONS AND HIS LEADING DISCIPLES

I have not, so far, discovered any written records concerning what caused Ngag dbang dar rgyas to believe in the Snga 'gyur Rnying ma, the Early Translation School. It is therefore difficult to draw a definite conclusion on this. However, when I thoroughly examined the available historical references and pondered on the background of the time, I thought the reasons might be categorised into three different parts:

First of all, when Ngag dbang dar rgyas went to Gtsang, Stobs Idan thag khrul dbang po, the deity protector of 'Ol kha rje drung, told him:

I am the magically created protector of Buddhism, you are the chief and the present 'Ol kha rje drung is the Lama and spiritual teacher. We three

<sup>11</sup> Edited by Humchen (2002a: 3–4).

should get together to spread the *Dharma* of the Rnying ma Sect. You [Ngag dbang dar rgyas] are the incarnation of Mnga' bdag nyang ral and you should discover the remaining treasures.

By saying this, one silver *rdo tshad* (monetary unit), one golden *zho* (measure unit), one good horse, one roll of brocade, one *mdzod btags* (a high quality ceremonial scarf), and many other things were donated to him (Dbal mang pandita 1990: 115).

From this account, we can understand that Ngag dbang dar rgyas was recognised by this Rnying ma master as the reincarnation of Gter ston chen po Mnga bdag nyang ral or Nyang nyi ma 'od zer, one of the great Treasure Revealers of the Rnying ma sect. Ngag dbang dar rgyas also went to bow at the feet of Or rgyan bstan 'dzin, one of the close disciples of Gter ston chen po Kun bzang bde chen rgyal po, who discovered the teachings of the *rta phag yid bzhin nor bu* (Hayagriva, Varahi and The Wish-fulfilling Gem) and learned the entire teachings from him and practised it for a while. It is unquestionable that this is one of the main factors which led him to believe in the Rnying ma tradition. The second factor is as Dbal mang pandita says

... in the past, The ji lha mo chos 'phel's son Dkon mchog married Cir gwal and had a few children, but they all died very young. He remarried Rig 'dzin dbang mo, the sister of Dam me gung and asked for help from powerful masters from all religious sects like the Dge lugs pa, Bon po, and Sngags pa to produce noble descendants. However, all this did not help and Dkon mchog finally asked Ngag dbang dar rgyas's advice about starting to worship the Rnying ma tradition. As a result, Dge legs, the chief of Nyig tha (Malho, Henan) was sent to Ka thog with others to see Rmog tsha sprul sku Gnam mkha' chos dbyangs, the lama of Ka thog monastery. Having examined his dream, Rmog tsha sprul sku Gnam mkha' chos dbyangs said, "there is danger from Rgyal 'gong in the form of a demon and this should be dispelled through reciting Gu drag ye shes rab 'bar. I could help but only at the expense of risking life, so, it is better to invite another master" (*ibid.*: 118).

They invited Dge rtse sprul sku, Lha chen nor bu rgya mtsho and Smra ba mgon bla, all lamas from Ka thog, and requested rites of aid from them. As a result Bkra shis 'byung gnas was born. This incident could have influenced Ngag dbang dar rgyas to join in the Early Translation School of the Rnying ma.

The third factor is that Ngag dbang dar rgyas had grown up in the Ra rgya Ja sag, located in the vicinity of Mgo log (nowadays in Qinghai province). The Rnying ma tradition was widespread in Mgo log from early times and I think this must have influenced Ngag dbang dar rgyas



in his belief in the Rnying ma tradition. Currently, there are about 60 monasteries in Mgo log of which about 50 are Rnying ma monasteries. Other than these explanations, there is a saying in Buddhism called “awakening the habitual tendencies from previous lives” and it is possible that Ngag dbang dar rgyas believed in Rnying ma because of his belief in a previous life.

It is also written that Ngag dbang dar rgyas had built in the past a monastery in Seng ge, which was named Gsang sngags mi 'gyur gling (Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, n.d.: 345). He then initiated the *phur 'cham*, a type of religious dance and the building of an assembly hall in the monastery. However, in *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (The Religious History of A mdo), it is claimed that this monastery was not built by Ngag dbang dar rgyas (Brag dpon dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 251–52). It is stated that Dar rgyal bo shog thu invited Ba so rje drung dkon mchog nyi ma to be the representative of Rgyal ba and to establish a *shabs brtan grwa tshang* (college). Bde thang mkhan po Blo bzang tshangs dbyangs, Dbal shul chos rje and others looked after the monastery in turn. Dbal shul ngag dbang brtson 'grus, the first 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, was enthroned and he named the monastery.

As to the two different accounts of who built the monastery, my opinions are the following: In Mongolian, *urge* means *dpon tshang* or the residence of the chief. Similarly *urge grwa tshang* (college) can be understood as the chief's family college. At that time, the chief's family had to move constantly to search for fertile pasture and water in response to seasonal changes. The monastery must have been therefore a tent monastery. I refer here to *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (The Religious History of A mdo) which states that 'Jam dbyangs dpal ldan, a lama from Bla brang and his disciple Dbal mang lo bzang don grup from the tantric college took the felt tent, a model from the time when the *grwa tshang* (college) was established, and built the *tshogs gur*, the square hall tent (*ibid.*: 252). Major religious services were held in summer and a protective prayer ritual for the sake of long life was offered on a regular basis by increasing the numbers of monks on a rota duty or, at times, all the monks were performing the ritual prayer.

There must have been, therefore, a tent temple that moved with the chief's family from the time of chief Ju nang (17<sup>th</sup> century). Later, Ngag dbang dar rgyas changed the chanting and other religious services of the previous college into the tradition of the Rnying ma sect and must

have established a permanent *grwa tshang* (college), the Seng ge dgon gsang sngags mi 'gyur gling. It is also said in the *Mdo smad chos 'byung* that

Skyabs mgon [the second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa kun mkhyen 'jigs med dbang po], the supreme protector, was asked to build a house to stabilise the future of the college (*ibid.*).

However, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa kun mkhyen 'jigs med dbang po thought that it was unnecessary but if they wanted to build a house, they should decide on Chu dmar go gong, which is a favourable place. Dar han ka ju, a monk from Zer khog and others insisted that they could not leave their home behind and move around. As a result, it was agreed to build a wall at Seng ge dgon gsang sngags mi 'gyur gling. Later, the Rnying ma college and the *phur 'cham*, a religious dance, were established and the monastery recruited many more monks (*ibid.*: 253). Dbal mang pandita also states:

At the time of chief Ju nang, there is a small *shabs brtan grwa tshang* [college] which Kun mkhyen gong ma named Gsang sngags mi 'gyur gling. This chief [Ngag dbang dar rgyas] limited the numbers of monks to one hundred and eight and started lessons on *lam rim*, the Graded Path, novice admonishment, and divided the college into three classes. He introduced the system of appointing the chief lama (*khri ba*), the chant master (*dbu mdzad*), and the tutor (*dge bskos*). Ngag dbang dar rgyas designated many progressive monks with good experience of sutra and mantra, ritual traditions such as the *sadhana* ritual, *gtor chen*, *gtor sgrub*, *bzlog chen* as well in *rig gnas*, the traditional sciences, to be active at the Rnying ma college. Dge rtse sprul sku from Ka thog went to Kham with his servants and Bod pa Lama went to central Tibet. They performed miracles including the five signs of accomplishment. When I went to central Tibet I learnt many things about them (Dbal mang pandita 1990: 119–20).

As for the writings of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, it seems that he wrote several books, including the *Rdzogs chen gyi khrid rim ma rig mun pa sel ye shes sgron me* (Torch of Wisdom that Dispels the Darkness of Ignorance) and *Lta ba'i dogs sel* (Views to Clear Away Doubts) (Ngag dbang dar rgyas 2002: 45). Pad ma rang grol, Ngag dbang dar rgyas's disciple, states that Ngag dbang dar rgyas had many major and minor writings on the *gter ma* root texts with personal advice on subjects such as orientation guidance for the development stage of Maha Yoga and subtle channels and energies for the perfection stage of the Anu Yoga (*ibid.*: 85). However, at present, only the Torch of Wisdom that Dispels

the Darkness of Ignorance and a few songs (*mgur glu*), which he gave to his close disciple Zhabs dkar, are available. The rest of his writings seem to be lost.

As a result of repeated requests, firstly from Rgyal mkhan chen from Reb gong and Rtog ldan pa dkon mchog chos 'phel from Sog po and later from many of his other disciples, including Zhabs dkar and Pad ma rang grol, Ngag dbang dar rgyas finally wrote the Torch of Wisdom that Dispels the Darkness of Ignorance, his most precious book to date. The book is a remarkable instruction and manual on the Graded Path of The Great Perfection. The precious guidance text of Ati Yoga starts with the *gter ma* root texts of *rta phag yid bzin nor bu* (The Wish-fulfilling Gem, Hayagriva and Varahi) and *kun bzang snying byang* (Heart Essence of Samantabhrada), a treasure revealed by Gter chen Kun bzang bde chen rgyal po.

The first part of Torch of Wisdom that Dispels the Darkness of Ignorance is about the instructions of the *dge ba thun mong lam rim*, the middle part is about the instructions of the *dge ba khregs chod thod rgal* and the final part is an instruction of the *dge ba bar do rnam bzhi*. As these are the innermost quintessential components of Tantra and esoteric instructions and are outstanding examples of the instructional Rnying ma teachings, his disciples kept them secret as if they were stolen goods and did not want to spread them too widely. Owing to the kindness of his close disciple Pad ma rang grol, a few of the texts were made in woodblocks and a handful of copies were printed, but most of them were lost during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Given the fact that the book was nearly out of print in the A mdo region, Ngakmang Research Institute re-published the book last year.

As for known disciples of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, his most famous student was Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol, the poet yogin from Reb gong, or sometimes referred to as the Mi la ras pa from A mdo. In Zhabs dkar's autobiography, he writes:

Chogyal Ngakiyi Wangpo,<sup>12</sup> you revealed in its entirety  
The *Dharma* taught by the Victorious ones.  
To you, most gracious root guru,  
who was kinder to me than the Buddha himself,  
I bow down.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ngag dbang dar rgyas is at times referred to by the name of Chos rgyal sngags kyi dbang po.

<sup>13</sup> Translated by Ricard (2001: 3).

Zhabs dkar glorifies Ngag dbang dar rgyas by claiming that he is the reincarnation of Padmasambava and praises his outstanding knowledge of the scriptures, his capability for reasoning, and admires Ngag dbang dar rgyas's insight into the essential substance of religious doctrines (Bkra shis rab brtan 1987: 75). Ngag dbang dar rgyas told Zhabs dkar to go to Tse shung and dwell in the holy cave of Ri khrod pa sgom khung (Hermit's Cave of Retreat), called Tha' yan chi in Mongolian.<sup>14</sup>

Ngag dbang dar rgyas taught Zhabs dkar the instructions on the Graded Path. Later, from amongst the newly unearthed treasures (*gter*), Zhabs dkar received the spiritual empowerment of *rta phag yid bzin nor bu* (The Wish-fulfilling Gem, Hayagriva and Varahi). While offering flowers to the deity, they fell to the north, whereby Zhabs dkar felt the signal of liberating the six senses. Zhabs dkar thus became known as *tshogs drug rang grol* (Self-liberation of the Six Senses).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> As a true upholder of the Victorious Banner of Buddha Dharma, Zhabs dkar recited countless mantras and vehemently observed the ashva-varahi cintamani practice according to the 'Generation Stage' of Tantric meditation. Having caused all ordinary appearance and apprehensions to cease, Zhabs dkar saw everything in its pure and unsullied nature. Thereafter, he persevered with the practice of channels, winds and drops (*rtsa rlung thig le*) through the 'Completion Stage' and consequently experienced the mystical warmth and bliss of *kundalini* (*gtum mo'i bde drod*). Having attained this stage, Zhabs dkar was able to live in the barest clothing.

<sup>15</sup> Following that, Zhabs dkar received teachings from Ngag dbang dar rgyas on the deity practice of the 'Generation Stage' in accordance with the 'Vase Empowerment' (*bum dbang*), teachings about the channel and energy practice and the *kundanlini* practice (*gtum mo'i bde drod*) in accordance with the 'Secret Initiation' (*gsang ba'i dbang*). Then, Ngag dbang dar rgyas taught Zhabs dkar the 'Mahamudra of Bliss and Emptiness' (*bde stong phyag rgya*) according to the 'Primordial Wisdom Initiation' (*shes rab ye shes kyi dbang*), instruction on the practice of 'Instantaneous Crossing and Severing of the Impenetrable' (*phregs chod thod rgal*) in accordance with the 'Sacred Word Initiation' (*tshig gi dbang*). These are some of the important teachings, which Zhabs dkar received from Ngag dbang dar rgyas. Ngag dbang dar rgyas also conferred to Zhabs dkar the 'Nectar Drop Initiation' (*bdud rtsi thig pa'i dbang*), which Lho brag grub chen las kyi rdo rje received from the Lord Vajrapani. He studied the root text and commentary on the 'Cherished Rosary of Speech' (*gces 'phreng rdo rje*). Zhabs dkar also received the 'Ripening Initiation' in accordance with the *rdzogs chen* practice of Ye shes la ma and Nyi ma grag pa, and 'The Heart Drops of Dakini' (*mkha 'gro snying thig*). In addition, Zhabs dkar sought explanatory and additional teachings for the completion of his practice. Zhabs dkar spent three months studying the uncommon preliminary of *rdzogs chen* practice and devoted three years to the study and practice of 'Instantaneous Crossing and Severing of the Impenetrable'. On having perceived the nature of the 'Impenetrable' and having experienced the 'Instantaneous Crossing', Ngag dbang dar rgyas said that even if Zhabs dkar dies, he would attain the *sambhogakaya* (*longs sku*) in the Bardo state. He further said that if Zhabs dkar strove harder and spent his life in practice, he could either attain the 'Rainbow Body' (*'ja' lus*) or attain *dharmakaya* (*chos sku*) in the state of death.

The first two reincarnations of Zhabs dkar passed down and spread the oral teachings of the Torch of Wisdom that Dispels the Darkness of Ignorance throughout central Tibet (Shug gseb rje btsun 1997: 77) and Pad ma rang grol did the same in A mdo (Bya bral chos dbyings, n.d.: 8). Their activities influenced all three regions of Tibet: Khams, Dbus and A mdo. Even nowadays, the teaching transmission line of this book is being continued in Bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling, the Buddhist Institution in Gser thar, Mgo log.

Ngag dbang dar rgyas led many disciples of both Dge lugs pa and Rnying ma schools. He trained Zhabs dkar tsogs drug rang grol, the abbot Dge 'dun bstan pa nyi ma, Pad ma rang grol, the yogi Dkon mchog chos 'phel, and many others. Pad ma rang grol states that Ngag dbang dar rgyas brought great numbers of fortunate and enlightened potential disciples, including Zhabs dkar tsogs drug rang grol onto the path of maturation and liberation (Humchen 2002a: 3). He gave profound teachings including empowerments, transmissions, and instructions of *abhidharma* to several masters who were believed to be the crown jewels of the doctrine of the Yellow-hat sect such as Mkhan chen dge 'dun bstan pa nyi ma (*ibid.*). We also understand from Pad ma rang grol's verses of praise to Ngag dbang dar rgyas that Rgyal yum Rig 'dzin dbang mo, consort of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, owes her thanks to him for becoming a great tantric yogini who succeeded in 'chi grol (Liberation from Death) (Ngag dbang dar rgyas 2002: 84).

#### A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE RESENTMENT OF THE HENAN MONGOLIAN PEOPLE TOWARDS NGAG DBANG DAR RGYAS

In 1723, the ruling Mongolian chief Blo bzang bstan 'zin of the Kokonor region was defeated by the Qing General Nian Genyao (Cui Yonghong *et al.* 1999: 335–38; Zhao Zongfu 2002: 213–16). After that, the Qing government implemented the policy of Bod kyor Sog gnod, 'helping Tibet—harming Mongolia'. As a result, Mongolian power in Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) decreased day by day (Mi Yizhi 1993: 157–98). In the year of the iron ox, a major rebellion by Ngag dbang dar rgyas's subjects broke out at the Yasi pass in 1781 (Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, n.d.: 346). The revolt became bigger and the subjects called for an elimination of violent chieftains from various regions and the war of the subjects against the chieftains spread widely.

It is further stated in the *Deb ther mes po'i zhal lung* (Princely



History of Mongolian Tribes in Malho) that in the year of the snake, a demoness roamed around like snakes; in the year of the dragon, chaos burst like the sound of thunder; in the year of the horse, an army moved towards the blue lake (Qinghai) at the speed of horses and in the year of the sheep, most of the tribes had run away in terror (*ibid.*: 348).

With such a turbulent historical background, it is indisputable that the Henan (Sogpo) Mongolians faced difficulties at that time, even though people from this area had not been aware of many external factors. Moreover, Ngag dbang dar rgyas's interest in the Rnying ma doctrine became a major concern for Bla brang bkra shis kyil, the Dge lugs pa monastery that had been established under the patronage of the Henan ruling family. The monastery was worried that this might jeopardise its patron-priest relationship with the Henan (Sogpo) rulers. For the purpose of protecting the benefit of the monastery, a few Lamas plotted together and criticised<sup>16</sup> and threatened<sup>17</sup> the Mongolian people of Henan. They stated that the Fifth Dalai Lama is said to have warned those believing in the Rnying ma doctrine by saying that it does not do any favours to the Mongolians in general, in particular to those from Mtsho sngon (Qinghai), and even less so to the descendants of Gushri Khan's lineage (Dbal mang pandita 1990: 120). At the end, Ngag dbang dar rgyas abandoned his political duties and devoted himself exclusively to his religious practice.

Because of some of these external and internal factors, Mongolian people disliked Ngag dbang dar rgyas. He was not only blamed for the collapse of the Mongolian tribes but he was also held responsible for natural disasters. When the river Rtse chu dried out at that time, people thought it resulted from Ngag dbang dar rgyas believing in the Rnying ma tradition. This rumour is still nowadays on the lips of the public in Henan (Sogpo).

There has not been another scholar of the calibre of Ngag dbang dar rgyas in the history of Henan (Sogpo); and he is still not included in the list of scholars in the Henan (Sogpo) history such as in *Henan xianzhi* (The Annals of Henan County), edited by the Henan county govern-

<sup>16</sup> For example, Dbal mang pandita criticised by saying that Pad ma 'byung gnas, without belonging to either a ban (monk) or a Bon, will certainly bring some privileges, but as with a *manang* (Hermaphrodite) he will get nowhere. See Dbal mang pandita 1990: 120.

<sup>17</sup> I make such statement because I consulted many masters about this point but it seems that they haven't seen such sentences in the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's writings.

ment (Committee for the Compilation of the Local Records of Henan Mongolian Autonomous County). The chief editor of the book told me that the reason why Ngag dbang dar rgyas was excluded from this book was because he was a brutal ruler.<sup>18</sup> When the present editor of *Henan nianjian* (Henan County's Yearbook), a supplement of the former book, attempted to include Ngag dbang dar rgyas in it, a few senior officials from the county government objected to this inclusion.<sup>19</sup> Even worse, where he is mentioned at all, Ngag dbang dar rgyas was alleged to be a Bon po priest, the indigenous religion of Tibet, and that he had built a Bon po monastery.<sup>20</sup>

#### AN OUTLINE OF THE RNYING MA DOCTRINE IN HENAN (SOGPO)

As I have mentioned, the Mongolian region in A mdo should be understood as the twenty nine *Wang Ja sag (dza sa)* in Mtsho sngon (Qinghai). However, as to the Rnying ma tradition, only some people of the Mongolian tribes in Sogpo (Henan) believed in it. It is said that the spiritual master Padmasambhava came to Rtse gzhung<sup>21</sup> and blessed the place.<sup>22</sup> It is also believed that this is foretold in his scripture (CPPCC of Henan Mongolian Autonomous County 1996, vol. 1, 14). It also seems that Dpal ldan bkra shis (1688–1742), founder of the Reb gong sngags mang, also came to this place. In his autobiography, Dpal ldan bkra shis writes that he blessed Thek shul, the chanting master, and some other monks with the life-force empowerment of Rta mgrin (Hayagriva), the horse-headed deity, in Bong skya (Humchen 2002b: 22).<sup>23</sup> After that, Ngag dbang dar rgyas built Seng ge dgon gsang sngags mi 'gyur gling monastery. He led a few tantric practitioners, including Grub dbang padma rang grol, from the local area.<sup>24</sup> This was

<sup>18</sup> Discussion with Jia Zhen, editor-in-chief of *Henan xianzhi* (The Annals of Henan County).

<sup>19</sup> Personal communication with Tshe ring don grub.

<sup>20</sup> CPPCC of Henan Mongolian Autonomous County (eds) 2000: vol. 5, 43.

<sup>21</sup> The Rtse chu basin is the main residential area of present Mongolians in Henan (Sogpo).

<sup>22</sup> Elderly people in Henan (Sogpo) have oral tradition of stating that Padmasambhava used to practise in places such as G.yu srong brag in Rtse gzhung.

<sup>23</sup> Bong skya is now located in Mtho yul ma township in Henan (Sogpo).

the first phase in the development of the Rnying ma tradition in Henan (Sogpo).

At the time of the fifth Mongolian ruler of Henan (Sogpo), the yogin 'Jigs med chos dbyings rang grol from Lcags sa prophesised the following:

Ema ho! 'Jigs med sna tshogs rang grol! Please open the palace of Heruka in Mongolian region in Mdo smad, the holy place of Maha Dewa and carry out works that benefit the *Dharma* and all sentient beings by introducing the tradition of prostrations and circumambulations. I confer the empowerment of the great secrecy and show the Mandala. I want to give this symbolic form of Kun dga' chos sgron to you, a most fortunate noble man and knowledge holder, *vidyadhara*. Please nurture the profound yoga and liberate the beings! Uphold all sorts of doctrine without bias! Your disciples are in this holy place where Mahakala is serving tirelessly and go there without hesitation to benefit the beings! Sa ma rgya rgya (CPPCC of Henan Mongolian Autonomous County 1996 (1): 54–68).

Gter ston Sna tshogs rang grol (1796–?) from Sde dge, Khams came to the Mongolian region in Henan (Sogpo) and stayed in Tha yan chi, nowadays known as Nyin mtha' township in Henan (Sogpo). Later, he opened a pilgrimage site for Lha mo dngul khang rdzong and introduced the tradition of pilgrimage. Dpon tshang (the chief's family) Bkra shis 'byung gnas, son of Ngag dbang dar rgyas, and Ja sag Bsod nams rab brtan, the chief of the Thu med thor god, agreed to serve Gter ston Sna tshog rang grol if he wanted to stay there permanently. As a result, Gling skor ru ba and Yul ni ru ba, the lineages of his brother and mother, moved from Khams and settled down in Bla mtsho gzhung, in Henan (Sogpo). As a *gter ston* himself, he performed exorcism and other religious services for both Bkra shis 'Byung gnas and his son Bkra shis chos rgyal. A patron-priest relationship was established between them (*ibid.*).

After that, Khams bla sku bar pad ma dbang chen, a renowned

<sup>24</sup> Pad ma rang grol was born in Chos rdzong sog yul in 1785. He followed masters such as Ngag dbang dar rgyas, Dorje Lopon Olkha Jetsun and Zhabs dkar. He stayed for a long period at seat of Zhabs dkar, G.ya' ma bkra shis 'khyil and carried out extensive religious activities. It is claimed that Pad ma rang grol has four volumes (*poti*) of writings in total. Ngakmang Research Institute has searched and collected his writings for more than two years but found none except his incomplete mgur 'bum which is mentioned in this paper and other pieces of writings. However, it must be said that some of his writings are still available but the owners declined to lend them to us. Pad ma Rang grol passed away at the age of 53 in the morning of 16<sup>th</sup> December 1838 (Western calendar).

Rnying ma lama from Reb gong,<sup>25</sup> 'Brug lo grub chen, a yogi from Bla brang,<sup>26</sup> his reincarnation Pad ma mthu stobs rdo rje and the powerful yogi 'Jigs med rdo rje stayed in Henan (Sogpo). With other ethnic Mongolian tantric practitioners, they spread the Rnying ma doctrine in Henan (Sogpo). This was the second phase of the development of the Rnying ma tradition in Henan (Sogpo).

The third phase of the development of Rnying ma tradition is taking place at the present time. The third Grub dbang nam kha 'jigs med 'od zer rol ba'i blo gros, seven tantric practitioners and about one hundred households of Rnying ma followers from Mtho yul ma township in Henan (Sogpo) are making great efforts to develop the Rnying ma doctrine in Henan (Sogpo). Moreover, the Ngakmang Research Institute, an institute which promotes the collecting and publishing of old and rare Rnying ma texts and manuscripts was established in Xining in 2000. Their aim is to preserve the tantric community's culture and to train new tantric students. In summer 2004 the Ngakmang Research Institute opened the first boarding school for tantric practitioners in Reb gong and will soon open two other schools in the region. It is the first school of this kind. At present, there are 20 students in the tantric

<sup>25</sup> The first in the lineage of the reincarnation of Khams bla sku bar pad ma dhan chen was Khams bla rtags thon nam kha gyal mtshan.

<sup>26</sup> In the past, there was an eccentric yogi in Bla brang who was called Zhabs drung smyon pa. One day, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa thought of establishing a tantric college. That night he dreamed that he went to the shores of Kokonor and found the sacred rosary of Padmasambhava. To reveal this treasure, he must ask Zhabs drung smyon pa for help. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa then took Zhabs drung smyon pa to the lake shore and Zhabs drung smyon pa found a human skeleton sealed with golden nails. Inside the skeleton, there was the rosary of Padmasambhava with one hundred and eight beads. Zhabs drung smyon pa asked for one bead from the rosary, but 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa refused to give it to him as he thought it auspicious to keep the rosary complete. Nonetheless, Zhabs drung smyon pa persuaded 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa to give him one bead if the rosary had one hundred and nine beads. Both agreed to it and when they recounted the rosary, there were one hundred and nine beads. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa then gave one bead to Zhabs drung smyon pa. The rosary became known as the main holy image of the tantric college. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa then asked Zhabs drung smyon pa from where he came and what his father's name was. He replied that he had no father and no home, but that he had a mother called 'Brug mo. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa then declared that the name Zhabs drung smyon pa was not appropriate and gave him a new name: 'Brug lo grub chen, the great hermit 'Brug lo. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa further said that from now on, he will be a subject of Bla brang monastery. Soon after, 'Brug lo grub chen was appointed head of the Sbor gar sngag 'chang (the name of a village as well as their sngags mang community). Two of his reincarnations were born in Thor god, Henan. This story was told by Gter ston 'jigs na to his cousin man pa (doctor) Mgo rta and I heard it from him in person.

school in Reb gong. Likewise, Lce nag tshang Nyi da Heruka, co-founder of the Ngakmang Research Institute, is currently teaching esoteric instructions in the West.

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DANZAN RAVJAA:  
THE FIERCE DRUNKEN LORD OF THE GOBI

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I arrived in Mongolia with the common notion that Mongolian Buddhism was a bastion of the reformed Yellow Hat Gelugpa (T.: *Dge lugs pa*) sect and that the teachings of the unreformed Red Hat sects had gradually disappeared after the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. But some recently discovered manuscripts in the Gobi Desert, belonging to the library of Danzan Ravjaa (T.: Bstan 'dzin rab rgyas 1803–1857),<sup>1</sup> would seem to indicate otherwise, suggesting that there was greater latitude in Mongol Buddhism where some Red Hat lineages not only survived but experienced a kind of renaissance during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Danzan Ravjaa, otherwise popularly known in Mongolia as the 'Fierce Drunken Lord of the Gobi', was an extraordinary polymath who authored hundreds of spiritual songs in Tibetan as well as in Mongolian. He is best known today for his operetta called the Moon Cuckoo based on an Indian Jataka tale about a prince, whose identity and kingdom are usurped by a villain. In the story, a young prince from Benares uses a yogic technique (T.: *'pho ba*) to transfer his consciousness into a dead cuckoo bird. His corrupt minister uses the same to enter the unconscious body of the prince and seize his kingdom. Ravjaa skilfully adapts this ancient Indian tale to the political realities of Mongol life under foreign occupation. The usurped identity of the

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<sup>1</sup> During my initial survey of Mongol Buddhist literature I found useful the old bibliography published by Prof. Lokesh Chandra (Ye shes thabs mkhas and Lokesh Chandra 1961). While this list is far from exhaustive, it provides us with the short biographies of 19 Mongol eminent scholars writing in Tibetan, followed by the names of another 68 and their principal works (but without providing any further biographical data). Here one finds the name of a certain Danzan Ravjaa (T.: Bstan 'dzin rab rgyas, 1803–1857), who is the subject of our narrative, and whose monastery in the south Gobi, was the center of a political and artistic renaissance at the crossroads of Tibet, Mongolia and China in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



prince, trapped in the body of a cuckoo, became a metaphor for the tribes of eastern Mongolia subjugated by the Qing Empire.<sup>2</sup>

During the communist purges of the 1930s, when monasteries and religious works were systematically destroyed, Ravjaa's opera somehow survived. The Mongolian Academy of Sciences later rehabilitated a critical edition of the Moon Cuckoo opera, throughout which Ravjaa inserted many vignettes to mock the hypocrisy and vice within the Mongol feudal establishment (Damdinsuren 1962).<sup>3</sup>

The main body of Ravjaa's philosophical and meditative works, however, did not receive the scrutiny they deserve, perhaps due to the fact that they were hidden away. In 1938, when religious persecution reached a height in Mongolia, revolutionary brigades set out to destroy Ravjaa's monastery. The steward, a man called Tudev, showing a certain measure of foresight, managed to stuff most of Ravjaa's library into 45 crates which he hid in the nearby mountains. A treasure map was passed down from father to son in the steward's family until after the transition to democracy, in 1992, when Tudev's grandson, Altangerel, hired a bulldozer and exhumed 23 of the boxes, the contents of which are now housed in a small museum in Sainshand, 740 kilometres south of the capital Ulaanbaatar. Lacking money to store the contents properly, Altangerel decided to leave the remaining 22 boxes under the ground. The museum has little money and no security system to guard against theft, mice or fire. Instead, the steward's family members take turn standing guard to protect the manuscripts and relics from harm.

During my research into Mongolian Buddhist manuscripts I took interest in this multi-talented and ecumenical incarnation. I wanted to find out more about the patrons who sanctioned his bold and unorthodox genius, his relationship to the greater seats of ecclesiastical power in the region, such as the Jetsun Dampa Khutuktus of Urga, the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas of Tibet, and the imperial preceptors of the Qing court, the Janjya Khutuktus at Dolonuur.

<sup>2</sup> This old Indian tale had earlier been adapted by the scholar Tagpu Mati Lobsang Tanpay Gyaltsen (Stag phu Mati Slob bzang Bstan pa'i Rgyal mtshan, 1714–1762), to convey political and historical facts during the reign of the Seventh Dalai Lama in Tibet. For a Tibetan edition of the text see *Bya mgrin sngon zla ba'i rtogs brjod* 1981, 2000 (reprint).

<sup>3</sup> For an early compilation of Ravjaa's poems in both Mongolian and Tibetan see Ch. Altangerel (1968).

I was, however, a bit puzzled by the way Ravjaa's persona was constructed in contemporary Mongol imagination. His modern biographers would invariably describe him as following the 'Red' school of Buddhism, but it was unclear to me what this term really implied. There was never consensus among my Mongol informants about what these 'Red' philosophical and meditative teachings actually consisted of and from whom Ravjaa had received them.

To complicate matters further, Tibetans never use the terms 'red' and 'yellow' to distinguish between their Buddhist schools. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it seems that some Manchu and Mongol converts to the reformed Tibetan Gelugpa sect, started using the term 'Yellow Hat' to differentiate the monks of that school from the followers of the older Tibetan sects—namely the Nyingma (T.: Rnying ma), Kargyu (T.: Bka' brgyud) and the Sakya (T.: Sa skya)—who were bunched together as the 'Red Hats'.

Many of my contemporary Mongol informants, on the other hand, seemed to use the term 'red' in a pejorative sense to refer to a Buddhist practitioner who marries and drinks alcohol. Some employed the term to convey a kind of a social distinction—denoting a practitioner who operates outside the great monastic institutions, such as the itinerant yogis called the *badarchi* or adepts of the charnel ground practice called 'Chod' (T.: *lus byin*; *gcod*). The term 'Red Hat' was even used to describe to me the state oracle of Urga (the Choijin lama), a type of 'shaman' lama who went into trance to channel powerful protector deities who foretold future events. The current use of the term 'Red Hat' in Mongolia to me often seemed to confuse and befuddle these distinctions, resulting in an marvellously ambivalent and multivalent construction that can be used to refer to a wide range of political, religious and social realms.

On the other hand, it was uncertain whether Ravjaa himself ever used the terms 'red' and 'yellow' in his own writings. What did his persona as an anti-conformist 'drunkard' and 'madman' imply in his own time, and to what extent was the notion of a 'red' lama manipulated by communist hagiographers in constructing a Buddhist anti-hero as a foil to feudal corruption? It was with these questions about that I set out to investigate the sources of Ravjaa's spiritual lineage.

There existed a few secondary sources on Ravjaa's life, written by modern Mongol scholars based on one or two versions of his short autobiography, yet these studies did not shed any significant light on his

spiritual connection with any older 'unreformed' Tibetan Red Hat lineages or lamas.<sup>4</sup> It became necessary, therefore, to re-examine the available primary sources in light of a new reading that would offer clues into religious pedigree.

I was able to locate two editions of Ravjaa's autobiography. One was a Cyrillic text published in a monthly newsletter called *Zokhist Ayalguu* (Gaadan and Shagdar 1993). The edition was marred by numerous orthographical mistakes and questionable spellings, probably due to the difficulties encountered while transcribing the original cursive manuscript into Cyrillic, but nobody seemed to be able to locate the original.

In 2003, Gurjaviin Lkhagvasuren published a second Cyrillic edition of the same autobiography called 'Tavdugaar Noyon Gegeentenii Tsedgiin Tovch Khuraangui Orshvoi' in the appendix of the enlarged second edition of his work entitled *Noyon Khutugtu Danzanrabja*. This edition was almost identical to the one published ten years earlier in the newsletter, with the exception of a few alternative spellings, but with the inclusion of the folio numbers that presumably reflected the page breaks of the old cursive manuscript, which nobody still seemed to be able to locate.<sup>5</sup>

Not having access to the original manuscript made a critical translation of the text not only difficult but also premature. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this paper, I provide an approximate outline of the autobiography in para-translation, as it appears in Lkhagvasuren's more recent Cyrillic edition (henceforth *Namthar*), the salient parts of which I reproduce in the notes, including in parenthesis, alternative readings found in the older newsletter edition wherever they occur.

From the scant, but vital information gleaned here, it appears that Ravjaa belonged to a group of Mongol lamas schooled in the Gelugpa Yellow Hat order, who also practiced teachings belonging to the Tibetan Nyingmapa sect. These 'Red Gelugpa', as I call them, seem to have been especially active in a specific geographical area—the Gobi banners of the Tusheet Khan principality of Outer Mongolia and the Inner Mongolian regions of Dolonuur and Alasha. Before taking a clos-

<sup>4</sup> This short autobiography or similar versions of it have been the principle reference for Mongol academics writing on Ravjaa's career in the past: see Ch. Altangerel (1968); D. Tsagaan (1992); L. Khurelbaatar (1996), (1998); G. Lkhagvasuren (2003).

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Altangerel, the steward of the Ravjaa Museum, claims to have another more extensive 'secret' type of autobiography that is reserved only for the eyes of the steward's family.

er look at Ravjaa's unequivocal career, however, it will be useful to say a few words about the politics of the region right before Ravjaa appeared on the scene—a time when the Qing, the Tibetans and the Mongols, were all trying to bolster their position in the Buddhist version of the 'Great Game'.

### THE BUDDHIST 'GREAT GAME'

Ever since the fall of the Mongol Yuan Empire in 1368, the descendents of Chinggis Khan dreamed of reuniting their people under one ruler. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, there were too many royal Mongol princes vying for the throne, and none possessing the necessary charisma to unite their people. Meanwhile, a new formidable power was just rising in the East. The descendents of the ancient Jurchen tribes of southern Manchuria began to take control of China, eventually toppling the Ming dynasty to establish their own empire called the Qing.

By the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Mongol tribes living closest to the Great Wall had capitulated to the Qing. The Chahar, the Tumed and the Qoshot princes had, one after another, sworn their allegiance to the Emperor. When Ligdan Khan (1592–1634)—the last legitimate Great Khan of the Mongols—passed away, his sons relinquished the jade seal of the Mongol Yuan Emperors over to the Qing, thus symbolically conceding to them the heavenly ruling mandate of Chinggis Khan.

When the Qing emperors officially adopted the Buddhist faith, the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Tibet were quick to address them as the emanations of the Bodhisattva Manjushri, thus sanctioning them as the protectors of the Tibetan Buddhist faith and in particular of the newly reformed Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect. In turn, the Qing, who had already taken possession of the ancient seal of the Mongol Emperors, recognised the value of the Tibetan Gelugpa sect as a means of unifying the diverse tribes under their rule.

In terms of the polarity of the Red Hat (T.: *zhwa dmar*) and Yellow Hat (T.: *zhwa ser*), it may well have originated in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Qing began to take sides in the wars amongst Mongol princes who were each trying to advance their favourite Tibetan Buddhist sect. The Qing formed a strong alliance with the Qoshot Mongols living in the Kokonuur region led by Gushri Khan who undertook a series of military campaigns in order to promote the Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect as

the supreme sect of Tibetan Buddhism. During this period, since the yellow colour of the scholar's hat in the Gelugpa sect was so prominent, and the Lamas of the Karma Kargyu sect, the enemies of the Fifth Dalai Lama's party, were usually seen wearing red hats, the polarity between the two colours may have easily arose in the popular mind.

From the late 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the title 'Yellow Hat' became the letter formula for addressing prelates of the Gelugpa sect in all official documents and titles of biographies in both Tibet and Qing. During this period, the growing polarity between 'red' and 'yellow' Buddhists appears to coincide with a wider use of colour schemes applied by Manchu officials to construct social and tribal identities.<sup>6</sup>

The Qoshot Mongols under Gushri Khan and his numerous sons became the Qing emperor's most valuable Mongol allies and the new military powerbrokers in a vast territory stretching from Tibet to the Kokonuur. The Kangxi Emperor (1662–1722) rewarded his Qoshot allies with fancy titles and privileges, while in official documents the Qoshot were now sometimes referred to as the 'Yellow Mongols', and the road going from Beijing to their territory in Alasha was called the 'Yellow Road'.

Yet, in his bid to divide and rule the Mongol tribes, the Qing Emperor Qianglong (1736–1795) seems to have realised that he could not rely entirely on the Tibetan Dalai Lamas who maintained their own traditional ties with the Dzungar and Khalkha Mongols who were hostile to his rule. A person like the Fifth Dalai Lama, who so effectively combined the talents of both priest and king, also made the Qing uneasy. The eccentric Sixth Dalai Lama, with his disdain for monastic vows and predilection for the teachings of the Red Hat Nyimgmapa sect, was also unfit to play the role of a perfect Yellow Hat pontiff in the Emperor's Great Game.

The Qianlong Emperor thus set out to create a second pole of Yellow Hat authority closer to his own capital in Beijing, one that would be less

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<sup>6</sup> The Monguor tribes, who by now had partially settled down and adopted agriculture, were referred to as the 'White Mongols'. Finally, the colour 'black' was used to denote those Outer Mongol tribes, like the Khalkha.

In such cases, the tribes and clans designated by these colours may not have initially ascribed to the practice themselves, but the habit of using colours to construct social identities seems to have trickled down into popular imagination. Colours were used to denote complimentary divisions within a group or complimentary divisions with a sense of hierarchy, or even a sort of opposition as with the Yellow Hat and Red Hat Buddhist sects.



entangled in Tibetan politics and more loyal to himself. Between 1755 and 1780, he initiated a massive building project to replicate the Dalai Lama's Potala Palace at his own summer capital in Jehol. In the adjacent territories of Inner Mongolia and Kokonuur, he promoted a network of Yellow Hat incarnations like the Janjya Khutuktus in Dolonuur and the Jamyang Shepas in Labrang, who could summon the loyalty of the Mongols but who were themselves monk-scholars devoid of worldly political ambition—in theory at least.

In this climate of political and ecclesiastic manipulation, there was nevertheless a steady proliferation of Mongol incarnate lamas reaching the hundreds in the Inner Mongol banners alone and dozens more in the Khalkha Mongolian territories. The Emperor now not only had to worry about rebellious Mongol princes but also disloyalty among potentially seditious lamas.

To prevent the rise of political Buddhism among the Khalkha Mongols, the Qing had already taken certain actions in the past, such as importing the Zanabazar incarnations from Tibet and carefully schooling them in the Yellow Hat Gelugpa mold. But as the numbers of other minor Mongol incarnations increased, importing them all from Tibet and personally overseeing their education became unfeasible, so the Emperor created the office of the Lama Treasurer or 'Shangzodva' (T.: *phyag mdzod pa*) a kind of chief administrator or secretary general of a khutuktu's administration (Sarkozi 1992: 110, n.158). His main responsibilities were to manage the wealth of a monastery and to keep Mongol incarnate lamas in meditation retreats and away from political affairs.

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the region of Dolonuur alone, there were about fourteen recognised Mongol incarnation lineages, one of which—the Noyon Khutuktus—were said to have had a certain disdain for Qing rule.<sup>7</sup> The first Mongol incarnation of this line—Noyon

<sup>7</sup> The Sainshand Museum houses a series of paintings that purport to depict the past Indian and Tibetan reincarnations of the Noyon Hutuktus. These include legendary Indian Mahasiddhas of both the Old and New Tantric traditions, such as Garab Dorje (T.: Dga'rab Rdo rje) and Kukuripa, as well as eclectic masters belonging to all sects of Tibetan Buddhism, such as Vairocana (ca. 8<sup>th</sup> cent.), Tsanyong Heruka (T.: Gtsang smyong he ru ka, 1452–1507), Sharchen Losel Gyatso (T.: Shar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho, 1502–1566) and Karmapa Ranjung Dorje (T.: Kar ma pa Rang 'byung rdo rje, 1284–1339). The last Tibetan master in the line, Sangay Palzang (T.: Sangs rgyas Dpal bzang, ?), is said to have predicted his rebirth in Mongolia in three different incarnation lines. According to Ch. Altangerel (1968: 6), however, it was the Tibetan master Bodong Panchen (T.: Bo dong pan chen phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1376–1451) who predicted his rebirth in Mongolia as three separate incarnation lines.



Khutuktu, Ngawang Kunchog—was born in 1622 to the family of Sonam Daichin Khuntaiji, a direct descendent of Batmonkh Dayan Khan and therefore of Chinggis Khan's royal blood-line. After his death, his mind-stream split into three aspects: body, speech and mind.

His body aspect reincarnated as the Khangalchingel Noyon Khutuktus. Their seat was located in modern Bulgan province and they were also called the 'Horsemen' (M.: *aduuch*). His speech aspect reincarnated as the Tusheet banner Noyon Khutuktus. Their seat was located in modern Overhanghai aimag and they were called the 'Wise Scholars' (M.: *nomchmergen*). His mind aspect returned as the Gobi Noyon Khutuktus. Their seat was eventually located in modern Dorn gobi aimag. They were called the 'Fierce Drunkards' (M.: *dogshin sokhto*).

Among a series of tests given to the infant-candidates selected for the throne of the Gobi Noyon was to drink a bottle of straight grain alcohol. The false contenders were usually driven away in tears, thus disqualifying themselves, while the true reincarnations proved themselves by happily gulping down the fiery distillation.<sup>8</sup>

Not much information has come to light concerning Ravjaa's previous incarnation, the Fourth 'Fierce Drunkard', Gobi Noyon Jamyang Ngodrup Gyatso (1765–1802).<sup>9</sup> Oral tradition in the Gobi maintains that he was a powerful 'Red Hat' exorcist who was once invited to Erdenezuu monastery to rid the place of a horde of rats. He is also said to have harboured strong anti Qing sentiments, which he apparently chose to resolve by murdering a Qing prince.<sup>10</sup> For his crime, he was subsequently arrested and executed by the Emperor who razed down his temple in the Gobi district of Zuun Bayan and forbade the search for his reincarnation.

Our story begins on a cold winter morning, in the first month of the water pig year 1803, in the Tusheet Khan principality, within the ban-

<sup>8</sup> The lineage of the 'Wild Drunkard' Noyon Khutuktus appearing on display at the Sainshand museum reads as follows: I) Ngawang Kunchog (1621–1703); II) Jamyang Dampay Gyaltsen (1704–1739); III) Jamyang Tenzin (1740–1765); IV) Jamyang Ngodrup Gyatso (1765–1802); V) Lobsang Tenzing Rabgay (1803–1856); VI) Lobsang Dampay Gyaltsen, (1855–1875); VII) Ngawang Lobsang Dampay Gyaltsen (1875–1931).

<sup>9</sup> Ravjaa's dates according to A. Tudev & Z. Altangerel (2003); Ch. Altangerel (1968), however, proposes the alternative dates: 1769–1794.

<sup>10</sup> See Worman (2002). For another version of the story see Charleux (2002), who reports that the Fourth Noyon Khutuktu stabbed a monk of his retinue for being drunk and eating rats during a ritual at Erdenezuu monastery.

ner of Prince Mergen, southwest of a place called Dolaan Khar (present day Dornod *aimag*, Hovsgol *sum*), where the banished mind-stream of the Noyon Khutuktu is seeking rebirth on the frozen steppes of Eastern Mongolia.

#### BIRTH AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Ravjaa's *Namthar* begins with the phrase: "I bow before my only father Padmasambhava and the Janjya Khutuktu who are inseparable" (*Namthar* folio 1).<sup>11</sup> At first, it may seem odd that Ravjaa equates a prelate of the reformed Yellow Hat sect with the legendary master of the unreformed Red Hats. The reasons for this, however, will become evident later in the autobiography. Ravjaa's autobiography actually begins a bit before his birth, when he is still in the womb and starts to hear a ringing sound, which he calls the "internal song of empty nature". He suddenly becomes conscious finding himself struggling in the manifolds of his mother's womb, realizing that in fact, the ringing sound is coming from inside himself as he is being pushed through the birth canal (*Namthar* folio 1).<sup>12</sup>

Ravjaa is born a little before noon, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of the middle winter month—on the auspicious day dedicated to the female 'dakini' spirits. His mother dies soon after giving birth leaving him under the sole care of his father, a wizard nicknamed 'Dulduit' (staff, wand) who went around carrying a magic wand to perform healing ceremonies for people.<sup>13</sup>

In the Rabbit Year (1808), when Ravjaa is five, he reports that a disaster caused by snow (*zuud*) wiped out most of the livestock in the area. The only possession left to them was a consecrated brown horse (*setertei khüüreen*), which they ride from place to place like "a drift of swine". Shortly afterwards, a wolf eats the horse and Ravjaa's father

<sup>11</sup> ...*Namu Guru Radnaa Daraya (Dariyaya). Nas bukhnee gants etseg Urjin lam (Kheriügee) Chojijantsan (Chojjamntstan) bogd Janjaa erdene yalgal ügüi (yalgal-gui) dor sögdümüi bi khemeeged öchüükhen temdeglekh ni...* (*Namthar* folio 1).

<sup>12</sup> ...*Eejin umain olon buldruunaas olon solbtson ukhaan seriisen-dür (sersend) urgasan met. Ter üyökhonkh deldeed zogsson metiin zabsar zogssongüi ayandaa urgasan duu duusmagts mönkhüü bi eejin umaid ami lüгаа agsan (agsnaa) tsag ene bolboos (bolbaas) khooson chanaryn duu khemeekhiin baidal bolvoi (bolov)* (*Namthar* folio 1).

<sup>13</sup> On the character of Ravjaa's father, 'Dulduit', see Kiripolska (1999: 97–108).

takes a gun to hunt the wolf. But Ravjaa, showing proof of compassion even at this tender age, prays so that the wolf is not killed by his father's hand (*Namthar* folio 1a-b).<sup>14</sup>

Ravjaa appears to have inherited some of his father's healing talents, for when he is only six, in the Snake Year (1809), they walk into the house of a man called Phuntsok, whose younger sister suddenly recovers from madness. Phuntsok attributes this miracle to the presence of the young Ravjaa and gives him a gift of a black horse which Ravjaa and his father then ride to receive the initiation of the Samvara Tantra from the renowned lama of the Onon River called Yeshe Donyi Lundrup.

As a child, Ravjaa spent most of his time riding around on the black horse, composing songs by scribbling them across a board smeared with horse fat and dung ash. His precocious verses and healing talents did not go unnoticed and many people suspected the boy to be the reincarnation of the Fourth Gobi Noyon Khutuktu. To protect the boy's identity from the Emperor's spies, Ravjaa's guardians claim he is the reincarnation of the Gobi Noyon's disciple, a certain Master of Spells (*mantradhara*), called Ngawang Tsorji. But rumour soon begins to spread that the outlaw Gobi Noyon has returned to live among his people.

#### RECOGNITION AND ENTHRONEMENT

Ravjaa's official recognition as the incarnation of the Gobi Noyon Khutuktu occurs in the Monkey Year (1812), when he and his father go to Urga to seek an audience with the Fourth Jetsun Dampa, Lobsang Thubten Wangchuk (1775–1813). They travel in the company of a certain 'Shangzodva' (Lama Treasurer) who has travelled from the Qing summer capitol of Jehol.

Ravjaa and his father offer 250 *lang*<sup>15</sup> of silver to the Jetsun Dampa, who in return presents them with an offering of a mandala, a statue of

<sup>14</sup> ...*Manai baidag yuum Amaagiin setertei gants khuren mor, tüüniigee unaj yavakh tsagt iiii (ajaa) mini khötöldög (Namthar folio 1a) bilee. Khorgyn khyard ochood khuren moriig mini chono ideed gakhai yavgan bolov. Ijii (Ajaa) mini buu üürch gurvan khonog odovch es chadvai (chadvai). Ter tsagt bi beer (nasad) ter chono ijiin (ajaa) mini gart örtölgüi nasan (nasad) jargakh boltugai khemeen sanavai (sanav) (folio 1b).*

<sup>15</sup> 1 lang = approx. 37.3 grams.

Palden Lhamo, a White Tara, and multi-coloured satin cloth. The Jetsun Dampa then calls Ravjaa to the 'Middle Palace' and initiates him into the Cakrasamvara Tantra, exclaiming, "Aya! Because you have practiced well the secret mantra in Jehol, the place of the Noyon Khutuktu, you have reincarnated as his mind-aspect". He then bestows on him the title of 'Undeclared Chin Zorig' along with gifts of five sitting cushions, a silver pot and the right to use the special ceremonial silk scarves. He is also given two ceremonial cushions from the Tusheet Khan (*Namthar* folio 2a).<sup>16</sup>

The *Namthar* provides us with further details concerning the events that led to his recognition. When the Qing forbade the search for the reincarnation of the Gobi Noyons, the Shangzodva from Jehol had secretly met the Seventh Panchen Lama, Lobsang Tenpay Nyima (Slob bzang Bstan pa'i Nyi ma, 1781–1852) to ask him what to do. The Panchen Lama predicted the arrival of the reincarnation saying: "In the Tiger Year your Lama will be in the east and you will meet [11 years later] in the Ox Year". He also told the Shangzodva to name the child Lobsang Danzan Ravjaa (*Namthar* folio 2b).<sup>17</sup>

This anecdote is significant, because it claims that the Seventh Panchen Lama, acting against the decree of the Qing, had a hand in recognising the outlaw incarnation. Furthermore the Shangzodva of Jehol, the summer capitol of the Qing Emperors, whose duty was to oversee the lay secular affairs of monastic estates, seems to have actually been a disciple of the outlawed Gobi Noyon and the principle architect in the discovery of his reincarnation.

<sup>16</sup> ...aya, noyon khutagt Jii khu (Ji khu) butaliin (bodlyn) gazraa tarniin nom sain unshisny (unshsany) khüicheer dudda (tod daan) khubilchikhui (khubijee) khemeen aildaj, yalguusan (yalguusan) Chin zorigt tsol, tavan olbog, möngön zaviya, nanjid (nanzad) khadag khereglüilekh yamba shagnan olguulsny (olgosny) daraa Tüsheets khanaas (*Namthar* folio 2a) khoyor olbog nemj olguulsan dörövdüger bülegee (buleg) (folio 2b).

<sup>17</sup> ...Ter tsaagas Bogd Jabzandamba Darnada (Darnat), Janjaa gegeenten namaig dagan baruchikhui (daan barijukhui). Ter uchir bolboos (bolbaas) urid tsagt Shanzudba (Shandzui) Gandan zuu bumiin gazar ochood banchin erdenedür Noyon hutagtiin khubilgaaniig todruulan zaakhig (zaakhin) erj aildsand (ailtgasand) chinii lam bars jil züün tald bui, ükher jil uchirmui khemeesen-dür urid Tubden Soibongtiin namtriig sanaj, kherkhevch tüünii törlüig medej (sedej) butsugai khemeen sanaj, bügdig banchin erdenees sonsoj, kherev ene (met) khümüün irvees tüünii neriig kherkhsügei khemeesen-dür (khemeen aildsand) Lubsandanranravjaa khemeen ögögtiin kheemechikhui (khemeejee) (*Namthar* folio 2b).

## THE FORMATIVE YEARS

As a young boy, Ravjaa visited various monasteries in the region of Dolonuur, where he received a typical Yellow Hat education. In the Dog Year (1814), Ravjaa obtained the initiation of the bull-faced deity Yamantaka ('Destroyer of Death') from his own father. Together they travel to Dolonuur in Inner Mongolia, the seat of the Janjya Khutuktu, where on the 15 day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month, he got the initiation of the horse-faced Hayagriva (T.: *Padma dbang chen rta mgrin yang gsang*).<sup>18</sup>

At the monastery of Jargalantyn Am, Ravjaa studied under the great Kalachakra master, Duinkher Gegeen, from whom he received the initiation of the charnel ground practice of 'Chod', and also trained in various aspects of Gelugpa philosophy during which he was guided by visions of White Manjushri and the legendary Indian master Nagarjuna.

At the monastery of Badgarchoilin in Dolonuur, Ravjaa studied the classic Yellow Hat curriculum of the Stages of the Path (T.: *Lam rim chen mo*). He also mentions being greatly impressed by the spiritual songs of Rongbo Grubchen Kalden Gyatso (T.: Rong bo Sgrub chen Skal ldan rgya mtsho, 1607–1677) an outstanding Gelugpa hermit from the adjacent Tibetan province of Amdo, whose songs marked him with a profound realisation of impermanence.<sup>19</sup>

At the age of 16, Ravjaa reports being distracted from his studies by a transformational sexual encounter that opened the psychic channels of his subtle body. "Since I had the secret instructions", he says, probably referring to the secret initiation of the Cakrasamvara Tantra, "I

<sup>18</sup> This form of Hayagriva called Pema Wangchen (T.: *Padma dbang chen rta mgrin yang gsang khros pa*) was an most important deity of the Sera Jay (*Se ra byes*) college in Tibet and its affiliates throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world. The Padma Wangchen system of the 'Secret Accomplishment of Hayagriva' (*Rta mgrin gsang sgrub*), was a fusion of visionary revelations called 'treasure' (*gter ma*) and unbroken oral transmission (*bka' ma*) founded by a group of Nyingmapa 'Treasure Finders' (*gter ston*). It was transmitted by a number of allied family lineages until it became the official centre of the cult at Sera Monastery. The teachings were introduced there by the lineage of the founder Lodro Rinchen Senge, a disciple of Jamyang Choje, and thus a student of a student of Tsongkhapa. It was also continued by a number of families in Eastern Tibet and the Nepal border lands including the Domarba. The Mongol scholar Drakri Damtsig Dorje (1781–1855), put together the cycle. Another cycle of the same Padma Wangchen is also practiced in a merger with the Kyergang tradition of the Shangpa Kargyu sect.

<sup>19</sup> For a translation of his songs see Sujata (2005).

could free myself from the three poisons. This was the good sign of meeting with the lineage of the secret mantra". (*Namthar* folio 4b)<sup>20</sup>

At the age of 21, with the blessings of the Janjya Khutuktu, Ravjaa returns to the Gobi to build his own monastery at a place called Khamar, where he establishes a seminary to train young monks in classic Gelugpa curriculum of the 'Stages of the Path'. During a chanting ceremony in the temple, a wild spirit of the place appears to drive the students mad. Ravjaa visualises himself as the horse-faced deity Hayagriva and subdues the local spirit putting him under vow [to protect Buddhism]. Exactly at that time, Ravjaa says that a neighing horse was heard three times leaving miraculous hoof prints in the rocks where it danced to subjugate the mountain spirit.

#### RAVJAA'S RED HAT TEACHINGS

It is upon Ravjaa's subsequent return to Dolonoor, in the Monkey Year (1824), that he is inducted into the teachings of the Red Hat Nyingmapa sect by no other than the Janjya Khutuktu himself. The Janjya Khutuktu tells Ravjaa that he has inherited certain obstacles from the 'waters of his mother's womb' and that he should clear these up by obtaining certain scriptures. Among these is a famous scripture of the Red Hats called the *Commandments of Padmasambhava* (*Padma Bka' thang*).<sup>21</sup> Earlier, in the *Namthar*, Ravjaa mentions that [to ward off obstacles to his life] his father had instructed him to read another scripture called the *Anthology of Jewel Speech* (*Ma ni Bka' bum*) (*Namthar* folio 5a-b).<sup>22</sup>

The *Commandments of Padmasambhava* and the *Anthology of Jewel Speech* are both texts which belong to the 'Early Tradition'; teachings that spread in Tibet before the 10<sup>th</sup> century and which subsequently became the basis for the Tibetan Red Hat Nyingmapa sect. The latter

<sup>20</sup> ...*Ter üyöd arvan zurgan nastai, bars jilees ekhelj emtei khevtvei (khevttev). Khebtkehiin (khebtkeh) tsagtaa lamiin (lamyn) achaa gurvan khoryn medlees khagats-bai (khagasav), Nuuts tarniin mör lügee uchrakhyn sain belge boloi* (*Namthar* folio 4b).

<sup>21</sup> He is also told to carry a golden edition of the 8000-line Perfection of Wisdom Sutra (M.: *Jadamba*), and the Three Treatises of Maiterya (M.: *Jamducansun*).

<sup>22</sup> ...*Bas ene nasand bardakh bus amitny olon yavdlyg üzvees, ööriin setgeld eremjikh ügüi bolboos (bolbaas), ene met etseg bogd Duldui ijin aildsan* (*Namthar* folio 5a) *yosoor muanii gambun ööröö ba ulsaar unshuulav...* (*Namthar* folio 5b).



work is attributed to King Songtsen Gampo who first introduced Buddhism to Tibet in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D., while the former is supposedly authored by the legendary Guru Padmasambhava who visited Tibet during the 8<sup>th</sup> century and initiated King Trisong Detsen and his court into the controversial teachings of the Great Perfection (T.: *rdzogs chen*) and the Vajra Dagger (T.: *Rdo rje Phurba*).

Tibetan scholars, following the 'Later Traditions', i.e. the teachings that spread in Tibet after the 10<sup>th</sup> century, had cast doubt on these teachings considering them to be heretical forgeries because they could not prove to have Indian Sanskritic roots. For this reason, the great Tibetan scholar, Butön Rinchendrup (1290–1364), excluded the Vajra Dagger and Great Perfection scriptures from the Tibetan Buddhist canon. Nevertheless, these teachings and the 'prophetic commandments' (T.: *bka' thang*) of the legendary master Padmasambhava became the foundation of what later became the Nyingmapa sect in Tibet. These texts were valued particularly among the descendants of the early Tibetan kings and their descendants, for whom they were said to carry special blessings in future times.

While the ordinary monk of the reformed Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect, immersed in a curriculum of dialectics and philosophy, had no special connection with these scriptures of dubious origin, they continued to be secretly passed down within the heart of the Yellow Hat sect, especially by the Dalai Lamas themselves who were considered to be reincarnations of the early Tibetan kings and also the emanations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> These collections of legends and prophecies were apparently first introduced to Mongolia by the Red Hat lamas of the Sakyapa sect, during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Mongol translation of the Jewel Speech (*Mani Bka' bum*) was completed by Manjushri Guoshi Tsorjiwa, a Mongol lama from Kokeqota, who lived in the latter part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and passed away before 1628 when Ligden Khan ordered the monumental work of translating the Kanjur. To judge from the colophon of the Mongolian Jewel Speech, Guoshi Tsorjiwa apparently endorsed the view that the text was an apocryphal work penned by the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (T.: *Sron btsan gam po*) himself, nevertheless it was of vital importance for the Mongols because it set down the principles of state religion and articulated the Buddhist ethical standards of the religious king or 'chakravartin'. The same was true of the Commandments of Padmasambhava (*Padma bka' thang*) which was translated into Mongolian by Sakya Dondrup, believed to be a Tibetan monk affiliated with the Sakyapa tradition who lived in Mongolia. He was a contemporary of Boshogtu Chinwang of Ordos (1565–1624), who had commissioned him to translate the Tibetan text called the Clear Mirror of the Genealogy of Kings (*Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*). The translation of the Commandments of Padmasambhava was commissioned by another local prince called Mangus Khulachi Bahadur (the colophon in the Mongol Commandments of Padmasambhava says that he

By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century these texts also seem to be held in high esteem by certain sections of the Mongol nobility perhaps for the same reasons they had been cherished by the descendents of the early Tibetan kings—and later, by the Dalai Lamas—because they set down the principles of a state religion and articulated the ethical standards for the Buddhist ruler or ‘chakravartin’.

Scriptures like the Jewel Speech accomplished this by fusing the identities of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara and the Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo (T.: Srong btsan sgam po 7<sup>th</sup> cent.), while the *Commandments of Padmasambhava* became a model for ‘priest-patron’ relationship through the association of Padmasambhava and the Tibetan King Thrisong Detsen (T.: Khri Srong lde brtsan, 8<sup>th</sup> cent.). The latter also contained important prophecies (T.: *lung bstan*) that predicted the appearance of Chinggis Khan within a timeline of religious kings, thus sanctioning his descendents as the rightful Buddhist rulers.<sup>24</sup> For Ravjaa, who was considered to be the reincarnation of a ‘bone’ descendent of Chinggis Khan, these scriptures also appeared to carry special protective blessings.

### THE ‘RED GELUGPA’

In combining the scriptures and meditations of the Red Hats with in his own Yellow Hat teachings, Ravjaa seemed to be maintaining a tradition that went back to the early founders of the Yellow Church itself. Let us not forget that Tsongkhapa (T.: Tsong kha pa, 1357–1419), who established the Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect, nevertheless continued to incorporate many aspects of the earlier traditions into his own personal medi-

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received his title from a certain Maidari Khutuktu in 1614). The Mongol version of the *Commandments of Padmasambhava*—discussed by Bira (2002)—has a long colophon which sheds some light on some aspects of the early propagation of Buddhism in Mongolia in connection with the figure of Padmasambhava.

<sup>24</sup> It must be noted, however, that the prophecies in the *Commandments of Padmasambhava* generally depict the Mongols (T.: Hor; Sog po) in a negative light—as a barbarian race and as the legions of the ‘Anti-Buddha’ Mara who persecute the Buddhist faith. One wonders how Mongols like Ravjaa interpreted such prophecies. It may be that they understood them as referring to non-Khalkha Mongol tribes and those who did not directly descend from Chinghis Khan, namely the Qoshot and the Dzungar, who had frequently attacked Khalkha lands in the past and destroyed their ancient Red Hat traditions.

tations. He practiced Guru Yogas focusing on Padmasambhava—both in peaceful and in wrathful forms—which were eventually preserved in the collected writings of the ‘mad’ Second Dalai Lama.

When the Second Dalai Lama passed away he had, according to his biography, no intention of reincarnating back in Tibet until Padmasambhava appeared to him in the intermediate state between rebirths (T.: *bardo*), exhorting him to do so for the sake of preserving the Tantric tradition. He further prophesied that in the future the Dalai Lamas would become the kings of Tibet and they should especially rely on the Red Hat guardian spirit, the king-demon Pehar, for protection and the practice of the Vajra Dagger to overcome obstacles.

Since that time, the Potala was assigned a special Red Hat wing (T.: *rnam rgyal grwa tshang*) to perform these rites on behalf of the Dalai Lamas. The ‘Vajra Dagger’, in particular, was said to facilitate the ‘activity’ function (T.: *’phrin las*) of enlightenment beings and was thus considered to be a particularly powerful means of accomplishing worldly deeds for the Dalai Lamas who held the dual function of both monks and secular rulers of Tibet.

The reformed Tibetan Gelugpa sect, while stressing monastic celibacy and philosophical rigor, thus started to operate within a peculiar kind of schizophrenia, with the Dalai Lamas and many of its aristocratic patrons secretly practicing ancient rites and meditations belonging to the old ‘unreformed’ Nyingmapa sect which their abbots and ordinary monks shunned and even learned to despise. In fact, the Dalai Lamas, as a special category, were ‘expected’ to practice Nyingmapa teachings, for they were, like their aristocratic patrons, linked to the secular world.

One of the greatest devotees of Padmasambhava was no other than the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (T.: Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682), whose brilliant career as a statesman brought the reformed Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect to its apogee as the supreme order of Tibetan Buddhism. At the height of his career, while his Mongol disciples set out to destroy the rival Red Hat Jonangpa and Karmapa sects, he nevertheless showed great fascination for the doctrines of the Red Hat Nyingmapa sect, who incidentally never posed a political threat to his see. The legendary masters of this lineage, such as Padmasambhava, repeatedly came to him in visions and dreams, bestowing on him numerous teachings and initiations, especially of the Vajra Dagger and Great Perfection, which filled volumes of his writings known as the ‘secret visions’.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's affinity with these 'heretical' teachings continued in his immediate reincarnation—the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsanyang Gyatso (T.: Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho, 1683–1706/1746)—who was found near the southern borderlands of Tibet born into a family of Red Hat devotees of the Nyingmapa school. The Sixth Dalai Lama soon became the bane of his orthodox Yellow Hat tutors, showing little interest in his studies of formal logic and dialectics. He returned his monastic vows to the Panchen Lama and grew his hair long in the manner of a tantric prince, and with the complicity of his Prime Minister, the Desi Sangye Gyatso (T.: De srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705), frequented taverns to smoke hookahs and visit lovers.

#### THE CLIMAX OF THE 'GREAT GAME'

When the Qoshot Mongol king of Tibet, Lhazang Khan, became concerned about reports that the Sixth Dalai Lama and his minister were conspiring to challenge his authority, he used their unbecoming conduct as a pretext to arrest them. The Desi was detained and subsequently decapitated at the behest of a Mongol queen whose amorous advances he had spurned on some earlier occasion. Lhazang Khan then charged the Sixth Dalai Lama to be a Red Hat impostor and sent him into exile, where it is rumoured that he was killed.

The Mongol king of Tibet then installed his own puppet Dalai Lama on the throne as the authentic Sixth Dalai Lama. Needless to say, this 'pseudo'-Dalai Lama did not enjoy tremendous popularity among the Tibetans. Rumours also began to circulate that the reincarnation of the deposed Sixth Dalai Lama had already appeared in south-eastern Tibet, in the province of Lithang, as prophesied in one of his 'love-songs'.

Seizing the chance to get rid of their Qoshot Mongol master, the Tibetans now invited his blood-enemies, the Dzungar Mongol tribes to invade Lhasa and install the infant Seventh Dalai Lama to the throne. Before the second Dzungar army could find the infant incarnation, the Kangxi Emperor moved to secure the prophesied child into his own custody. Consequently, the Dzungars invaded Lhasa empty handed, and after beheading Lhazang Khan, their campaign degenerated into an orgy of looting and murder, quickly losing the sympathy of the Tibetans who had invited them into their country as liberators.

The Qing Emperor now played his hand by driving out the Dzungar invaders and installing the Seventh Dalai Lama to the Potala. In doing so he finally exhibited himself as the sole protector of the Yellow Church and moved to occupy the power vacuum left by the demise of his Qoshot ally Lhazang Khan. The Seventh Dalai Lama, now stripped of all temporal authority, lived as a simple monk-bodhisattva who relied completely on the Qing for protection against his domestic foes. Also coming to an end at this time was the tradition of integrating the Red Hat Nyingmapa teachings in the personal meditation practices of the Seventh Dalai Lama.

The historical role the Nyingmapa sect in spreading the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet and taming its unruly mountain spirits could not be easily discounted. The magical efficacy of their ancient rites was still employed on occasion in the Potala Palace, but the influence of its 'shaman' lamas on the spiritual life of the Seventh Dalai Lama (T.: Skäl bzang rgya mtsho, 1708–1757) was now largely curtailed. The Qing, it seems, developed a certain degree of mistrust for the sect, viewing their doctrinal orientation with increasing suspicion.

The Qing, were perhaps the greatest patrons of arts and learning to ever appear in the Tibetan Buddhist world. They poured in vast amounts of money to finance Yellow hat institutions and the printing and translation of the entire canon in numerous languages. The Red Hat Nyingmapa sect, on the other hand, came to almost entirely rely on the open textual tradition of their 'treasure texts', revealed in direct visionary communication with Padmasambhava.

Beginning in the 12<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan mystics had already started discovering fragments of religious texts called 'Treasures' (T.: *gter ma*) in various caches across Tibet, claiming that these were hidden by the legendary Guru Padmasambhava and other ancient masters of the Old Tradition. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century this movement experienced a renaissance and developed into a full-blown revelatory practice, producing not only religious texts, but also medical, historical and prophetic scriptures which now started to outnumber the official Buddhist canon.

These two forms of Buddhist transmission—a closed canon based on a received tradition and an open scriptural tradition based on direct visions—were not necessarily in opposition. Many 'Treasure finders', like Ravjaa himself, were ecumenical in spirit, practicing teachings belonging to both. But their activity becomes significant when seen in the context of the Buddhist 'Great Game', in the sense that they could



focus religious authority and patronage away from the orthodox canon disseminated by the Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect which was now becoming increasingly implicated with the Qing political mainstream.

It was through the constant revelation of new 'Treasures' that the masters of the Nyingmapa sect, who often had close ties with the descendents of Tibet's ancient royalty, now began to revive their traditions, focusing attention back onto their own cultural and historical importance. It was perhaps for the same reason that the Qing distanced the Seventh Dalai Lama from these teachers and issued a decree banning some of their rites and 'irregular practices' (Charleux (2002: 211–12).

As a wave of religious conservatism spread in Central Tibet, something of the opposite started happening among some Mongols of the Kokonuur region, who now began to actively promote the teachings of the Red Hat Nyingmapa masters in their own midst. The story of the Fourth Chinwang of Henan, Ngawang Lhundrup Dargay (T.: Chos rgyal ngag dbang dar rgyas, 1740–1807) is a case in point.

Descendent of the royal line of the Malho tribes near the Machu river, this Qoshot Mongol prince was raised and educated in the Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect. He received the esoteric Ganden Mahamudra teachings from the Second Jamyang Shepa of Labrang (T.: 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728–1791) and then travelled to Tibet to get ordinations from the Panchen Lama.

During his trip to Tibet, he also visited Olkha (T.: 'Ol kha) the home of an ancient lineage of Tibetan kings known to follow both Nyingmapa and Gelugpa teachings. There he was greeted by a local nobleman of Olkha, the Fourth Jedrung, Lelung Shepay Dorje (T.: Sle lung rje drung bzhad pa'i rdo rje, b. 1697) who gave him a 'prophetic command' (T.: *lung bstan*) to propagate the Treasure traditions of the Nyingmapa in Mongolia (*Sngak mang zhib 'jug* 2002(3): 2).<sup>25</sup>

What the exact reasons that pushed a local Tibetan aristocrat and a Mongol prince raised in the Yellow Hat faith to secretly propagate these Red Hat teachings remains unclear. There is no doubt that they were, to a great extent, motivated by genuine faith and felt a responsibility to

<sup>25</sup> ... 'di dus stobs ldan drag shul dbang po sku phebs byas par / 'ol kha rje drung gis sprul pa'i chos skyong nga yin / rgyal bo khyod yin/ bla ma da lta'i rje drung yin / nges rang gsum gyis rnying ma'si bstan pa spel dgos....



uphold the blessings of this extraordinary lineage at a time when the Seventh Dalai Lama was prevented from receiving them.

Perhaps, like some among the Qoshot Mongol nobility after the Tibetan debacle, the Chinwang was also feeling increasingly alienated by the Qing policy of curtailing the authority of Qoshot Mongol princes at the expense of Gelugpa prelates in the region of Kokonuur. His views were possibly shared by marginalised Tibetan aristocrats like Lelung Shepay Dorje, whose guru, the eccentric Sixth Dalai Lama, had been brutally deposed by the Qing/Qoshot alliance.

In any case, this meeting was to have a significant impact on Mongol Buddhism, for upon his return to Kokonuur, the Chinwang built a close relationship to certain Nyingmapa 'Treasure finders' who were actively reviving their traditions after a period of persecution in Central Tibet.

The Chinwang became the principle Mongol recipient of the *Longchen Nyinthig* (Heart Drop of Vast Space)—a cycle of esoteric Treasures revealed by the great 18<sup>th</sup> century mystic Rigzin Jigme Lingpa (T.: Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa, 1729–1798)—as well as closely related lineages such as the *Tapak Yeshe Norbu* (The Wish Fulfilling Gem of Hayagriva and Varahi)—revealed as a cluster of inter-related visions by a group of Nyingmapa and Kargyupa masters. Furthermore, the 'prophecy seal' of the *Tapak Yeshe Norbu* specifically appointed the Seventh Dalai Lama as the principal guardian of these teachings—a destiny which now seemed to be obstructed by inauspicious circumstances.

The Chinwang's activities attracted a large following that soon began to draw the ire of the Qing sanctioned Yellow Hat Church. A reaction followed whereby the monks of Labrang went on a rampage and destroyed the temples of the Chinwang, claiming that Mongols in general, and in particular, those princely lineages in the Kokonuur region, should not follow the teachings of the Red Hats (Dbal dmang Pandita and Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1990:120).

Despite this crackdown, the Nyingmapa teachings introduced to Kokonuur by the Chinwang seem to have spread further in the field, gaining converts among the Khalkha Mongols, especially in Gobi desert regions of the Tusheet Khan principality.

## THE GOBI LINEAGE OF THE VAJRA DAGGER

According to the *Namthar*, the Janjya Khutuktu presented Ravjaa with a copy of the *Commandments of Padmasambhava* and instructed him to complete 100,000 prostrations in order to dispel the obstacles to his life. While Ravjaa was busy with his penance, word came from the Janjya Khutuktu saying,

I dreamt you were wearing a felt caftan (M.: *khevneg*) and blood was pouring out of the joints of your elbows and knees and flowing out onto the front porch. Now your troubles are over. My *zodchi* master is reading the Vajra Dagger texts today, go and pay respects to this teacher and receive the initiation! (*Namthar* folio 5b) <sup>26</sup>

The proper name of this *zodchi* master is never fully revealed in the *Namthar*, but he seems to play a significant role in transmitting the Nyingmapa traditions in Dolonuur. The term *zodchi* itself seems to suggest a Mongolian corruption of the Tibetan word *chod pa* (*gcod pa*).<sup>27</sup> In colloquial Mongolian it usually refers to a class of ‘shaman’ yogis specialising in the fierce rites of exorcism, who were adepts of the charnel ground practice of ‘Chod’.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> ...Urid Janjaa ochirdariin derged baraalkhaj, gүн nomin rashaan ailtgasand deed ikh törölkhtön khediiveer ikh bolovch ekhiin umain tütter ikhiin tul minii enekhüü ögsön altan Jadamba, Badamradin (Badamkhatan), Jimdüdcansum, edgeeriig үүрч, Zandan zuug bum sunaj ergen mörgösügei khemeen aildsanaar ergen mörgöj baital gegeentnees: chamaig urid shönö (chamaig) esgii khavneg ömsöj, Zandan zuugiin ömnö sögdön sunaj mörgön dörvön (folioba) möchöös (morinoos) tsus ikh tsuvarch, dovjoon deer ursaj baikhuig (baikhyg)züüdlev. Odoo chinii tütter arilvai (arilav). Minii zodchi bagsh ene ödör pürviin degüg (dagan) khairlamui. Chi odoj, minii bagshid avshig khürtekhüin (khürtekhiiin) soyorkhlyg ailtga khemeesend zarligch-lankhüü (zarligchlan) ailtgaj, soyorkhlyg (soyorkhol) olj, degug (dagan) khürteed managaar ikh avshig khürtsenii süüld ikh chuulgany khürdiig zokhion aildsand, Janjaa ochirdaryn gegeen beer minii bagsh banchin Narobyn khubilgaan bülgee (bölgөө). Bi ib enetkhegiin gazar tarva Ajiriyagiin törliig barij, doloон myanga naslan, khorishüdelsen bulgee. Chi bolboos (bolbaas) mön ochirt ikh buteelchin (bötolochin) baldanshivari khemeen lünden үзүүлбей (үзүүлөв). Endees ekhelj, zodchi bagsh Janjaa Dorjjantsan khoyoroos ikh tögsgöliin khötölbör avshig ej tergüütniig kheden jil daraagaar khurtev... (*Namthar* folio 5b).

<sup>27</sup> The figure of the *zodchi* is closely associated with the Mongol *badarchi*, itinerant yogis who spent a lot of time meditating in the wilderness. In Mongolian folk tales they are often depicted as clever tricksters who use skilful and often unorthodox means to bring awareness into peoples lives. The *badarchi* usually operated outside monastic establishments, roaming the countryside, carrying their personal belongings on their backs and holding two long sticks, so when wild dogs attacked them they would let them bite onto one stick, while crushing their noses with the other.

Much like the Red Hat wing attached to the Dalai Lama's Potala Palace in Tibet, the Yellow Hat monasteries in Kokonuur and Inner Mongolia also sheltered a group of lay tantric yogis responsible for performing ancient Red Hat rituals that included extreme rites, sometimes involving killing by using wrathful magic, that a fully ordained monk was not supposed to perform. Actions like subduing evil spirits or making rain could involve harming or drowning sentient beings. Lay tantric practitioners could perform these rites more easily because their special vows allowed them to 'liberate' (T.: *grol*) evil beings, whereas monks bound by a different set of vows were not supposed to kill.

The Fourth Janjya Khutuktu appears to have held his *zodchi* master in high esteem and also received teachings from him. He tells Ravjaa that this particular *zodchi* master is a reincarnation of the legendary Indian saint Naropa and that he has reincarnated over twenty times. In the course of the following year, Ravjaa says he received the Great Perfection initiation (T.: *rdzogs chen*; M.: *ikh tuksguliin hudulbuur abishek*)—and many others—from the Janjya Khutuktu and the *zodchi* master.

These Nyingmapa teachings, thus seem to have been passed down to Ravjaa as a kind of 'in-house' transmission within the Yellow Hat monastery of Dolonuur by the Emperor's own religious preceptor, the Fourth Janjya Khutuktu. It is probable that the Qing, like the Dalai Lamas in Tibet, were interested in sanctioning and appropriating some of these ancient Nyingmapa traditions, but at the same time made sure that they would not develop into a political force that threatened or competed with the Yellow Hat sect.

The Fourth Janjya Khutuktu, Yeshe Tenpay Gyaltsen (T.: *Lcan skya Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*) is a shadowy figure indeed. Next to his previous incarnation, the Third Janjya Khutuktu, Rolpay Dorje (T.: *Lcan skya Rol pa'i rdo rje*, 1717–1786), who was one of the greatest

<sup>28</sup> The practice of 'Chod' (T.: *gcod* or *bdud kyi gcod yul*) literally means "the demon as the object that is to be cut off". It is a Tantric practice developed in Tibet that marks a syncretistic movement between Buddhist Tantra and pre-Buddhist shamanic elements in Tibet. To cut off ego-attachment, the adepts of 'Chod' meditate in burial grounds and remote mountains and through elaborate visualisations and prayers symbolically offer their mortal bodies to the demons and goblins haunting these terrifying places. For the early history of this lineage in Tibet see Edou (1995). While in Central Tibet the practice occupied a very marginal place in the Yellow Hat curriculum, in Amdo and Mongolia, many monasteries seemed to have a Chod seminary attached to them.

scholars of his time, the Fourth Jankya remains a total mystery, leaving behind no extant biography or writings. We only know about him through the life of his younger brother, the Fourth Chuzang Khutuktu, Lobsang Thubten Rabgay (T.: Slob bzang Thub bstan rab rgyas, 1797–1858), and also through our *Namthar*, which as mentioned earlier, opens with the bold statement that “Padmasambhava and the Janjya Khutuktu are inseparable”.<sup>29</sup> The question that naturally arises is: where did the Janjya Khutuktu and his zodchi master get these Nyingmapa teachings?

In order to find further textual evidence linking the Fourth Janjya and Ravjaa to contemporary Red Hat lineages in Tibet, I returned to the Gobi in January 2004, and asked Mr. Altangerel for permission to continue looking through the museum collection for further clues. Behind a glass display, I noticed a thangka painting by Ravjaa depicting himself in the centre of a family tree of spiritual masters (Plate 1).

A quick look at this lineage tree leaves no doubt that Ravjaa attached himself to a line of lamas who followed the teachings of Dudul Dorje (T.: Bdud 'dul rdo rje, 1615–1672) and Longsal Nyingpo (T.: Klong gsal snying po, 1625–1692), two exemplary 17<sup>th</sup> century ‘Treasure finders’ whose visionary revelations were primarily preserved at and disseminated from the famous Kathog (T.: Ka thog) monastery in Eastern Tibet.

Of notice also is the figure of Namkha Gyatso (T.: Kah thog drung pa nam mkha' rgya mtsho, ca. 18<sup>th</sup> century), the influential Kathog master who was the teacher of Drime Shinkyong Gampo (Dri med zhing skyong mgon po, b. 1724), the son of the famous ‘Treasure finder’ Choje Lingpa (T.: Chos rje gling pa, 1682–1725) who had performed fierce rites to repel the invading Dzungar armies and had then escaped to the legendary hidden land of Pemako on South-eastern Tibet. Drime Shinkyong Gonpo was also recognised as the re-embodiment of the Gyalsay Sonam Deutsan (T.: Rgyal sras bsod nams lde'u btsan, 1679–1723), one of the early masters of the Kathog tradition responsible for spreading these lineages in the northern region of Golok near borders of Inner Mongolia and Kokonuur. What is still unclear is how

<sup>29</sup> Oral tradition of the Gobi maintains that the Fourth Janjya Khutuktu was a disciple of the outlawed Fourth Noyon Hutuktu, from whom he received Nyingmapa teachings. Subsequently, the Fourth Janjya became known as the ‘Ulaan Janjya’ or the ‘Red Janjya’, and as tradition demanded, he was required to pass down these teachings to his teacher’s reincarnation, the Fifth Noyon Khutuku, Danzan Ravjaa.

these 'treasures' reached the Gobi regions of Eastern Mongolia and the person of Ravjaa himself.

There are further clues in the thangka painting. Parallel and opposite to himself, Ravjaa depicts a certain Tenpay Gyaltsen. It is tempting to identify him with Ravjaa's teacher, the Fourth Janjya Khutuktu, Yeshe Tenpay Gyaltsen. But the figure painted immediately above Ravjaa's own head—which in this type of painting would usually denote one's immediate master, unfortunately bears only the secret initiatory name Lama Chemchog Dupatsal (T.: *Che mcho 'dus pa rtsal*), about whom we know virtually nothing.

Later that same day, as I was looking through a stack of manuscripts in the museum, I happened across a lineage prayer to the Vajra Dagger tradition composed by Ravjaa called *Phur ba rgyud lugs las brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs byin rlabs shing rta* (Plate 2). In this text Ravjaa identifies Lama Chemchog Dupatsal as his 'root lama' (T.: *rtsa ba'i bla ma*). Thus it would seem reasonable to identify Chemchog Dupatsal with the *zodchi* master, who figures so prominently in our *Namthar*, and who inducts Ravjaa into the Vajra Dagger cult at the behest of the Janjya Khutuktu. The colophon of the text, further claims that this particular Vajra Dagger lineage stemmed from the tradition of the Tibetan 'Treasure finder' Rigzin Jigme Lingpa.<sup>30</sup>

Further research is needed to determine when and how the lineage of Jigme Lingpa's Vajra Dagger and other related 'Treasure' cycles from the Kathog tradition entered Mongolia. Circumstantial evidence would point to the aforementioned Mongol Prince, the Fourth Chinwang of Henan, Ngawang Lhundrup Dargay, whose circle of disciples were responsible for first spreading these teachings among the Mongol tribes of the Kokonuur in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Returning to the thangka painting in the museum, Ravjaa's own image bears the secret initiatory name Domay Rangrol (T.: *Gdod ma'i rang grol*) while the figure immediately below him bears the name Tsogdruk Rangdrol, raising the possibility that Ravjaa was also associ-

<sup>30</sup> Jigme Lingpa's 'Vajra Dagger' in volume 6 of his *Collected Works* is based, in large part, on the Tagtsang Phurba (T.: *Stag tshang phur pa*) cycle of Raton Topden Dorje (T.: *Rwa ston stobs ldan rdo rje*, ca. 17<sup>th</sup> cent.). This latter master was among a group of visionaries including the likes of Jatson Nyingpo (T.: *Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po*, 1585–1656), Dudul Dorje (T.: *Rig 'dzin Bdud 'dul rdo rje*, 1615–1672) and Taksham Nuden Dorje (T.: *Stag sham pa Nus ldan rdo rje*, 1655–1708), who contributed to the revelation of the *Tapak Yeshe Norbu*.

ated with the famous yogi Shabkar Tsogdruk Rangdrol (T.: Zhabs dkar ba tshogs drug rang grol, 1781–1851), a direct disciple of the aforementioned Chinwang, who, like Ravjaa, also professed a non-sectarian talent for combining the teachings of the Yellow and Red Hat sects. This connection becomes all the more tempting, given that they both carried secret initiatory names ending with Rangdrol ('self-liberating'), indicating a shared master or common lineage.

For now, we must content ourselves with the scant information provided in the *Namthar*, telling us that Ravjaa spent a couple of years, between the ages of 21–23, studying the Vajra Dagger and the Great Perfection Teachings at Dolonuur under the auspices of the Janjya Khutuktu and the *zodchi* lama. Ravjaa then accompanies the Janjya Khutuktu on a pilgrimage to Wutai Shan where he starts to feel sick and is told to return home. Upon his return, Ravjaa builds a statue of Padmasambhava with the face of his own root guru, the Janjya Khutuktu. Then, he goes into retreat for several months to practice fierce rites associated with the Vajra Dagger (*Namthar* folio 6b).<sup>31</sup>

#### APOCALYPTIC VISIONS

In the same Bird Year (1825), Ravjaa invites the *zodchi* master to the Gobi, where together, they establish the worship of a local mountain. Together with his two consorts, Ravjaa then choreographs a 'dakini' dance, which he then performs in Dolonuur with his own consorts before a very amused Janjya Khutuktu. That winter, near the town of Khökh Khoshuu (Hohot), he again resorts to fierce rites to murder a 'living demon' (*Namthar* folio 7a).<sup>32</sup>

It is during this period that Ravjaa also becomes pre-occupied with visions of a Buddhist apocalypse, a time which the *Commandments of Padmasambhava* prophesise the onset of the End Times and persecution of Buddhism at the hand of the *mleccha* infidels, and when the Kalachakra Tantra predicts the arrival of an enlightened army from the

<sup>31</sup> ...*Lovon rinbüchiin günde tergüiten nüüriig Janjaa ochirdariin lagshin lugaa adil büteelgej shünshig ravnaig örgön takhiad Dorjprüeviin sorondog kheden sar büteevei...* (*Namthar* folio 6b).

<sup>32</sup> ...*Mön takhia jiliin övöl Seldi tseliin amnaa büteeldür akhui uyösed Khökh Khoshuuny amid chöötgöriig alchikhui...* (*Namthar* folio 7a).



hidden kingdom of Shambhala to defeat the enemy and usher in a new golden age.

On the 15 day of the third moon of the Pig Year (1827), Ravjaa makes the cryptic remark that :

Londol Lama is now presiding as the King of Shambhala, so I built a Kalachakra temple and composed my own 'aspiration prayer' (T.: *zhabs brtan*) [to be reborn in the Promised Land]. (*Namthar* folio 7a)<sup>33</sup>

Then in the Earth Ox Year (1829), Ravjaa makes the comment that things happened according to Padmasambhava's commandments (*Namthar* folio 9a).<sup>34</sup> The *Namthar* frequently makes such elliptical remarks, providing only shards of what seem to be a greater unfolding apocalyptic vision. It is only together with the 'secret' autobiography, if it is ever openly disseminated, that we will be able to make sense of Ravjaa's Buddhist utopian dream.

In the following Iron Tiger Year (1830), Ravjaa again refers to the prophecy of the hidden kingdom of Shambhala saying that:

in the future, when the Panchen Lama reigns as the king of Shambhala, when many enlightened Buddhas, commanders and officials are waging battle against the *mlecchas*, I received a prophecy that I will [reincarnate] as the commander Sanjay Dorje Gyalpo and take under my command the soldiers and officers of the outer, inner and secret [places]. (*Namthar* folio 9a)<sup>35</sup>

### THE WANDERING YEARS

While the Janjya Khutuktu and the *zodchi* master, played a pivotal role in inducting the young Ravjaa into the Nyingmapa teachings, it is in the neighbouring region of Alasha where his visions began to mature. It was here, at the monastery of Baruun Iiide, where according to Mongol tradition, two other 'banished' incarnations—the Sixth Dalai

<sup>33</sup> ...*Gakhai jiliin guravdugaar saryn arban tavnaa büteelchiin erkhet Londol rin-büchi Shambald khaan suumui. Ter uyosed Duinkhoryn datsan baiguul. ööriin shav-dang ööröö khicheegtiin khemeen...* (*Namthar* folio 7a).

<sup>34</sup> ...*ükher jil Badam bogdoos esh olvoi* (*Namthar* folio 9a).

<sup>35</sup> ...*Ireedui tsagt Banchin erdene Shambald khaan suumui. Ter tsagt olon bogd-nar janjin tüshmel, tsereg selteer Malitsiin omog darakhyn uyösed bi beer Gürtensanjaadorjialbuu khemeen choijin düreer baraa bolokhui-dor gadaad, dotood nutsyn tushmed nadad tsereg bolgoj daguulakhyn belgiig belgeleve...* (*Namthar* folio 9a).

Lama and his chief minister, the Desi Sangye Gyatso—had quietly taken up residence without official permit from the Manchu Emperor.

When the Mongol king of Tibet, Lhazang Khan had arrested the Sixth Dalai Lama and sent him into exile, the Tibetans were led to believe that their God-king was murdered *en route* to China. But the Mongol version of events differed drastically, claiming that the Sixth Dalai Lama had actually eluded his Qoshot/Qing captors to embark on a long secret pilgrimage, visiting many distant places, such as Nepal amongst other places, where he spent some years meditating as a yogi on the cremation grounds of the Bagmati River near the temple of Pashupatinath dedicated to the god Shiva.

Returning through Tibet *incognito*, the Sixth Dalai Lama travelled to Mongolia and ended up in Alasha, where he recognised in the son of a noble family the reincarnation of his old Prime Minister, the Desi Sangye Gyatso. This child, named Ngawang Lhundrup Dargay, became the first in the line of Desi incarnations or Lamatan's of Baruun Hiide monastery—and the one who wrote the Mongol version of the Sixth Dalai Lama's 'secret' biography. In Alasha, without official recognition from the Manchu Emperor, the Desi and the disgraced Sixth Dalai Lama continued to reincarnate back and forth up until the present day (Jalsan 2002: 353).

During Ravjaa's time the third Lamatan of Baruun Hiide was called Tenzin Jungnay Dargay (1793–1856), a nephew of the second Mongol incarnation of the deposed Sixth Dalai Lama. It was during his see that Ravjaa went to Alasha to hire actors for his opera, the Moon Cuckoo, and to send wood back to the Gobi to build a theatre.

At the height of his career, Ravjaa travelled across the Gobi with his troupe of over 300 actors, dancers and musicians performing before lord and commoner alike, outwardly to entertain and gain a living, but also, it seems, as a skilful means of expressing Mongol political aspirations under Qing colonial rule. With incredible skill Ravjaa embellished the performance with other symbolic vignettes from outside the main story, such as the assassination of evil Tibetan King Lang Darma by the Vajra Dagger-wielding monk Lelung Pelgi Dorje. He also acted out episodes from the life of Chinggis Khan, and Queen Mandukhai. He would also insert his own visionary 'Chod' teachings in the opera during the healing ceremony for the dying queen.

In Alasha, Ravjaa also developed close ties with the local prince or Wang, who invited him to subdue a demon in the Rat Year (1831).

During his stay, a monk called Alasha Ngawang Tendar Lharampa (T.: A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar lha rams pa 1759–1831/1840) decided to test Ravjaa's knowledge on the topic of demons and Buddhist philosophy. He entered Ravjaa's tent to see him sitting before the famous Yellow Hat scripture the *Stages of the Path* (T.: *lam rim chen mo*), while sipping alcohol out of a human skull cup and caressing the hands of a 16 year-old girl. Shocked by this unholy combination of Holy Scripture, alcohol and sexual foreplay, the monk confronted Ravjaa:

"Why have you come?"

"To slay a devil", Ravjaa responded.

"Where is the devil?"

"In the face of the divisive ignorant mind that sees two instead of one".

"How will you subdue this devil?" Tendar asked.

"I will subdue it with the wisdom of selflessness".

"Where will you subdue it?"

"In empty space", replied Ravjaa.

Later when Tendar's students ask him about his impression of Ravjaa, he says:

"If he is honest he is at least a Bodhisattva, if lying he is a Mara ('Anti-Buddha'). As for me, I will approach him with deference. You may do as you wish".<sup>36</sup>

Ravjaa displayed both non-sectarian brilliance in his writings and also diabolical excess in his conduct, which often shocked his more conservative monastic peers. His detractors started referring to him as 'fierce' (M.: *dogshiin*) and a 'drunkard' (M.: *sokhtu*), but his eccentric behaviour, much like that of the deposed Sixth Dalai Lama, brought him closer to the hearts of common people, who considered his wild demeanours and flaunting of rigid orthodoxy to be enlightened teachings. Through his exploits and love poetry ordinary nomads seemed to vicariously live out fantasies which they could not afford to in a rigid conservative society.

Ravjaa's behaviour conforms to a certain type of 'crazy-wisdom' master common to the Tibetan world. He reminds one of the Bhutanese 'crazy-wisdom' master Drukpa Kunley or the enlightened trickster Aku

<sup>36</sup> For an account of this purported encounter see Ch. Altangerel (1968: 9). Ngawang Tendar Lharampa, like Ravjaa, also seems to have received certain Nyingmapa transmissions and was the author of a rare commentary on Longchenpa's *Treasury of Virtues* (*Yon tan mdzod*).

Tenpa, perfect madmen who brought hope and awareness into people's lives using unconventional methods. While some people were taken aback by Ravjaa's excessive manners, he often used these occasions to teach people about the ultimate truth of the Buddhist teachings. In his beer drinking song called *Arkhi ukhiig khorigloson shüleg* he taunts his readers, saying that if they can eat dog flesh together with human excrement and transform it mentally into divine nectar, only then will they become worthy of the epithet 'drunkard' (Endon 1992: 424).<sup>37</sup>

To classify Ravjaa as 'red' or the 'yellow'—as Nyingmapa or Gelugpa—would be reductionist. His spiritual orientation defied such classification. He received teachings and practiced from both Red and Yellow sects and creatively combined them in his own teaching legacy. This is evident in the liturgical traditions he founded across the Gobi.

At Khardal Beise Khoshuun, for example, he created rituals for prosperity combining the Earlier and Later Traditions. Then in the Water Snake Year (1833), when he was invited to the Khoshuun of Baruun Khuuchid Wang, he again similarly combined these rituals. Some years later, he again established the rites belonging to both the Earlier and Later Traditions at the administrative unit of Dorbon Aimag sum, combining the rites of the horse-faced Buddha Hayagriva, the Vajra Dagger and the Gelugpa protector Begtse.

Between his opera performances, Ravjaa was frequently called upon to perform healing ceremonies for sick lamas and officials. His reputation as a powerful wizard with both healing and destructive powers was appreciated by some like the Janjya Khutuktu, the Tusheet Khan and the Prince of Alasha, but feared and despised by some in the entourage of the Fifth Jetsun Dampa in Urga.

In the Earth Pig Year (1839) when the Fifth Jetsun Dampa, Lobsang Tsultrim Jigme Tenpay Gyaltsen (1815–1840), fell ill, Ravjaa travelled to Urga to perform a healing ceremony for him, but things apparently did go over very smoothly. The autobiography does not go into much detail, but according to another account, Ravjaa arrived at the court reeking of alcohol and was reprimanded by the Jetsun Dampa's attendants (Heissig 1972(I): 198). According to the *Namthar*, he nevertheless organised a big healing exorcism on the banks of the Tuul River.

<sup>37</sup> ...*Khrev chi nokhoin makhiig / Khünii ötgöntei kholij / Sudlakh onokhuig üildeed/ Surmag idej chadakh uu? / Chadval bi algaa khavsarch / Chamdaa bi aldaa-gaa namanchiliya / Arkhi uudag khumuus /...* (Endon 1992: 424).

It is on this occasion, according to one account, that Ravjaa met the Gelugpa firebrand Ngawang Keydrup (1779–1838), the author of a polemical work called *The Lightning Wheel that Annihilates the Ignorant* (*Tenegüüdiig talkhlan teeremdegch ayangyn khüird*), in which he deplores the unconventional behaviour of certain tantric yogins. During their encounter, Ravjaa left Keydrup speechless by reciting a spell that turns a cup of water into vodka (Tsagaan 1992: 37). In the face of such critics, Ravjaa is said to have composed his own tantric apology entitled *The Wish Fulfilling Jewel on the Head of the Great Serpent* (*Avarga mogoin zulai dakhi chandmani erdene*), in which he defends the practices of sexual union, drinking alcohol and ritually murdering evil beings in the context of the highest tantric teachings.<sup>38</sup>

From Urga, Ravjaa then departed for Erdenezuu. This monastery, while nominally converted to the Gelugpa faith, still retained some connections to the older Red Hat sects. It was here at Erdenezuu that the early Sakyapa masters had introduced the ancient rites associated with Pehar, a 'king-demon' tamed by Padmasambhava. Ravjaa spent several months at here observing their 'special' tradition of masked dances.

At Erdenezuu monastery, Ravjaa also met with Tusheet Khan and several other minor banner princes who seemed relieved at the news of the Fifth Jetsun Dampa's recovery. In the following year, however, Ravjaa tried to meet the Jetsun Dampa for "some urgent task", but this time he is prevented from doing so. The *Namthar* does not provide further details, but according to the Mongol historian D. Tsagaan, there was a conspiracy to kill Ravjaa, which forced him to change his itinerary and return along the Kherlen River to elude his assassins (Tsagaan 1992: 14). The Fifth Jetsun Dampa died under mysterious circumstances the following year.

While Ravjaa felt unwanted in Urga, he was always welcome back at Erdenezuu. He was also a regular in Dolonuur, where he often performed healing ceremonies for his teacher the Janjya Khutuktu. He was also a frequent guest at Alasha, where he returned in the Iron Ox Year (1841) on a New Year invitation by the local prince to participate in the ceremonial procession of the future Buddha Maitreya at Baruun Hiide. In the mountains near Alasha that Ravjaa now started to discover a

<sup>38</sup> This text has yet to come to light. Altangerel, the steward of the Ravjaa Museum, believes a copy may still exist in one of the 22 crates of Ravjaa's writings that still remain buried in the mountains near Sainshand.

whole network of ancient pilgrimage caves connected to the legendary figure of Padmasambhava.

#### THE PADMASAMBHAVA CAVES

When Ravjaa returned from the Alasha Prince's New Year party, his wagon stopped at a strange place where he began to recite the Vajra Dagger mantra. Nearby, he found some old abandoned caves. Leaving behind a few of his students, he went into a retreat to meditate on the boar-faced female deity Vajra Varahi.<sup>39</sup> But a message suddenly arrived from the Janjya Khutuktu that he should immediately go back to the Gobi. The *Namthar* provides no further detail, but we are again left with the impression that the Janjya Khutuktu was warning him of an enemy plot.

In the following Rabbit Year (1843), Ravjaa returned to the mountains near Alasha to clean out some old caves at a place called Ukhai Jargalant, where he discovered an old image of Padmasambhava.<sup>40</sup> Continuing his exploration he arrives at "a place in the direction of the West" where he discovered another 'self-arisen' (T.: *rang byung*) image of Padmasambhava. He reported this to the Panchen Lama, who confirmed that "in that rocky cave, Padmasambhava dwells in that stone image. He is indeed alive and self-manifested." The Panchen Lama then composed a rite for the consecration of that image (*Namthar* folio 12b).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See Sperling (1987: 33) concerning Alasha's connections to the dakini Vajra Varahi went back to the time of the Tangut kings who were patrons of the Karma Kargyu sect. The first Karmapa Dusum Khenpa (T.: *Dus gsum mkhyen pa*, 1110–1193), dispatched his disciple Tsang pa Kunchog Senge (T.: *Gtsang po pa Dkon mchog seng ge*, d. 1218–1219) to the mountains of Alashan to meditate on Vajra Varahi and serve as lama to king of Tanguts.

<sup>40</sup> See Charleux (2002:174–75), where according to the contemporary oral foundation legends of the site, Padmasambhava consecrated the cave complex with his five female dakini consorts. His student called Zandari is said to have established a yogic lineage which continued into the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with a certain Khanchin Pandita, who is said to have welcomed the Fourth Gobi Noyon Khutuktu to the cave hermitage in 1798.

<sup>41</sup> ...*Baruun zügiin gazraa shavi nar zarch khuchirsan aguin shoroog avakhuulan ranjun bütsen Lobonrinbuchi met negniig olj takhisan el uchryg gargan Banchin erdeniin gegeenee ailtgasand gegeentnees terkhüü neesen aguin khadan-dor ööröö büt-sen bodtoi Lobonrinbuchi chuluun dürtel orshson bui khemeen mörgön takhilyn soljid zokhion khairlasan ene ni ülemj adistidtai chukhal gaikhamshigtai shüteen khe-meemüi...* (*Namthar* folio 12b).



## THE FINAL YEARS

In the Monkey Year (1845) the Janjya Khutuktu passed away and Ravjaa buried his ashes at the temple of Galab Hiide in the Gobi. Without his chief mentor and protector, Ravjaa now became, more than ever, vulnerable to his enemies. From this point his *Namthar*, becomes fragmentary. One gets the impression that Ravjaa is always moving, never staying in one place for too long.

In the Rat Year (1852) some commanders of the Tusheet Khan principality request him to perform rituals to avert warfare between soldiers of 'North' and 'South'. Later a similar request comes from the commanders of the Tsetsen Khan banners, asking him to calm wild omens and enemies. In the third month of the Ox Year 1853, Ravjaa returns home where he 'opens' the path to Shambhala. In the same year he is invited to Janjin Beise in the Tsetsen Khan principality to perform fierce rites to repel enemies.

In the Rabbit Year (1855) he goes to stay with one of his teachers, Drakri Damtsig Dorje (T.: Brag ri Dam tshig rdo rje grags pa dpal, 1781–1855), on the Onon River. He then conducts a ceremony to raise the 'life force' (M.: *süld*) of the Tusheet Khan, advising him to replace the gold finial crown on the monastery of Erdenezuu.

In the following year 1856, when Ravjaa is in his 53rd year, he sets out towards a place called Serchiin Maidar in the South Gobi, where he writes, "I started feeling worse and worse and I gave my will and final commandments to Dadishuur, (his primary consort)". Ravjaa passes away shortly after. Oral tradition in the Gobi maintains that Ravjaa was seduced and poisoned by a female assassin on the Qing payroll. Realising that he had been poisoned by his own lover, Ravjaa sat down to compose a long, somewhat cynical last poem called *Ertönts Avgain Jam Khemeekh Orshiv* (Endon 1992: 171–78).

And so, the controversial career of the Fifth Gobi Noyon Khutuktu drew to an end amid accusations of foul play and poisoning. The Qing decided to exert more control over the next Gobi Noyon, Lobsang Dampay Gyaltsen (1855–1875), keeping him in Beijing for the better part of his life, and sending him back to the Gobi with an entourage of Manchu attendants. But the Sixth Gobi Noyon Khutuktu, (sometimes remembered as the 'pseudo'-Noyon by the Mongols), and his Manchu entourage seem to have acted to dismantle Danzan Ravjaa's legacy, by effectively shutting down the Moon Cuckoo opera. The young Sixth

Gobi Noyon, however, was himself soon found dead amid mysterious circumstances.

It was now the turn of the Mongols to choose the Seventh and last incarnation of the Gobi Noyon Khutuktu, Lobsang Dampay Gyaltzen (1875–1931). Under his stewardship, the Moon Cuckoo opera was rehabilitated and continued to perform until the communist purges of the 1930's, when over 700 monasteries in the Mongolian People's Republic, including Ravjaa's were destroyed. The Seventh Gobi Noyon was arrested and subsequently executed.

### CONCLUSION

Today as we try to piece together the pre-revolutionary history of Mongolian Buddhism we can only rely on the texts. Ravjaa's autobiography offers a glimpse into this past, into a world where things were not what they seemed: A world where the Earlier Traditions of the Red Hat Nyingmapa sect flourished at the heart of the 'reformed' Yellow Church. Who would have ever guessed that Dolonuur, was the centre of a Vajra Dagger cult? And that Emperor's own preceptor the Janjya Khutuktu, about whom we know virtually nothing about, was the person giving these teachings to a banned incarnation, whose discovery, incidentally, was masterminded by the Panchen Lama in connivance with the Shangzodva of Jehol, who were both secretly acting against the Qing Emperor's explicit command?

The history of Mongolian Buddhism, when seen from the remote hinterlands of the Gobi, seems to be one where troublesome incarnations like Taranatha, the dethroned Sixth Dalai Lama, the Desi Sangye Gyatso and the Noyon Hutuktu take rebirth. Their legacy had a profound influence on Mongol religious life and the spread of the Earlier Traditions of the Red schools within the heart of the reformed Yellow Church.

Ravjaa's life story also attests to the apparent contradiction running through the Tibetan orthodox establishment, where the sacred tantric teachings speak of a higher view (where enlightened beings are supposed to slay evil beings, and adepts of the Highest Yoga Tantras are often required to take sexual consorts to realise the nature of their mind) but in terms of actual conduct people who practice these teachings fall into a lower view geared towards ordinary passions and polit-

ical survival (where people sometimes became a monk not necessarily out of virtue but out of the desire to secure a job in the government).

Problems of course always arose when lay aristocrats, with tantric initiations were appointed to these posts. The Tibetan Desi Sangye Gyatso and the Sixth Dalai Lama were cases in point. The Mongol Zanabazar was not exactly an exemplary model of Yellow Hat orthodoxy either. Despite Qing attempts to steer the subsequent incarnations of the Jetsun Dampa into a celibate and scholastic Gelugpa mould, they frequently displayed non-conventional behaviour, with the result that they became the loneliest and most misunderstood of all Mongol incarnations. We find a reminder of this fact is an open letter composed by the Ninth Jetsun Dampa in which he chides his countrymen for misunderstanding his outward behaviour, such as throwing his enemies into a dungeon and lavishly spending to build a temple where he reputedly engaged in tantric sexual yoga with multiple consorts.

He cites the examples of Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo, who was the incarnation of Avalokiteshvara, but killed many people, and Lelung Pelgyi Dorje, a monk who murdered the evil Tibetan king Lang Darma, as well as many other examples drawn from the biographies of the great Indian Mahasiddhas like Krishnacarya and Tilopa—both guilty of committing actions unfitting of the monastic vow but which ultimately produced merit and benefit for sentient beings (Sarkozi 1992: 110).

Besides the discrepancy between higher tantric view and action, Ravjaa's career also underscores the contradiction between the constricting vision of an earthly Qing empire and the tribal sentiments of his Khalkha countrymen; a contradiction which he exploited in the numerous political innuendos in his opera, the Moon Cuckoo. Ravjaa's career sheds light onto a Yellow Hat Gelugpa sect caught in a geo-political impasse, during a time when the Qing were trying to promote their own vision of the faith. It was a time when the construction of political opposition between Yellow and Red sects, perhaps became a politically expedient way to define the Gelugpa sect in opposition to all the others.

The implications of Ravjaa's Red Hat spiritual orientation, I argue, were not just a moral debate—about breaking monastic vows, drinking and taking sexual consorts—it was also political, one that played into Mongol tribal aspirations during a time when the Qing were actively disempowering them and usurping their traditional role as religious kings. It was also about a larger contest of authority between a Yellow

Church following a closed canon, financed to a large extent, by the Qing political mainstream, and the open 'treasure' tradition of the Nyingmapa lamas operating outside of the received canon.

Little is still known about how the 'treasure' tradition was adapted to the Mongolian context. Ravjaa seems to have been the first Khalkha lama to develop this tradition within and beyond the boundaries of modern Outer Mongolia. His own revelations, centring on the charnel ground practice of 'Chod', for example, soon became the principle tradition of the genre in Mongolia, and are still practiced to this very day by a community of religious devotees near the ruins of his temple in the Gobi.

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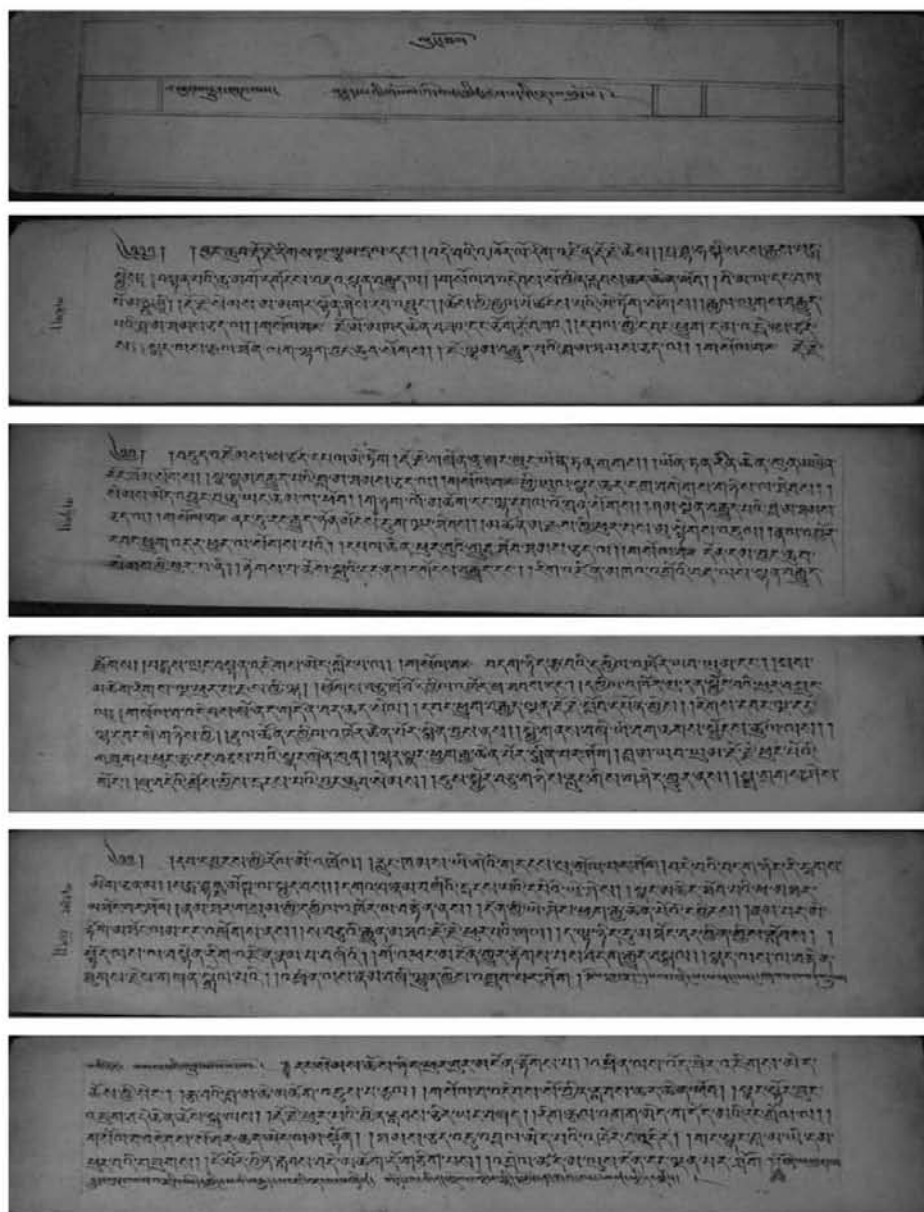
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Plate 1: Thangka depicting Danzan Ravjaa's spiritual lineage  
(courtesy of the Ravjaa Museum, Sainshand)





## ON THE SO-CALLED SECRET BIOGRAPHY OF TSHANG DBYANGS RGYA MTSO

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Due to the peculiar legends surrounding the life and mystery of Blo bzang rin chen tshang dbyangs rgya mtso, or the Sixth Dalai Lama, people from within and outside academic circles have been trying to find a complete and reliable record of him, especially one relating to the experiences in the latter part of his life. The main issue of contention is whether the Sixth Dalai Lama died in Kokonuur in 1706 or whether he managed to escape and, after various adventures, reached Alasha in Western Inner Mongolia where he lived until 1746 and established a system of reincarnations that has lasted up to the present day (Jalsan 2002: 347–59). Some Chinese and Tibetan sources support the first version of the events (Petech 1972: 17), but there is a biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama that strongly supports the second. Even though Michael Aris (1989) devoted a detailed study to this issue and came to the conclusion that the identities of two different lamas were merged in the description of the life of the Sixth Dalai Lama, I believe that more research needs to be done in order to be able to achieve convincing results.<sup>1</sup> There are numerous different versions of the biography, but none has been universally accepted as the authentic account. Here I would like to introduce one version of the biography, hitherto unknown to the public beyond Mongolia, and suggest that this is the veritable biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama; it is an early version of what became later known as the secret biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama.

The biography is entitled *Thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang chos drags rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar ba phul du byung ba'i mdzad pa bzang po'i gtam snyan lha'i tam bu ra'i rgyud kyi sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzugs so* (*The Biography of the All-knowing Ngag dbang chos drags rgya mtsho—the Enchanting story of his most*

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Aris's conclusion is based on his study of a copy of the Lhasa block-print and remains to be attested by looking at more historical sources and at living traditions of Alasha.

*virtuous deeds, a melody from the divine lute*), and it is known by its shorter title *Biography of Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho* or *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*. The biography was written by Ngag dbang lhun grub dar rgyas (religious name: Lha btsun dar rgyas no mon han), a high lama from the Mongolian banner of Alasha. Living in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ngag dbang lhun grub dar rgyas was also known as Lhun grub dar rgyas and was recognised as the reincarnation of the Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho within the Alasha Buddhist circles. According to the biography and to the Alasha tradition the author of the biography had been recognised as the reincarnation of the Tibetan regent when he arrived in Alasha and in his turn had recognised the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai Lama, the Öndör Gegeen Blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho.<sup>2</sup> This latter became the head of the Baruun Heid monastery as well as of a number of other monasteries in the region and later recognised the reincarnation of Ngag dbang lhun grub dar rgyas, the reincarnation of the Tibetan regent. A short poem attached to the biography called *Sku gong ma'i rnam thar gsol 'debs kyi tsigs su bcad pa byin brlabs kun 'byung* (the all blessing verses of the prayer concerning the life of the previous incarnations) written by Öndör Gegeen is explicit in this respect:

Revered Ngag dbang, you were found and met,  
 You, the great disciple possessed  
 The fate of being reborn as the regent i (*sde srid*).  
 I present my respect to your wisdom.

This tradition has continued at the Baruun Heid monastery in Alasha up to the present day: when I was a child I was recognised by the Tenth Panchen Lama as the incarnation of the Fifth Lamatan of Baruun Heid, i.e. the current reincarnation of Ngag dbang lhun grub dar rgyas who was the reincarnation of Sde srid Sang rgyas rgya mtsho. I have dealt with the history of the reincarnation line elsewhere (Jalsan 2002); here I shall focus on the biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama.

The biography was published as a block-print in 1757 at Baruun Heid (mentioned as DGA' ldan bstan rgyas gling in the biography) by Lha btsun dar rgyas no mon han (*alias* Ngag dbang lhun grub dar rgyas)

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Dar rgyas no mon han recognised the next reincarnation Blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho is also mentioned in a 19<sup>th</sup> century history of Amdo, *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Dkon mcog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 132). After the death of the Sixth Dalai Lama his body was placed in a stupa at Baruun Heid where it was preserved and worshipped until it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

one year after the completion of the monastery. It was then distributed among the monasteries in Alasha. This first edition had a total of 128 pages (with the first and last pages counting as one), measuring 9 cm by 36.5 cm and 6.5 cm by 3 cm within its frame.

This biography is mentioned as *Dar rgyas no mon han gyi Tshang dbyangs pa'i rnam thar* (*The Biography of Tshang dbyangs by Dar rgyas no mon han*) in Dkon mcog bstan pa rab rgyas's book *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Dkon mcog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 9). In this 19<sup>th</sup> century work the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* by Dar rgyas no mon han is listed together with the biographies of the Fifth and the Seventh Dalai Lamas among the sources of the book. The details of the Sixth Dalai Lama described in Dam chos 'byung's (Dhar ma ta la) *Dam chos rgya mtsho hor chos 'byung* are consistent with what is written in the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*.<sup>3</sup> *The Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* was first translated into Mongolian in 1919. The translator was the Buryat Mongol Dge legs rgya mtsho rdo rams pa, but the quality of the translation is not particularly high.<sup>4</sup>

As far as I know, the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* is the only authentic biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama. However, most people did not realise that it was the biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama because he is mentioned with names that are different from the commonly known Sixth Dalai Lama's names. As explained in the biography Ngag dbang chos drags rgya mtsho was, in fact, the Sixth Dalai Lama's pseudonym.

It seems that the Tibetans in Central Tibet became fully aware of the existence of the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* only in the early twentieth century. A well-established tradition of Alasha claims that the Fifth Sde srid hu thog thu Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1871–1944) presented a copy of the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama sometime in the early twentieth century. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, after reading it, was full of praise and ordered copies to be

<sup>3</sup> See the Mongolian version translated and published by He Choimbul (1966: 222–37).

<sup>4</sup> *Mongol uran zohiolyn deejis* (Collected Mongolian Literature) published in 1998 in Ulaanbaatar, vol. 33, 218–70. Mongolian-language works based on the rewritings of Dar rgyas no mon han's *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, Tshangs dbyang rgya mtsho's coming to Alasha, and on the history of the dissemination of Buddhism in the area, can be found in the library of Baruun Heid monastery and at the library of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Science.

made in Lhasa. The Lhasa wood-block version contained corrections to some printing errors found in the Baruun Heid version and it became the basis for the biography that was widely disseminated, and which was later published and printed in other languages. There is no doubt, however, that the Baruun Heid wood-block edition is the earliest version and fortunately at least one copy is still preserved. It remains unclear whether the Tibetans in Central Tibet had known the work prior to the publication of the Lhasa wood-block version. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama later sent a copy of the new Lhasa version of the Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama back to the Baruun Heid monastery, through a scholar called Phul 'byung rdo ram pa, where it remained until the Cultural Revolution when it was destroyed. We are now fortunate to have the Lhasa version of the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* accessible in its later editions published in Lhasa and Beijing in 1981 and in its Chinese and Mongolian translations published in Beijing in 1989 and 1996, respectively (Jalsan (ed.) 1999).

The *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* is an account of the life of a great Living Buddha; it is redolent with religious flavour and rich writing which describes the connections between deeds and fate, the manifestations of cultivating one's inner outlook and the omens and forebodings for future events. The writer employs a style that is typical for a high lama in structuring his writing, quoting scriptures and alternating between poetry and prose. As a biography of an individual, the events described are relatively concise and complete, the times and places are clear and accurate and the events and people are largely verifiable. The narrative seems to give an accurate account of concrete life experiences rather than representing a visionary celebration of a religious personality. This text can therefore be considered a reasonably reliable source.

According to this biography, during the period from his departure from Kokonuur in 1707 until his death in Alasha in 1746, the Sixth Dalai Lama had been known in Alasha and in Amdo under the name of Dwags po bla ma or Dwags po zhabs drung. The Sixth Dalai Lama is also called Kun grol gong ma in works such as *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Dkon mcog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 131). According to the biography, after the death of the Sixth Dalai Lama, Lha btsun Dar rgyas no mon han, the author of the work, confirmed Blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho as the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai Lama who then had such

titles as Dwags po ho thog thu and Kun grol no mon han conferred on him.<sup>5</sup> For this reason people call his predecessor Kun grol gong ma (the All-liberating Superior Being).

At present, a comparative research is yet to be carried out on the Baruun Heid wood-block edition and the Lhasa wood-block edition. The Lhasa wood-block edition has been made accessible through its publication as a modern book and I referred to it when I was editing a new Mongolian translation of the biography. At that time I realised that a systematic comparative study of the different versions that are circulating would be important because there are many discrepancies among them. Here are just a few examples from the first chapter of the different editions:

(a) In the Baruun Heid version, the two characters for *rgya mtsho* are included in the full title. These seem to have been omitted in the Beijing Nationalities Press edition where the full title is given as: *Thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang chos grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar ba phul du byung ba'i mdzad pa bzang po'i gtam snyan lha'i tam bu ra'i rgyud kyi sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*.

(b) The text of the first poem in the Beijing Nationalities Press edition has the second and third lines transposed. I believe the order in the Baruun Heid monastery edition is more accurate as it is more coherent.

(c) A comparison between the Baruun Heid monastery edition and the Beijing Nationalities Press edition shows that two characters are lost from each line of the opening poem, namely the two words *rdzogs pa* following *tshogs gnyis* in the first line, *gyi ni* following *'od zer* in the second line, *bka' drim* before *gsum ldan* in the third line, and *phun tshogs* before *dge legs* in the fourth line.

(d) In the Beijing Nationalities Press Tibetan version, the name of a Mongolian person is transliterated as *Ar pa si lang*. In the Baruun Heid monastery version, the name is given in the most accurate way as *Ar sa lang* (lion).

(e) In a passage of poetry in the first chapter of the Baruun Heid monastery edition, the word *ma ta'i* is written but in the Beijing Nationalities Press Tibetan version the word has been corrected to *ma de'i* (page 19). In fact *ma ta'i* means 'mother' in Sanskrit and there is no obvious need to amend this since it is perfectly meaningful in that context.

<sup>5</sup> *Blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar gsol debs*, Xylographical edition of Baruun Heid. For the picture of Dwags po ho thog thu's seal, see Cholmon (1996: 78). For the picture of Kun grol no mon han's seal, see Jalsan (2003: 114).



Much more important is the fact that the back and top of each page of the Lhasa edition contain the words “[*Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho'i*] *gsang rnam*”, i.e. the secret biography of Tshang dbyang rgya mtsho. These words do not appear in the Baruun Heid monastery edition. Instead, it has astrological figures to mark the page numbers. This discrepancy is worth careful attention as it is, I believe, the reason why the book has become known as a ‘secret biography’. Let me explain:

When the wood-blocks of the Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama were made in Lhasa, the words ‘secret biography’ (*gsang rnam*) were put at the margin of each page. The addition of one or two words in itself is not surprising as it was customary to put an abbreviated title of the scripture at the margin of a scroll. However, this abbreviated title was generally to be found as a phrase within the work’s full title. It is very remarkable indeed that not only are the words ‘secret biography’ not included in the full title of the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* but neither can they be found anywhere in the entire book. The phrase “the three secret undertakings” (*gsang gsum gyi mdzad pa*) appears occasionally in the book, but as anyone with only a passing knowledge of Buddhism knows, this refers to an extremely common concept and has no relevance to the title of the book. The very idea of ‘secret’ seems largely absent from the biography.

Let me cite an interesting story to emphasise my point: One of Tsong kha pa’s disciples, Bkra shis dpal ldan, wrote a hymn titled *Gsang ba'i rnam thar* (secret biography) which was an ode of the secret biography. The Fifth Dalai Lama said the hymn is not a “secret biography” but a “public biography” and wrote another hymn with the title of *Mi 'gyur mchog grub ma* (unchangeable excellent realisation). We can easily understand what the Buddhist ‘secret cause’ is if we compare the following two corresponding paragraphs from the two hymns:

Comparison one:

1. Bkra shis dpal ldan (*Gsang ba'i rnam thar*): “His Majesty [Tsong kha pa] has been taught from the age of seven by Vajrapani and Atisha, who are present all the time and who master the principles of Tantra and Paramita”.
2. The Fifth Dalai Lama (*Mi 'gyur mchog grub ma*): “[Tsong kha pa], together with many Buddhas, accomplished the undertakings of the three secrets. But for his greatness, it is not proper to say that some Panditas and Masters were present then [while he accomplished the great cause]”.

Comparison two:

1. Bkra shis dpal ldan (*Gsang ba'i rnam thar*): "[Tsong kha pa] saw Sakyamuni, Master of heaven and of the human beings, and the Buddha of Medicine, as being among those around him. Your majesty [Tsong kha ba] was the holy Master of the Dharma".
2. The Fifth Dalai Lama (*Mi 'gyur mchog grub ma*): "whereas [Tsong kha pa] controlled the knowledge to realise the Mandala, some say that His Majesty was blessed by the Buddhas. This eulogy for His Majesty is improper".

Comparing these two sets of comparison we can see that the 'secret', as Bkra shis dpal ldan writes, refers to the mystical fact that Tsong kha ba himself saw those Buddhas. The 'secret' therefore is that Tsong kha pa reincarnated in the form of a human being. We can conclude that there are different levels of understanding of what 'secret' means among Buddhists and that these are related to mystical experiences.

In any case there is no reason why the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* should be erroneously entitled the "secret biography". In accordance with its original version, it would be reasonable that we now avoid calling it the "secret biography" of the Sixth Dalai Lama. This is not merely to correct the title according to Dar rgyas no mon han's original of the *Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama* but it could also help to avoid misleading research and dispel people's muddled thinking that there was something mystical or visionary about this account of the life of the Sixth Dalai Lama.

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## SUMPA KHENPO ISHIBALJUR: A GREAT FIGURE IN MONGOLIAN AND TIBETAN CULTURES

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The cultural and political relations between Mongolians and Tibetans that were developed in the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century, during the time of Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen and Lama Phagpa, were powerfully revived after a period of decline in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of Althan Khan and Sonam Gyatsho. The Mongolian areas then experienced a great spread of Buddhism and many Mongolian scholars acquired notable expertise in Tibetan Buddhism and in the forms of learning that were developed within that framework such as the 'ten sciences' (*rig gnas bcu*). These scholars were writing in Tibetan and made a considerable contribution to both Tibetan and Mongolian cultures. The 18<sup>th</sup> century scholar Ishibaljur (Tib.: Yeshe Paljor), who was born in the Kokonuur region and was also known as Sumpa Khenpo, became particularly famous. Not only a prominent religious figure, he was also renowned for his competence in medicine, literature and many other spheres of knowledge. The eight volumes of his collected works are particularly important for both Tibetan and Mongolian studies. In addition, he has become a very significant figure in the revival of Mongolian culture that has been taking place in many Mongolian areas of China since the 1980s.

Over the centuries the Kokonuur region has been inhabited by a variety of different peoples: Mongolians, Tibetans, Hui, Han, and so on. Since Ishibaljur was writing in Tibetan there has been some confusion about his ethnic origin. Often he has been considered from the point of view of the Tibetan scholarly tradition without taking into account his origin. However, some scholars have noted his Mongolian identity. Lokesh Chandra described him as a Monguor or Tsagan Mongol (Lokesh Chandra 1960). Heissig identified him as a Mongolian and underlined how thanks to his work some important elements of Mongolian historiography entered the Tibetan scholarly tradition (Heissig 1959: 161–62). Ishibaljur was indeed a scholar of Tibetan Buddhism who was invited to the Qing court and in many ways he rep-

resented the interface between Tibetan and Mongolian cultures. This was happening at a time in which the Manchu had become “the rulers of Mongolia, Tibet and China” (*hor rgya bod gyi bdag po*), which in Ishibaljur’s words and in other sources of the time appeared as a coherent political entity. Some scholars pointed out that in his historical writings Ishibaljur tended to reflect the point of view of the empire and to underplay the existence of a Mongolian and Tibetan opposition to the imperial rule (de Jong 1967). A closer examination of his autobiography shows, however, how delicate his position was and will enable us to achieve a further understanding of his personal attitude. In brief, Ishibaljur seems to have embodied the ambiguities of Tibetan-Mongolian identity in a striking way: he was born in a Mongolian family but was recognised as the reincarnation of a Tibetan lama and was operating within the multi-ethnic network of the Qing Empire.

Notwithstanding his shifting and multiple identities, origin and ethnicity were very important indeed to Ishibaljur as he stated in his autobiography:

As far as ‘race’ (*rigs*) and ancestral bones (*rus*) are concerned, if one doesn’t know one’s own lineage of origin (*skyes brgyud*) from the accounts of ancient Tibet, one is like a jungle monkey; if one doesn’t know one’s own maternal kinship (*cho ’brang*), one seems to have appeared all of a sudden like a thunder<sup>1</sup> (autobiography folio 9b).

In his autobiography, Ishibaljur gave a detailed description of his birthplace in the Kokonuur area, of the region’s Mongolian leadership and of his family. He was born in a place called Tholi that was located between the mountain range of Machen Pomra and the Yellow River—currently in Maqin county, Guoluo (Golok) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. Ishibaljur links his homeland with the epic hero Gesar using the classic scheme of the countries of the four directions: to the immediate south was Tibet, to the east was China, further to the south was India and the Muslims, to the west the land called Tagzig and to the north the land of Gesar (*Khrom Ge sar*). His father

descended from a Mongolian ruling family (*taiji*) and belonged to the Baatud people, one of the four Oirat (*O’ rod tsho bzhi*). He was called Dorje Tashi, had a very good character, had a great competence in Tibetan language and liked to celebrate rituals and perform meritorious deeds.

<sup>1</sup> *rigs dang rus ni gna’ dus kyi bod gtam las rang gi skyes brgyud ma shes na nags kyi spre’u dang ’dra cho ’brang ma shes na g.yu ’brug thol ma dang ’dra //*

His mother was

Tashitsho who belonged to the Jungar, was very kind and liked to help everyone. His maternal uncle descended from Jungar chiefs<sup>2</sup>... (autobiography folio 10a)

The autobiography continues describing the excellent qualities of his parents and tells us that they were neither a particularly wealthy nor a particularly poor family and that he had three brothers and two sisters.

Ishibaljur's autobiography is a very comprehensive work counting 294 folios with the title: *Mkhan po e rte ni pandi tar grags pa'i spyod tshul brjod pa sgra 'dzin bcud zhes bya ba*. The autobiography was written by Ishibaljur towards the end of his life upon the requests of his disciples. The last reference that we find written by Ishibaljur himself refers to celebrations that were organised in his honour when he attained the age of 85 (autobiography folio 237a), shortly before his death in 1788; the autobiography was put together and completed by two of his disciples mentioned as Bi Leg thu Chos rje Blo bsang dge legs and Dar han e mchi Dge legs bsam grub. This work provides us with a wealth of information concerning not only the histories of Mongolia, Tibet and China but also with many detailed descriptions of life in 18<sup>th</sup> century Kokonuur. Even though Ishibaljur was a staunch supporter of the Gelugpa who generally did not pay much attention to local cults and worldly customs, he went to some length to describe local protecting deities, cults, local leaders and the like in his work. He also showed great pride in his Mongolian origin and referred to Chinggis Khan and Gushri Khan while mentioning the great ancestry of his homeland, the Kokonuur region, and particularly enhanced the profile of his Mongolian people, the Baatud.<sup>3</sup> As the incarnation of a Tibetan lama, however, he defined himself even more in the terms that are inherent to Tibetan Buddhism and described in detail the process by which he was recognised as the reincarnation of Sumpa Khenpo. Ultimately he became famous as Yeshe Paljor (Mon.: Ishibaljur), by using the Buddhist name he received when he took his *gelong* vows.

<sup>2</sup> *cho 'brang shes pa'i cho yang zhang po ju'un gwar dpon rigs //*

<sup>3</sup> The Baatud tribe belonged to the Oirat and was particularly strong from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, after suffering continuous attacks from the Jungar, the Baatud declined (Ge Lijai 1995) and by the 17<sup>th</sup> century they were mostly absorbed by the Hoshuud and Torgut in the Kokonuur (Gabang Shirab 1982). As a descendant of the Baatud, however, Ishibaljur argued that his tribe was not declining and was still famous.



As a child Ishibaljur had been taught Tibetan language and writing by his father and by a Mongolian lama who took care of his religious training and let him practice meditation in a cave. Afterwards Ishibaljur was recognised as the reincarnation of the Tibetan Lama Sumpa Shabdrung Lobsang Tembe Gyaltsen who had been the head of the Gonlung Jampaling (Ch.: You ning si) monastery, which was located to the north of Xining—currently in Huzhu Autonomous County of Tuzu nationality. The omniscient Jamyang Shepa Dorje (*alias* Ngawang Tsonдру) and the second Chankya Ngawang Lobsang Choden took care of the process of identification (autobiography folio 4b–5a; 12a–14a). In his autobiography Ishibaljur commented on how his parents had never heard of the Gonlung monastery or Sumpa Khenpo before and he described how he felt intimidated, being just a small child, in being appointed to such a high and prestigious position. As far as the name Sumpa is concerned he highlighted how this was an ancient clan name—one of the ancient eighteen ancestral Tibetan clans—and explained that the descendants of the *khyung* bird had arrived from Central Tibet (autobiography folio 7a). Because of his identification as Sumpa Khenpo and the relevant link to the prestigious Tibetan ancestry, Ishibaljur has been sometimes mistakenly considered a Tibetan by birth. In fact, Tibetan was the reincarnation he was identified with not his family of origin.

At the age of seven, after the completion of the process of identification, he took the *genyen* vows from Tarshu Lupon Chokyang Gyatsho (Thar shus dpon slob chos skyong rgya mtsho) and received the name Lobsang Chokyang. In the following year he visited Tsongkhapa's birthplace and the Kumbum monastery and was deeply impressed by the great sea of belief. In the following years he resided at Gonlung and dedicated himself to his religious and scholarly training and at the age of thirteen he took the *getsul* vows from the great Lama Chusang Ngawang Thubten Wangchuk. In 1723 he went to Tibet to get further training.<sup>4</sup> He reached the Tashilhunpo monastery in Tsang where he took the *gelong* vows from the Fifth Panchen Lama Lobsang Yeshe. He was then given the name Yeshe Paljor that can be written in Mongolian in several different ways: Ishibaljur, Ishibaljir, Yesibaljur, Ishibaljuur.

<sup>4</sup> As this was the time of the great turmoil in the Kokonuur region, during which numerous monasteries were destroyed as a consequence of the Manchu suppression of Lobsandanjin's revolt (cf. also Bulag 2002: 32), Ishibaljur departure is likely to have had more reasons than just his religious training.

This is the name under which he became famous. Afterwards he went to Lhasa where he stayed at the Drepung Monastery and became the disciple of Khenchen Lama Ngawang Namkha, Rabjampa Jamyang Gyatsho in the monastic college called Goman Tratsang. At that time, he became particularly skilled in philosophy debates. In 1726 he participated in many debates and was given the title *lingse kabchu* (*gling bsre'i bka' bcu*). There he studied sutras and tantras with Ngawang Chogden, Kongpo Kanjurba Choje Rinchen, Shamar Sherab Gyatsho, Gomang Lama Semnyi Dampa and so on. He studied the science of words (*sgra rig pa*) with Prati Geshe Ngawang Chophel and his disciple Dzomokharba Monlam Lhundrub, Tibetan grammar with Kumbumpa Mithung Sonam Gyaltshe, medical science with Menrampa Nyima Gyaltshe, the skill of making images with Gyume Dragpa Lhundrub, and skills concerning Indian and Chinese calendrical computations (*rtsis dkar nag*) from Sogampa Ngawang Gyatsho. He became proficient in all sciences and in 1729 he started to compose written works.

After his studies in Tibet, in 1731 Ishibaljur came back to Gonlung, his monastery in Kokonuur. In 1737 he went to Beijing and met the Qianlong Emperor and the Chankya Hutugtu. The emperor appointed him master of the Doloon Nuur monastery and he resided there for some three years. During this time he established good relations with Mongolian and Manchu leaders. In 1739 he returned to his monastery where he built some extensions and had a big new statue of the Buddha made. In 1742 he was invited again to Beijing. This time, however, he did not feel very well in the capital, "the earth and the water were not suitable (*sa chu mi 'phrod*)", and he soon left. He described how leaving the capital he felt like a wild animal regaining freedom after having been caged; he shed tears of joy and wondered whether he would ever return there in this or in the next life. He bluntly commented:

All forms of being under others' power is suffering, all freedom is peace of mind—it is said—and peace of mind is mind's felicity<sup>5</sup> (autobiography folio 101b).

He spent many years travelling to Hesigten, Abaga, Ordos, Tumed, Alasha and other Mongolian areas in order to do missionary works. He received the title of *erdeni paṇḍita* and a seal from the Qing court and

<sup>5</sup> *gzhen dbang thams cad sdug bsngal yin, rang dbang thams cad bde ba yin zhes ba dang bde ba'i mchog ni sems skyid pa //*

was engaged in many political and religious activities before 1788 when he died at the great age of 85.<sup>6</sup> He died in one of the hermitages called Lunkar (*Lung dkar ri khrod*) in the vicinity of the Gonglung monastery where he spent the last years of his life.

Ishibaljur seems to epitomise the Mongolian-Tibetan interface both culturally and politically. While inscribing himself into the world of Tibetan Buddhism that ultimately entailed the disappearance of ethnic divides among Buddhists, he paid great attention to the political and social world that surrounded him, especially from a Mongolian point of view. Even though he was a scholar operating within the framework of the multi-ethnic Qing Empire, he apparently refused to be completely subservient to imperial authority and was jealous of his freedom. He also did not fail to mention, albeit scantily, many twists and turns of the Mongolian, Tibetan, Manchu relationship (autobiography folio 26–28), including the destruction the Manchu caused in Kokonuur in 1723 and 1724 after they had defeated the Mongols who had opposed them.<sup>7</sup> Occasional remarks in his autobiography give the sense of the constraints he felt, even though his autobiographical writing is definitely focused on religious themes rather than on political ones.

Ishibaljur's writings were organised in eight volumes that are mentioned in the autobiography as being like the eight Tibetan auspicious symbols (*bkra shis rtags rgyad*) (autobiography folio 239a). These works have become a standard reference for Tibetan and Mongolian scholars and, more recently, for international researchers specialising in the history of Inner Asia.

Ishibaljur's works were first published, as block-prints, in 1788, in eight volumes at the Gonglung monastery in Kokonuur and were later re-published in Usutu-in Baruun Joo, Hohhot. The man in charge of carving the blocks was a Mongolian from the Ordos area called Gushri Lobsang Konchog (*Gu shri blo bsang dkon mchog*). The table of contents (*dkar chag*) of the volumes is contained in the eighth volume. The scholar Altangerel, in his *Theory of Mongolian Literature Written in Tibet*, translated the work into Mongolian and Damdinsureng quoted him in his *Concise History of Mongolian Literature* (Damdinsureng and Chengdū 1982). In brief, the first volume is dedicated to the histo-

<sup>6</sup> According to western reckoning he died at the age of 84.

<sup>7</sup> *chu yos lor rgya nag dang mtsho sngon gyi sog po'i sde gzar chen pos o'i rod pham ste lo de dang shing 'brug la dgon sde sgrub sde mang po gtor //* (folio 27b).

ry of Buddhism in India, China, Tibet and Mongolia; the second volume contains ten works concerning linguistics, history, philosophy and so on; the third volume contains twelve works concerning Buddhist theory, rituals and songs; the fourth volume contains nineteen works concerning the theory of the 'secret vehicles', art, religious rites and so on; the fifth and sixth volumes contain works concerning rules and ritual practices of Buddhism, such as *Rgyal ba'i gsung rab thams cad gyi man ngag gi snying po rnam par bsdus pa chos spyod nor bu'i phreng ba and chos spyod nyung bsdus skal bzang thar lam*; the seventh volume contains nineteen works concerning medical science, mathematics, theory of literature and religious rites; the eighth volume contains several works concerning Buddhist laws and regulations, a miscellanea of questions and answers and Ishibaljur's own autobiography.

Here I will neither provide a systematic list of his works, nor enumerate the relevant translations, which have already been dealt with by international scholars (e.g. de Jong 1967: 208–16); rather, I wish to draw attention to some particular features of Ishibaljur's work that seem to me particularly significant.

Ishibaljur was a very learned historian indeed. In particular his '*Phags yul rgya nag chen po bod dang sog yul du dam pa'i chos 'byung tshul dpag bsam ljon bzang zhes bya ba* became a standard work of reference for international scholars working on Inner Asia.<sup>8</sup> In this text he provides an outline of the origin of Buddhism in India, the different Buddhist schools of thought and the transmission of Buddhism into China, Tibet and Mongolia. In 1993 this work was published in Mongolian by the People's Publishing House of Inner Mongolia. In addition, he also wrote a text that dealt specifically with the Kokonuur region called *Mtsho sngon lo rgyus tshangs glu gsar snyan*. In this text he describes not only the history of the area but also many geographical features such as mountains, pools, rivers, and plants with great emotion. Ishibaljur's texts are therefore particularly significant for anyone involved in the research on Mongolian and Tibetan cultural history of the Kokonuur area.

Ishibaljur was also a famous doctor and a great expert of medical science. He healed many patients and wrote five texts such as the *Gso dpyad bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun gyi cha lag las lag len nyung bsdus bdud rtsi zil dkar* and the *Gso dpyad bdud rtsi'i cha rgyun gyi chu lag nang*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. for example Petech 1988: 201ff.

*tshan gyi sman so sovi mngon brjod dang ngos 'dzin shel dkar me long* concerning medical science. When he was young Ishibaljur had learned Tibetan and Mongolian medical science and had become proficient also in the ancient Indian medical classics. In time he accumulated a wealth of experience in the treatment of endemic diseases of the Mongolian area (Jigmed 1985). In this way he achieved his original systematic medical knowledge and was able to write his five works on medicine that became classics of Mongolian medicine.

Ishibaljur was also interested in mathematics and astronomical calculations. He studied with the famous Mongolian scholar Sugramba Agwangjamso. Lungdug, a specialist of astronomy residing at the Siramuren temple, explained to me that Ishibaljur had spent fourteen years making sky observations. He would sleep outside to look at the movements of the constellations (*rgyu skar*). Ishibaljur also had a particular interest in the many time-reckoning systems that could be found in the Kokonuur area and in the differences between them. He devoted some interesting passages to this issue in his work on various "questions and answers".<sup>9</sup> Ishibaljur's works such as the *Rtsis kyi bstan kun gsal me long gi bu gzhung zla bsil rtsi sbyor dge ldan rtsis gсар* became very important reference texts for those Mongolian and Tibetan scholars who study calendars. Ishibaljur was also very interested in the customs of his people, the Oirat Mongols. His *O rod phyogs su dar ba'i lug gi sog pa la blta ba'i mo phyas sgyu ma'i lung ston* is an interesting text for any research on Mongolian customs.

Ishibaljur was proficient in the Tibetan and Sanskrit languages and did a great deal of research on these subjects. His expertise can be discerned in the works he authored since these are written in a very clear and characteristic style. In addition, he wrote a significant number of specific works on poetry and on how the language of poetry could be used in philosophy, in historiography, in prayers, in biographies, in opening and ending works. He wrote important works such as the *Mi'i chos lugs kyi bstan bcos me tog phreng mdzes* that were collected in the volume of philosophic poetry *Mgur khu byug ngag snyan sogs*. He contributed significantly to letting the genre of philosophic poetry, which

<sup>9</sup> *A mdo'I yul rgya rtsis dang bstun pa la mi 'grig pa mang du yod pa'I rgyu mtshan ni / skar rtsis khyi zla re'I chad lhag rang rang thang du bron pa'I lo re'I dus gzer bzhi dang zla re'I tshes brgyad nyer gsum la zla kyil phyed pa dang bco lnga la nya gang sogs mig mthong dang ji bzhin 'grig cin... //* (folio 79a of the text *Nang don tha nyed rig gzhung las dog pa 'ga zhig dris len gcig tu btus pa rab dkar pa sangs rgyu skar nyes bya ba*).



had come from India to Tibet, enter Mongolian literature. This kind of philosophic poetry aimed at the propagation of the nature of the Dharma and became an important aspect of Mongolian literature. Ishibaljur also carried out a great deal of research into the Mirror of Poetry (Kavyadarsa; Skt.: *kāvyâdarśaṇ*), the foundational work for Indo-Tibetan poetics written by the Indian scholar Dandin in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, he was interested in various kinds of secular writing such as letters and he devoted great attention to letter writing as a form of literary composition. In order to expand the understanding of literature as a subject of investigation he wrote a work called *Yig bskur sogs kyi rnam gzhag blo gsar dgav ston sgo 'byed*. He discussed the theory and practice of literature in a very systematic way so that eventually his works became very important for the theory of Mongolian literature. More generally he made a great contribution to the use of rhetoric in the methods of refutation concerning all branches of knowledge he dealt with (Rinchingawa 1990). However, Ishibaljur was not only an expert on literature but was also a poet and a literary author in his own right: his autobiography is a seminal work in Mongolian biographical writing.

Ishibaljur was also the first scholar who developed historical research concerning the Gesar epic. He tried to identify Gesar, his country and his deeds with actual historical places and events. In his autobiography he used the classic mythological schemes usually associated with Gesar; however he also explained how Gesar had been transformed from an historical figure into a territorial deity (*gzhi bdag*) and a literary figure. He observed also that lineages of descendants from King Gesar did still exist during his time (autobiography folio 6a). Ishibaljur devoted a specific text to questions raised by the Gesar epic. This work is called *Nang don tha snyad rig gnas kyi gzhung gi dogs gnad 'ga' zhing dris pa'i lan phyogs gcig tu bris pa rab dkar pa sangs*.

Ishibaljur's works were all written in Tibetan even though they contained many Mongolian expressions. His first work to be fully translated into Mongolian seems to have been his history of Buddhism in India, China, Tibet and Mongolia '*Phags yul rgya nag chen po bod dang sog yul du dam pa'i chos 'byung tshul dpag bsam ljon bzang zhes bya ba*. An early copy of this translation is kept at the Library of Inner Mongolia in Hohhot. From its style we can deduce that the translation and the block-prints probably date from the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Later, a number of other works were translated into Mongolian and



other languages. In the 1950s his works on Tibetan medicine were translated from Tibetan into Mongolian by the Mongolian scholar Jampal Shonnu. This undertaking was carried out in the Shilingol Research Centre for Mongolian Medicine of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and was part of a programme to support Mongolian nationality culture.

Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there has been an increasing interest on the part of international scholars in Ishibaljur's work (cf. de Jong 1967). Recently certain aspects of his work have been the focus of particular scholarly attention. For example in summer 2001, Eric Mortensen, a student from Harvard University, presented a paper on divination techniques at the International Conference of Tibetology held at Beijing. He translated and interpreted Ishibaljur's work called *O rod phyogs su dar bavi lug gi sog pa la blta bavi mo phyas sgyu ma'i lung ston* (Mortensen 2001: 26–33).<sup>10</sup>

Since the 1980s there has been a new impetus in developing Mongolian and Tibetan studies in China. In this framework many Mongolian and Tibetan classical works were reprinted and some important works that were compiled in Tibetan were translated into Mongolian. For example, in the 1980s *The Annals of Kokonor* were translated into Chinese and then into Mongolian. In general, however, we saw the tendency towards the development of Tibetan and Mongolian Studies as discrete domains. Because Ishibaljur wrote in Tibetan, some of his works were given little attention in Mongolian studies for many years due to the language problem. When I wrote my doctoral thesis in 2002 I undertook some of the work that had been neglected and produced a work with the title: Translating, explaining and criticising Ishibaljur's two articles about 'poetic mirror'—*Snyan ngag me long las bshad pavi rgyan rnam kyî dper brjod rgyu skar phreng mdzes dang ming gi mngon brjod nyung bsdus tsandana manivi do shal'* and *Ttshig rgyan nyug bsdus snyan ngag 'jug sgo*.<sup>11</sup> In my thesis I made an annotated translation from Tibetan into Mongolian of Ishibaljur's works on the Poetic Mirror. In addition I made a broader analysis of Ishibaljur's work on Indo-Tibetan literature and discussed his use of language ornaments (Tib.: *rgyan*; Mon.: *cimegs*).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This paper was published in *Zhongguo Zangxue* (China's Tibetan Studies) and interpreted Ishibaljur's work on divination by using a sheep shoulder blade.

<sup>11</sup> The original title of the thesis in Mongolian is: *Ishibaljur-un johistu ayalgu-in üliḡer ügülehiü hoyar jüil-i orchigulju tailburilaju shigümjilehü ni*.

Recently, in Inner Mongolia Ishibaljur has been celebrated as a great scholar of Mongolian nationality. In 1987 the Inner Mongolia College for Mongolian Medicine put up a statue of Ishibaljur in the college campus; in addition an Ishibaljur Award for Mongolian Medicine was established to reward scholars who accomplished great achievements in the field of Mongolian medicine. In 2001 an international conference of Mongolian Medicine was held in Hohhot by the Department of Public Health of Inner Mongolia and China's Society for National Minorities Traditional Medicines. The organisers of the conference declared that they had established the Ishibaljur Golden Cup Award (Mon.: *Ishibaljur-un altan hundag*; Ch.: *Yixi bajue jin bei jiang*) that would reward excellent achievements in the field of international research in Mongolian medicine.

Ishibaljur is not just a great scholar of the past: he is very much part of the living present of Mongolian and Tibetan cultures. It is therefore not only important to explore and understand who he was and what he produced, but it is also essential to understand his legacy for contemporary Mongolian and Tibetan nationalities' culture.

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<sup>12</sup> On the broader debate on Ishibaljur among scholars of Mongolian and Tibetan literature cf. Agwanggeligjamiyangjamsu (1992); Burinbehi (1991); Gereltu (1998); Ding Shupu and Yang Enhong (2001); Rinchingaba (1990); Ulji (1996).

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# མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་མཆོད་ཁོངས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

## སྐལ་བཟང་དར་བྱས།

མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་ནི་མཚོ་སྔོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཤར་ལྷོ་དང་། མདོ་དབྱས་མཐོ་སྒང་གི་བྱང་ཤར། མ་  
རྩ་བྱུག་པ་དགུ་ལྷན་གྱི་བྱུག་པ་དང་པོའི་ལྷོ་རྒྱུད་དུ་གནས། ༡༩༣༧ལོར་རང་སྤྱོད་རྫོང་བཙུགས་  
ཤིང་། འདི་ལ་ཤར་ལྷ་དང་གྲིན་གཅིག་ཡོད།<sup>1</sup> མི་རིགས་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་སོག་པོ་དང་། བོད།  
བྱ་རྩལ་རིགས། རྟོར་རིགས། ས་ལར་རིགས་བཅས་འདུས་ཤིང་། རྫོང་ཡོངས་སུ་མི་  
གངས་ཉིས་ཁྲི་ལྷ་སྟོང་བརྒྱུད་དང་ཉིར་གཅིག་ཡོད། དེའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་སོག་རིགས་ཉིས་ཁྲི་ཉིས་སྟོང་  
བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་བདུན་ཡོད་པས། སྤྱི་འི་མི་གངས་གྱི་བརྒྱ་ཆ་དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་གཅིག་དང་  
གངས་རྒྱུད་བཙོ་ལྷ་ཟིན་ལ། འདི་ནི་ཡུགས་ལས་རྒྱུད་པ་གཉིར་བའི་རྫོང་ཞིང་ཡིན།

འདིའི་སོག་པོ་ལ་མཚོན་ན་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་དམག་སྟོད་གནས་  
ཆགས་གྱིས་གཞི་བཙུགས་ནས་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་པར་བྱ་མེད་ཚོ་པ་  
དང་ཨོ་རོད་ཚོ་པའི་༩ཨོ་རོད་ཚོ་པའི་ནང་དུ་རྟོ་ཤོད་ཚོ་པ་དང་ཐོར་གྲོད་ཚོ་པ་བཅས་ཁག་གཉིས་སུ་  
འདུ་༽རྩ་སྟེ་སྒོར་ཞིག་མཆོད་འོང་སྟེ་ད་ལྟའི་སོག་རྫོང་འདིའི་རྒྱུད་ཆགས་པ་རེད། སོག་པོའི་རྩ་བ་  
འདི་དག་གནས་དེར་མ་ཐོན་སྔོན་གྱི་དུས་ལུན་རིང་པོ་ཞིག་གི་རིང་ལ་གནས་སྒོར་དང་འཕོ་འགྱུར་རབ་  
དང་རིམ་པ་ཞིག་བརྒྱུད་པས། གཤམ་ནས་འདི་སྒོར་རྒྱུད་ཅམ་དཔྱད་བྱུག་གྱི་ལས་ལ་ཞུགས་པ་ལ།

གཅིག་ རྒྱལ་རབས་རིམ་བུར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་འཕོ་འགྲུ།

དེ་ཡང་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་འདི་ནི་ཆིང་ཉན་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་ ལྷ་ལོ་༢༢༠ལོའི་ཡར་སྤོན་ ལྷ་ལོ་ལྷ་  
ཆང་དང་། རྫོང་འབྲོག་ཁུལ་དུ་གཏོགས་ཤིང་། ད་དུང་མཚོ་སྤོན་ཤར་ཁུལ་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས་  
པ་དང་ལྷན་ཉན་རྒྱལ་རབས་སུ་འདྲ་གཏོགས་པར་བྱས། བྱ་ཅིན་ལྷོ་བུར་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་

སྐབས་ ལྷ་ལོ་༢༢༠ནས་༣༧བར་ ལྷ་ལོ་འོ་རྩུང་ཁུལ་དུ་གནས་པའི་ཞན་པ་མའོ་རོང་ཚོ་ཁག་གི་  
ཡན་ལག་ཞིག་ལྷོ་འཁྱའི་རུ་བ་ཁག་དེར་གི་ཀན་སུའུ་དང་། མཚོ་སྤོན་གྱི་མཐའ་མཚམས་སུ་

བསྐྱེད་པ་གང་དེའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས། ཐང་ཐེ་ཙོང་གི་ན་གོན་ཁྲི་ལོ་དགུ་པ་ ལྷ་ལོ་

ལོ་༤༣༣ ལྷ་ལོ་འཁྱའི་ཞིང་པེན་རྩན་མང་མའོ་རོང་སྤོན་གྱིས་ཐང་ལ་མགོ་བཏགས་ནས། དེར་གི་  
མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་འདི་ནི་ཐང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཁག་གི་འཁྱའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་གནས་ཤིང་། དེ་

ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་བྱ་སྤོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་བྱས། ཐང་བུའུ་ཙོང་ཁྲང་ཁྲི་ལོ་གཉིས་པར་ ལྷ་ལོ་

ལོ་༤༧ ལྷ་ལོ་སྤོད་ཀྱི་བཅན་པོ་གྲང་དར་མའི་སྐབས་སུ་བོད་སིལ་བུར་ཐོར་བ་ན། དེར་གི་མ་ལྷོ་  
སོག་རྫོང་གི་ཡུལ་འདི་ནི་བྱ་སྤོད་ཀྱི་རུ་བ་ཁག་གི་པན་རྩན་ཙོད་རེས་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ་ཆགས་ནས་བསྐྱེད།

རྒྱལ་རབས་ལྷ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བཅུ་ཡི་སྐབས་ ལྷ་ལོ་༡༠༧ནས་༡༠༨བར་ ལྷ་ལོ་སྤོད་དང་། འ་

ཞ། ཉང་ཞང་།ཆང་བཅས་པས་རང་རང་ས་ནས་སྤོབས་ལྷགས་རེ་བཟུང་སྟེ་གཅིག་འོག་གཅིག་  
ལའང་མི་འདུ་བའི་རྩལ་དུ་གནས་པས། དེར་གི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་འདི་རུ་གཞིས་ཆགས་པའི་ཚོ་བ་

ཁག་ཀྱང་རང་སྤྱང་རང་སྤྱོད་གི་རྩལ་དུ་གནས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། སུང་ཡོན་སྐབས་ ལྷ་ལོ་༡༠༨ནས་

༡༢༤༤བར་ ཀྱི་སུང་བུར་མའི་གིན་ཙོང་ཉ་ཀྱང་ཞང་ཁྲི་ལོ་བརྒྱེད་པ་ ལྷ་ལོ་༡༠༧ ལྷ་ལོ་

རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ནས་༡༩༧༩་བར་། གྱིས་དེང་གི་མཆོ་སྤྱོད་ཞིང་ཆེན་པོ་ཨན་ཚེང་ཙོང་ཁའི་  
 རྒྱུད་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་གྱིས་གནས་སྤྱིད་དབང་བཅུགས་ཏེ། ཙོང་རྒྱལ་འབབ་རྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་མཆོ་སྤྱོད་དར་  
 ཀན་སུའུ་ཡི་ཡུལ་ཁག་སྒྲོར་ཞིང་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་བཅུད་པ་ན། དེང་གི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚེང་འདི་ཉིད་  
 གྲང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ལོ་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་བྱས། སུང་བྱང་མའི་གྱི་ཙོང་ཙོ་ཞིན་ཁྲི་ལོ་བཞི་པར་། སྤྱི་ལོ་  
 ༡༩༧༧། རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ནང་ཁུལ་འཁྲུགས་ཤིང་། སུང་དམག་གིས་དེ་ཉིད་གཏོར་ཕམ་བཏང་བས་  
 མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚེང་འདི་ནི་གྲང་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལ་གཏོགས་པར་བྱས། སུང་ལྷོ་མ་གོ་ཚུང་ཙོ་ཞིན་ཁྲི་  
 ལོ་དང་པོ་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༧། ལ་ཉི་གེན་སྤྱིད་དབང་གིས་མཆོ་སྤྱོད་མ་རྒྱལ་ལྷོ་རྒྱུད་བཟུང་བ་ན།  
 དེང་གི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚེང་འདི་ནི་ཙོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་བྱས་ཏེ་ལོ་དགུ་བཅུ་ཙམ་འགོར།  
 ཅན་སུང་ལི་ཙོང་པོ་ཆེན་ཁྲི་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་སོག་རྒྱལ་ཐེ་ཙོང་ཁྲི་ལོ་ཉེར་གཉིས་པར་། སྤྱི་  
 ལོ་༡༩༨༧། ཉོར་ཇིང་གིས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཙོང་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་སྤངས་ཏེ་དུ་གིག་ཅེས་པ་  
 བཅུགས་པས། དེང་གི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚེང་འདི་ཉིད་སོག་རྒྱལ་དུ་གཏོགས་པ་བཅས་སོ།<sup>2</sup>

གཉིས། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པར་བྱ་མེད་དར་ཐོལ་ཞེས་པ་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚེང་དུ་མཆེད་  
 པའི་སྒྲོར།

དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པར་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚེང་གི་གནས་འདིར་སོག་པོ་མཆེད་འོང་བའི་སྒྲོར་ལ།  
 སོག་ཚེང་འདིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་། དེབ་ཐེར་མེས་པོའི་ཞལ་ལུང་། དུ། སྤྱི་ལོ་འདི་༡༩༧༧ལོར། སུང་  
 ཁི་རྒྱལ་པོས་དུ་པི་ལིས་དམག་བཅས་ལྷུང་ཡུལ་དུ་བཏང་ནས་དམག་འཁྲུག་བརྒྱབ་སྤྱོད་དབང་བསྐྱར་



བྱས། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༧༧ལོར་མོང་གོལ་དམག་གིས་ཕྱོགས་གསུམ་བཤོས་ནས་སུང་ལ་ཁྲོལ་བ་བྱས།  
 ལམ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་རྟ་པི་ལིས་ཁྲོལ་བ་དང་། ལམ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་ཅེ་གི་དང་། ཀོང་  
 ཞི་བརྒྱད་དེ་རྩ་བུ་ནས་དུ་འཛུལ། ཡང་ལམ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་དམག་ཆེན་གྱིས་སི་ཁྲོན་ལ་ཁྲོལ་བ་  
 བྱས་པས་སྐབས་དེར་རྒྱལ་ཁ་མ་ལོན་གྲང་ནས་སུང་དམག་གི་སྟོབས་ལུགས་ཏུ་ཅང་ཟད་པར་བྱས་ལ།  
 སི་ཁྲོན་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཆེར་ཁྲོལ་གྱི་ལམ་ཕྱིས་པར་གྱུར་།དེ་དུས་མཚོ་སྔོན་ཕྱོ་ཕྱོགས་མ་ཚུ་ཁྲག་པའི་ས་  
 ཕྱོགས་འདིར་དམག་གི་རྩ་པ་སྟོད་པའི་ས་ཆོགས་འཛིན་པར་བྱ་མེད་དར་ཕྱེའི་རུ་བ་རྣམས་བྱུང་བ་དེ་  
 མོང་གོལ་གྱི་རུ་བ་འདིར་བྱུང་བ་དང་པོ་ཡིན། དེའི་དུས་ནས་བཟུང་ད་ལྟའི་སྔོན་གྱི་དུས་རབས་  
 བརྒྱད་པའི་བར་ལ་སོག་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲེ་ཆོ་དུ་མ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། ཁྲད་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་ནི།  
 དར་ཕྱོ་ཨ་པུ་ཏིས་བྱ་མེད། བར་གི་སུ་ཕུ་རུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲེ་རྣམས་བྱུང་བར་དེབ་ཐེར་ཟེའོག་རིས་  
 མར་བཀོད་ཡོད།<sup>3</sup> ཅས་དང་། ༡༩༤༧ལོར་བཏོན་པའི་༽མ་ཕྱོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་༽སྤྱི་  
 སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༧༧ལོ་༽ནས་སུང་པོ་ཡུག་ཁྲི་ལོ་ལྔ་བ་༽ལ། སོག་དམག་ལམ་བུ་གསུམ་དུ་བྱས་ནས་  
 སུང་ཕྱོ་མར་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས། བྱ་མེད་བྱ་དར་ཕྱེའི་རུ་བ་ཀན་སུའུ་ཕྱོ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཕྱོ་ཁྲག་འཛུལ་ད་  
 དུང་མཛོད་དག་སྤྱིང་༽དེང་གི་ཀན་སུའུ་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་མ་ཚུ་རྫོང་དང་༽སི་ཁྲོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་མཛོད་དག་  
 རྫོང་༽ དེང་གི་མ་ཕྱོ་སོག་རིགས་རང་སྤྱོད་རྫོང་གི་ཕྱོ་ཕྱོགས་བཅས་ཡིན་༽གི་ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་ཆས་  
 མཁོ་སྟོད་དང་༽རྗེས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས། བཤོད་ལམ་བཅས་ལ་སྤྱང་འགན་བུ་བའི་འཇམ་མོ་  
 དང་རྩ་ར་ཚུགས། རྗེས་སུ་དེ་དག་གི་ཁྲོད་ནས་སྒོར་ཞིག་གནས་དེ་རུ་གཏན་འཇགས་བྱས་ནས་  
 བསྟན་པས། མ་ཕྱོ་སོག་རྫོང་གནས་དེར་ཡོང་བའི་སོག་མའི་རུ་བ་རུ་གྱུར་བ་རེད།<sup>4</sup> ཅས་  
 གསལ། ཡང་རྗེས་སུ་༡༩༩༦ལོར་བཏོན་པའི་༽མ་ཕྱོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་༽སྤྱི་ དུས་  
 རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་དུས་དཀྱིལ་དུ། སོག་པོ་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཞན་ཅོང་ཁྲི་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་༽སྤྱི་

ལོ་༡༢༡༣༥ ལ། ཏུ་པི་ལིས་སོག་དམག་ཁྲིད་ནས་དམག་ལམ་གསུམ་དུ་ཕྱིས་ནས་འཛང་ཡུལ་  
 ལ་དམག་འབྱེད་སྐབས། སོག་པོའི་བྱ་མེད་དང་སྒོ་རུ་བའི་དམག་དང་མཉམ་དུ་སྒོ་རུ་བསྐྱོད་པ་དང་།  
 ད་དུང་དེང་གི་ཀན་སུཅུ་ཞིང་ཆེན་མ་རྒྱ་རྫོང་དང་སོག་རྫོང་གི་སྒོ་ཁྲུལ་དུ་བབྱོད་ལམ་དང་། དམག་  
 ཆས། རྩིས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་འགན་ལེན་བྱ་བའི་འཇམ་ལམ་དང་རྟ་ར་བཅས་ཚུགས་ཤིང་།  
 དམག་འབྲུག་གི་རྩིས་སུ་རུ་བའི་འབངས་མི་སྐོར་ཞིག་གཏན་སྡོད་བྱས་པའི་ན། དེ་ནི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་  
 རྫོང་འདྲི་སོག་རིགས་ཐོག་མར་གྱུར་བ་རེད།<sup>5</sup> ཅེས་དང་། རྒྱ་མཚོ་སྡོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཨ་པོ་ད་  
 རིགས་དང་སོག་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྟག་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་ ཅེས་པར། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༡༧ལོའི་  
 ལོ་སྟོན་དུ་འཛིང་ཡུལ་ལ་དམག་བརྒྱབ་ནས་འཛིན་དམག་གཏོར་ཏེ་འཛིང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དེ་ཉིད་ཙུ་  
 གཏོར་དུ་བཏང་བ་རེད། སུཅུ་ལིང་རྟ་ཐེ་ཡུན་ནན་སུང་བར་ཤུལ་དུ་བཞག་པ་དང་ཏུ་པི་ལིས་  
 དམག་ཁྲིད་དེ་བྱས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཕྱིར་ཕྱོགས་ལམ་བར་དུ་བྱ་བྲོད་ཀྱི་རུ་ཚོ་སྐོར་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བཏུད།  
 སྐབས་དེར་དར་ལྗོངས་རུ་བ་བཀའ་བཞེན་སྡོན་དུ་འོང་སྟེ་མཛོད་དག་གྲིང་རྒྱ་ཞིས་ཆེན་རི་བོའི་རྩེ་  
 རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དུ་རྟ་རྩ་དང་འཇམ་ལམ་བཙུགས་ཏེ་མཁོ་སྟོན་གྱི་འགན་ཁུར་བ་དང་། དམག་འབྲུག་བརྒྱབ་ཆར་  
 རྩིས་དར་ལྗོངས་རུ་བའི་སྐོར་ཞིག་ས་དེ་ག་ནས་གཞིས་ཆགས་པས། དེ་ནི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རིགས་རང་  
 རྫོང་རྫོང་གི་གཞི་རུ་ཐངས་དང་པོར་ཐོན་པའི་སོག་པོའི་རུ་བ་ཡིན་<sup>6</sup> ཅེས་དང་། ཡང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
 སྡོན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཟེན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྟུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༡༣ལོར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་པོར་ཉན་གྱི་བྱི་ལོ་གསུམ་  
 པ་ཀྱི་ཏུ་པི་ལིས་དཔྱད་ཆེན་ཡུན་ནན་ལ་བཏེགས། ཀྱི་དེང་གི་མཚོ་སྡོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་ནི་  
 དཔྱད་ཆེན་པོའི་བརྒྱུད་འབྱེད་ས་ཚོགས་སུ་གྱུར་བ་རེད་<sup>7</sup> ཅེས་པའོ། དེ་བཞིན་འཛང་ཡུལ་དུ་  
 དམག་བྱངས་པའི་ལོ་ཚོགས་དང་། ད་དུང་དེ་དུས་དམག་ལམ་ཁག་གསུམ་དུ་བྱས་པའི་བརྒྱུད་

ལམ་ཅུང་གསལ་ཁ་ཆེ་བཞིག་ ཀྱང་གོའི་དུས་རབས་ཤིས་བྱུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ། ཅེས་པར་འཁོད་  
 རིགས་འདིར་བྲངས་པ་ལ། དེ་རྩ་བྱི་ལོ་༡༢༡༢ལོའི་སྟོན་ཀར་མོང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་རྟེན་  
 ལིས་འཇང་ཡུལ་ལ་དམག་བྲངས་ཤིང་། བུའུ་ལིང་རྩ་བེ་ཡིས་དམག་དོན་གྱི་ཚོང་རྩུ་ཡི་འགན་  
 བྲངས། སེ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དམག་ཆེན་མོ་དེ་ཉིད་་་་༡༢༡༣ལོའི་ཟླ་བརྒྱད་པར་ལེན་ཐོང་དང་གི་ཀན་  
 སུའུ་ལེན་ཐོ་ ། རྩ་འཇུལ། ཟླ་ལཔར་ཐེ་ལ་ ། རྩ་དང་གི་ཀན་སུའུ་ཐེ་ཐོ་རྫོང་དང་སི་ཁྲོན་མཛོད་དགོ་  
 རྫོང་གི་འབྲས་མདོའི་རྩ་ལ་མདོ་ཡིན་ ། རྩ་འཇུལ། ཐེ་ལ་ནས་དམག་ཆེན་མོ་ལམ་ཁག་གསུམ་དུ་  
 བྱས་ནས་བསྐྱོད། དེ་ལ་སེ་ཆེན་གྱིས་དམག་ལམ་དབུས་མའི་དམག་སྡེ་བྲིད་ལ། བུའུ་ལིང་རྩ་  
 ཐེ་ཡིས་རུབ་ལམ་གྱི་དམག་གི་སྡེ་བྲིད། བུའུ་ལིང་རྩ་ཐེ་ཡིས་ཐེ་ལ་རུབ་ལྗེའི་མཆོམས་ནས་སི་ཁྲོན་  
 ར་བའི་རྩ་ཐང་དང་། དེང་གི་དཀར་མཛོས་ལྗོ་སྤྲད་གྱི་འབའ་ལི་ཐང་། དེ་ནས་རུབ་ལྗེའི་  
 མཆོམས་སུ་བསྐྱོད་དེ་འཇང་ཡུལ་དུ་འཇུལ། དེང་གི་དཀར་མཛོས་ལྗོ་སྤྲད་གྱི་འབའ་ལི་ཐང་།  
 ཆོས་བཅོ་ལྔ་པར་བུའུ་ལིང་རྩ་ཐེ་ཡིས་སེ་ཆེན་དང་བྱང་འབྲེལ་འགྲུ་འཇང་ཡུལ་གཏོར།<sup>8</sup>

དེས་ན་གོང་འཕྲོས་ཡིག་ཆ་དག་གཞི་བྱས་ཏེ་བསྟར་ན། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པར་  
 མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་འདི་རྩ་མཆོད་འོང་བའི་རྩ་བ་འདིའི་མིང་གི་བརྫོང་དོན་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་སྟོན་ན་དར་ཕྱོང་མ་གྱི་  
 མེད་དར་ཕྱོ་ཅེས་སུ་གྲགས་ཤིང་། ༡༩༤༡ལོར་བཏོན་པའི་ ། མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ། སུ་ཐུ་  
 མེད་ཐུ་དར་ཕྱོ་ཅེས་སུ་མེད་ཆོ་བའི་རྩ་བ་ལ་གོ་བ་བྲངས་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་བཞིན་༡༩༩༦ལོར་བཏོན་

པའི་ ། མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ། སུ་འང་ཐུ་མེད་ ། ་་་་ ། ཅེས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་ཐོག་ནས་ཐུ་མེད་ཐུ་ལ་  
 གོ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་བཀོད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཐུ་མེད་ཐུ་ཆོ་ཁག་གང་ནི་ཐུ་མེད་ཆོ་ཁག་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཞེས་  
 ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཇེས་གྱི་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཆོ་ཁག་ཅིག་ཡིན་པས་གོ་འཛོལ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པར་  
 སྤང་། དེ་བཞིན་མ་ལྷོ་རྫོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ། དེ་བཟེར་མེས་པོའི་ཞལ་ལུང་ ། རང་དུ་འང་ཐུ་མེད་དར་

མོ་ཞེས་སུ་བཀོད་ཡོད་ལ། དེའི་ལུང་འབྲེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་བྱུང་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་ནི་དར་མོ་  
ཨ་ཕ་ཏེས་བྱ་མེད། བར་གི་སུ་ཕུ་རུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྡེ་ན་མས་བྱུང་བར་༼དེ་བ་ཐེར་བཅའོག་རིས་  
མར་༽བཀོད་ཡོད་ཅེས་པ་སྟེ། འདི་ལས་བྱ་མེད་དར་མོ་འདིའི་དངོས་གཞི་ནི་དར་མོ་ཨ་ཕ་ཏེས་  
བྱ་མེད་ཡིན་པར་སྒྲུང་ལ། ཡང་འདིའི་བྱ་མེད་འདི་ནི་སོག་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཁྱི་སྐག་གི་དོན་གྱི་བྱ་མན་ལྟ་བུའི་  
གོ་དོན་གྱིས་ཁྱི་དཔོན་དར་མོ་ཨ་ཕ་ཏེས་ཞེས་ཁྱི་དཔོན་གང་དེས་འཇམ་མོ་དང་རྟ་ར་རྩྭ་གས་པ་ཞིག་  
ཡིན་སྟེ་ཡང་ཁ་ཚོན་གཅོད་དཀའ་ལོ། དེ་བཞིན་དར་མོ་ཨ་ཕ་ཏེས་བྱ་མེད་ཀྱི་རུ་བའི་འཇམ་མོ་  
དང་རྟ་ར་རྩྭ་གས་པའི་ལོ་ཚོགས་དང་དེ་རྩྭ་གས་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་སྟོས་ན། ལོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ནས་  
གོང་འཕྲོས།

༼རྒྱུང་གོའི་དུས་རབས་རིམ་བུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་༽སུ་བཀོད་པ་ལྟར། སེ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་  
དམག་ཆེན་མོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༡༥ལོའི་རྒྱུ་པར་ལེན་ཐོ་༼དང་གི་ཀན་སུའུ་ལེན་ཐོ་༽རུ་འཇུག་ལ། རྒྱ་  
ལཔར་ཐེ་ལ་༼དང་གིས་ན་སུའུ་ཐེ་བོ་རྫོང་དང་སི་ཁྲོན་མཛོད་དགོ་རྫོང་གི་འབྲེས་མདའི་རྒྱ་ལ་མདོ་  
ཡིན་༽རུ་བྱིན། ཐེ་ལ་ནས་དམག་ཆེན་མོ་ཁག་གསུམ་དུ་བྱས་ནས་བསྐྱོད་པར་གསལ་བ་འདི་ཉིད་  
དོན་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་། དེ་དང་མཐུན་པར་འཇམ་མོ་དང་རྟ་ར་རྩྭ་གས་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་རུང་མི་  
མཐུན་པ་འགའ་མཆིས་ཏེ། དེ་ལ་མ་རྩ་རྩྭ་གས་པའི་ས་ཕྱོགས་ཅེས་པ་དང་གཅིག་ དང་གི་ཀན་  
སུའུ་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་མ་རྩ་རྫོང་དང་། སི་ཁྲོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་མཛོད་དགོ་རྫོང་། མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལྷོ་  
ཕྱོགས་བཅས་ལ་གོ་བ་དང་གཉིས། མཛོད་དགོ་སྤིང་ཞེས་པ་ཀན་སུའུ་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་མ་རྩ་རྫོང་དང་  
སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལྷོ་ཁུལ་དུ་འདོད་པ་དེ་ལ་བྱ་བ་དང་གསུམ། ཡང་མཛོད་དགོ་སྤིང་ཅེས་པ་ཞེས་ཆེན་རི་  
པོའི་རྩ་རྩྭ་དུ་གོ་བར་བྱ་བ་དང་བཞི་བཅས་ཡིན། འདི་དག་བཞི་པོ་དང་གོང་གི་༼རྒྱུང་གོའི་དུས་  
རབས་རིམ་བུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་༽སུ་འཁོད་རིགས་ལས་མཐོང་བྱུང་པ་ནི་དེ་དུས་ཀྱི་སོག་པོའི་རྟ་ར་དང་

འཇམ་ལམ་རྒྱགས་ཡུལ་ནི་དང་གི་ཀན་སུའུ་ཐེ་ཐོ་རྫོང་དང་སི་ཁྲོན་མཛོད་དག་རྫོང་གི་འབྲེས་མདོའི་ཏུ་  
ལ་མདོ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་སྒྲུང་ལ། རྗེས་སུ་དར་ཐོ་ཨ་ཕུ་ཏིས་སྤུ་མེད་ཀྱི་རུ་བ་དག་སི་ཁྲོན་མཛོད་དག་  
ནས་མ་རྒྱུའི་མཛོད་དག་བརྒྱུད། མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ཞིས་ཆེན་རི་པོ་སྤེ་ཨ་ཕུ་སྤུ་རྫོང་། སྤུ་རྫོང་ཅེས་  
པ་སོག་སྐད་དེ་རིའི་རྩེར་རྩུ་མེད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་ཀྱི་གི་ཕྱོགས་སོ་སོར་མཆེད་འོང་བ་ཞིག་མཐོང་ངོ།།

གསུམ། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་དུས་དཀྱིལ་དུ་སྤུ་མེད་སོག་པོ་མཆེད་འོང་རྒྱལ།

དེ་ཡང་སོག་པོ་ཅམ་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉེར་གཅིག་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ།  
རྫོང་གིར་རམ་ཆང་གི་སའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྒྱུད་པ་པོར་ཅི་གོན་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཕུ་སྤུར་སྤུང་ཁེ་ཏུ་ཡན་ཏན་

ཉིད་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༧༧ནས་༡༨༡༧བར་། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་ལོ་རབས་བཞི་བཅུའི་དུས་དཀྱིལ་  
དུ་འདས་པ་ན། གང་དེའི་བུ་ཆེ་བ་སྤུ་ལོད་པོ་ལོད་སྤུ་ཡིས་གདུང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་བཟུང་།  
འོན་ཀྱང་བུ་ཆ་གཞན་དག་གིས་ནི་གསལ་དུ་ཁྲིའི་མངའ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་རྗེས་སུ་ཡི་རངས་མ་བྱས་པར།  
རང་རང་སོ་སོའི་སྤྱིར་དབང་སྤྱད་དེ་སོག་རྒྱལ་ཉིད་ཀྱང་མིང་སྤོང་ཅམ་དུ་བྱད་པར་བྱས་པ་ན།  
སོག་ཡུལ་ཁག་གི་བཀའ་བཀོད་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་རྣམས་སིལ་བྱར་ཐོར་བའི་རྣམ་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཆགས།  
དེ་བཞིན་འདི་འབྲེའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཞིག་གི་འོག་ནས་ཨ་ལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་པོ་གང་ཉིད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་མི་སྤྱི་ཞིག་ཏུ་  
ཆག་པ་རེད། དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤུ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་ཕུ་སྤུར་སྤུང་ཁེ་ཏུ་ཡན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤུ་བཅུ་གཅིག་གི་  
གསུམ་པ་བར་སྤུ་པོ་ལོད་ཀྱིས་གདུང་རྒྱུད། སྤུ་མེད་ཆོ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དཔོན་པོ་ཨ་ལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་  
པོ་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༨༠༧ནས་༡༨༤༢བར་། འདིས་ནི་ཐ་ལམ་གྱི་ཐང་ཆེན་མོའི་སྤོ་བྱང་ཁག་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱས་  
ཏི་སོག་ཡུལ་དང་ཀྱང་ཡོན་བར་གྱི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་ལམ་དང་བརྗེ་རེས། ནང་སོག་གི་ཡུལ་  
ཁག་འགའི་སྤྱི་ཆོགས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས། ནང་བསྐྱར་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་དར་བ་

བཅས་ལ་སྐྱལ་སྤེལ་གྱིས་བྱས་ཆེས་སྒྲ་ན་མེད་པ་འཛོག་གནང་མཛད་པ་རེད། བར་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ་  
 ཡལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཚུགས་གཅིག་ནས་ལོ་ནས་ལོ་བར་གཡུལ་བྱས་པས། མངའ་ཁོངས་དག་  
 གིས་གཡུལ་ལ་སྤྱན་སྤང་སྐྱིས་པའི་རྣམ་པ་རྩེད་མཛོད་པར་གསལ་བས་ན། དེ་ལ་བསམ་སྒྲུབ་  
 དག་ཆས་གསར་པ་ཞིག་གིས་མངའ་འབངས་ཞོད་འཇགས་སུ་གཏོང་བའི་དགོས་དབང་དང་།  
 ཚུགས་གཞན་ཞིག་ནས་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱིས་རང་ཉིད་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་ལས་སྤྱུགས་པའི་གནོན་ཤྲགས་འོག་  
 མཆོ་སྤྲོན་དང་བོད་ལྗོངས་ནས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གོ་སྐབས་བཅའ་ནས། བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་བར་  
 ལ་སྤར་བས་འབྲེལ་བ་བཏོད་པའི་དགོས་དབང་གིས་ངེས་བསྐྱེད་ཐོབ།དེ་བས་ཁྱུ་ལྟ་ཁྱུ་ཐེ་ཅིར་ཆེན་  
 ཏུར་ཐའི་ཇི་ཡི་ལྷ་འབྲུལ་དང་དུ་སྤངས་ཏེ། ཆེད་དུ་མི་སྣ་བརྒྱུད་ས་ནས་དྲ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་བསོད་ནམས་  
 རྒྱ་མཆོ་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་དུ་གདན་ཞུས་ནས་མཇལ་འཕྲད་ལྷ་རྒྱ་གནང་བ་རེད།<sup>10</sup> དེ་བཞིན་དྲ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་  
 བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་མོན་པའི་སྐབས་ཉིད་དུའང་། ཏག་ཏག་དགེ་ལུགས་པར་སྤར་སྤོལ་  
 ནས་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་གནང་མཁན་ཡག་གྲུའི་སྤྱིད་དབང་ཉིན་བཞིན་ཉམས་དམས་སུ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་། དག་  
 རྒྱར་གྲུར་པའི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པས་ཤལ་འཁོན་གྱིས་དགེ་ལུགས་པར་ཆོད་འཛིན་དང་མགོ་གནོན་སྤྲུལ་  
 སུ་བསྟར་བའི་རྣམ་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། དྲ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཆོ་དང་དགེ་  
 ལུགས་པའི་མཐོང་མ་སེར་མོ་བ་དག་ལ་མཆོན་ན་ཡང་སྟོབས་ཤྲགས་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་མཁན་ནམ་མཁའ་  
 མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་བཅའ་ཏེ་དགེ་ལུགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གོ་གནས་ལ་ཤྲགས་སྤོན་རྒྱག་པའི་རེ་བ་ཡོད་<sup>11</sup> པས་ན།  
 སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༤ལོའི་༩མན་ལི་ཁྱིའོ་དུག་པ་༡༢ཟླ་པའི་ཆོས་བཅོམ་ལྷན་ཉིན་ཡལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་དྲ་  
 ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་སྤྱི་ཕྱིར་གསུམ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཆོ་བྱང་མཇལ་འཕྲད་གནང་ལ། འདིས་ནི་དགེ་  
 ལུགས་པའི་བསྟན་པ་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤེལ་བའི་དུས་རབས་གསར་པ་ཞིག་གི་དབུ་ཚུགས་པ་མ་ཟད།  
 ད་དུང་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཆོགས་ཆེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ངོ་ཉིས་བརྒྱའི་རིང་དུ་སོག་བོད་འབྲེལ་བའི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་  
 གང་ཉིད་དམའ་བ་ནས་མཐོ་རྒྱལ་གི་ཏུ་སྤྱེགས་པར་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་རེད། དེ་ལ་ཡལ་ཐན་  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཤྲགས་ཐོན་ཆེར་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་དུ་འཇུག་ཏེ་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་བཅད་བཟུང་བྱས་པའི་



ཐོག་མ་ནི། མིང་ཅ་ཆེན་ཁྲིའེ་སོ་བརྒྱད་པ་༼སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༣༣༩ལོ༽ ནས་འགོ་བརྩམས་པ་དང་།  
 སྡོན་ཆད་མཆོ་སྡོན་དུ་བྲོས་བྱོལ་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་སྤར་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཡུས་ཤུའུ་ལ་དང་ཤུའུ་ཨར་རྟེ་ཁག་གཉིས་པོ་  
 བཅོམ། དེ་ནས་ལོ་གཉིས་ཤིན་པའི་རྒྱ་དགུ་པར་འགོས་ནད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ཨལ་ཐན་ཤིར་སོག་ཡུལ་  
 དུ་ལོག་ཅིང་༼ལུང་ཆེན་ཁྲིའེ་བཞི་པ་༼སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༣༥༠༽ བར་མཆོ་སྡོན་དུ་ཐེངས་གཉིས་པར་དམག་སྡེ་  
 བངས་ཏེ་མཆོ་སྡོན་ཟི་ལིང་གི་རུབ་བྱང་དང་། ཀན་སུའུ་ཀྲང་ཡེ་ཡི་རུབ་ལྗོ། ཀན་སུའུ་ཡི་ཡུ་  
 གུར་རིགས། ཀན་སུའུ་ལྗོ་ཁུལ་དང་མཆོ་སྡོན་ཤར་ལྗོ་ཁུལ་གྱི་བོད་རིགས་འདུས་སྡོད་ཁུལ་ད་དུང་  
 སི་ཁོན་རུབ་ཁུལ་དང་བོད་སྡོངས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཁུལ་རྣམས་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས་ཤིང་། བར་སྐབས་  
 འིག་ལ་ཁོང་གི་ཆ་རྒྱུད་པ་རྟན་རྒྱ་རྩིས་མིང་རྒྱལ་ལ་མགོ་བཏེགས་པས་བྲེལ་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་ཤིར་ཕྱོགས་  
 པ་རེད། དེ་ནས་ཨལ་ཐན་ཉིད་མཐའ་འཇུག་མཆོ་སྡོན་ལ་ཡོང་བའི་མིང་བན་ལི་ཁྲིའེ་དུག་  
 པ་༼སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༣༥༤༽ ཡོར་རྒྱ་ལའི་རྒྱ་མ་སྐྱེས་ཐེངས་གསུམ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཆོ་དང་མཇལ་འཕྲད་  
 གནང་བའི་སྐབས་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་དུས་བྱ་མེད་བྱ་དང་། ཨོ་ཨར་ཏོ་སི། ཡོང་ཞི་ཤུའུ་  
 བཅས་གཡོན་རུས་སོག་པོ་མ་མཐའང་བྲི་ཕྲག་ལྷག་མཆོ་སྡོན་དང་བོད་སྡོངས་སུ་ཐོན་པ་རེད།  
 ཐེངས་འདིའི་སོག་པོའི་མི་འབངས་རྣམས་མཆོ་སྡོན་དུ་ལོ་གཅིག་ལྷག་ལ་བསྐྱད་དེ་ཤིར་ལོག་  
 སྐབས་༼རྟེ་ལོ་ཆེ་དང་ཡུང་ཕྱོ་ཤུའུ་གཉིས་མཆོ་སྡོན་དུ་བཞག་ འདིའང་ཨལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོ་སྡོན་  
 དུ་ཐེངས་གཉིས་པར་ཡོང་སྐབས་ཁོང་གི་བུ་བཞི་པ་པོན་ཤུའུ་མཆོ་སྡོན་དུ་བཞག་པའི་༼སྤྱི་ལོ་  
 ༡༣༣༩༽ རྩིས་ཀྱི་མཆོ་སྡོན་གྱི་སོག་པོའི་སྟོབས་ལུགས་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་སུ་མཛོད། ཆོ་ཁག་དེ་  
 དག་གིས་རྟག་པར་པོན་ཤུའུ་ཆོ་ཁག་དང་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྡོངས་ནས་བོད་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ཁག་ཏུ་འཇུག་ལ།  
 ཨལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞུགས་སྐབས། མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱིས་ཨལ་ཐན་དང་བརྒྱུད་པོན་ཤུའུ་དང་ཏོ་  
 ལོ་ཆེ་བཅས་པའི་ཆོ་ཁག་གིས་ཟིང་ཆ་སྟོང་བར་ཆོད་འཛིན་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ཡིན་ནའང་སྤྱི་  
 ལོ་༡༣༤༢ལོར་༼མིང་བན་ལི་ཁྲིའེ་བཅུ་བ༽ ཨལ་ཐན་གཤེགས་རྩིས། མཆོ་སྡོན་སོག་པོའི་ཆོ་

ཁག་ནམས་ལ་ཆོད་འཛིན་སྤྱི་ཙམ་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཟིལ་ལ་བཅན་འཇུག་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་བྱས་པ་  
 རེད།<sup>12</sup> ལྷག་དོན་བན་ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་རྒྱ་ལོ་༡༣༥༥ ་ཇེ་རྒྱུས། མཆོ་སྡོན་སོག་པོ་ཆོ་  
 ཁག་གིས་མིང་ལ་ཆོ་ལ་བ་བྱས་པ་ལ། རྟུང་ཐའི་ཇིའི་བུ་ཁྲི་ལས་ཁི་སྟེ་བན་ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་བཅོ་ལྔ་  
 པའི་རྒྱ་ལོ་༡༣༥༦ ་ཇེ་རྒྱ་བརྒྱུད་པར་དེ་ཉིད་ཚོན་དབྱི་མང་གི་ཁྲིར་བཀོད་དེ་མཆོ་སྡོན་དུ་འོང་བ་གང་  
 གིས་ཀྱང་དེ་ཤོད་ཨ་ལ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་པོས་མིང་ལ་བཟུང་བའི་རྩས་བཀོད་རྒྱབ་རྟུ་གཡུགས་ཏེ། ཁོང་  
 རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་མིང་ལ་ཆོ་ལ་བ་བྱ་བར་དངོས་སུ་རོགས་སྒྲོར་བྱས་པ་རེད། དེ་བཞིན་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་  
 ཚོང་འདིར་མཆོད་འོང་བའི་བྱ་མེད་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་ཡི་མང་འཁོངས་ལ་མཆོན་ནའང་། བན་ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་བཅུ་  
 དྲུག་པ་རྒྱ་ལོ་༡༣༥༥ ་ཇེ་ལ། རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་མ་རྒྱའི་ལྷོ་སྟོགས་བཀྲལ་ཏེ་རེབ་གོང་རྒྱ་ཁོང་རྟུའི་ལྷོ་  
 སྟོགས་དང་མ་ལྷོ་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྟོགས་ཀྱི་བཅན་བཟུང་བྱས་ཤིང་། དེ་ན་ཐུའུ་ཡི་བུ་ཀྱིན་ཞང་གིས་ནི་  
 མིང་རའི་རྒྱ་ཀྱའི་ལྷོ་སྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོལ་སྤུ་མོ་ནས་བཟུང་ཡོད་པ་རེད་<sup>13</sup> དེ་ནས་བན་ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་བཅོ་  
 བརྒྱུད་པའི་རྒྱ་ལོ་༡༣༥༠ ་ཇེ་རྒྱ་དྲུག་པར། མཆོ་སྡོན་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེས་ཐོ་གྲིག་ལ་པར་ཆོ་ལ་བྱས་ཏེ་  
 དམག་སྤྱི་གཞོན་པ་ལི་ལེན་རྒྱང་པམ་པར་བྱས། རྒྱ་བ་བདུན་པར་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེས་ཡང་སྒྲུར་རྟུ་གྲིག་དང་  
 ལེན་ཐའོ་ལ་པར་ཆོ་ལ་བྱས་ཏེ། སྤྱི་དཔོན་དམག་སྤྱི་ལིག་པེན་སི་གཏོར་བ་རེད།<sup>14</sup> དེ་ནས་བན་  
 ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པར་ཀྱིན་ལོ་ཡིས་དམག་བྲངས་སྐབས་རྒྱ་ལོ་༡༣༥༡ ་ཇེ་དམག་དཔོན་ཡུག་ཅུ་  
 ཞན་ནས་རྟུ་གྲིག་ནས་རྟུ་བ་རྟུ་བ་སྒྲོད་ནས། རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་དང་ཀྱིན་ཞང་རེབ་གོང་དང་མང་རུའི་ཡུལ་  
 ནས་མཆོ་སྡོན་བར་དུ་དེད།<sup>15</sup> དེ་ནས་ཀྱིན་ལོའི་དམག་ཆེན་ཕྱིར་འཐེན་ལུལ་དུ་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་དང་ཀྱིན་  
 ཞང་བྱུང་ཕྱིར་མང་ར་སོགས་སུ་བྱིན།<sup>16</sup> བན་ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་ཉེར་གསུམ་རྒྱ་ལོ་༡༣༥༣ ་ཇེ་པའི་རྒྱ་  
 དྲུག་པ་དང་བཅུ་པའི་ནང་ཡུང་རྟུའི་ཐུའུ་ཡིས་པ་ཨར་རྟོའུ་དང་སྤུ་ལ་སྤུ་ལ་ཐུའུ་རོང་། རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ།

ཀྱིན་ཞང་། ལྷ་ལྷ་བཅས་པའི་སོག་དམག་སྤྱ་གཞུག་ཏུ་པམ་སྟེ། སྤྱ་ཨར་རྟོལ་ལྷ་ཐ་སྤུའོ་  
མཚོ་སྟོན་པའི་རུབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བྱོས་བྱོལ་དུ་བྱིན་ལ། ཉོ་ལོ་ཆེ་མ་རྒྱའི་ཕྱོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐལ་བ་རེད།<sup>17</sup>

དེ་ལ་བན་ལི་ཁྲོ་ལོ་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་མཇུག་དང་བན་ལི་ཁྲོ་ལོ་ཉར་གསུམ་པའི་བར་༼སྟེ་ལོ་༡༣༩༠

ནས་༡༣༩༣་བར་༽ འདི་ནི་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱིས་རུབ་མཚོ་ཞོད་འཇགས་སུ་བཏང་བ་དང་།

སོག་པའི་སྟོ་བས་ཤུགས་ཉམས་དམས་སུ་སོང་བའི་སྐབས་ཡིན། དེ་བཞིན་ཉོ་ལོ་ཆེ་དང་།

ཡུང་ཕྱོ་སྤུའོ་༼པ་ཨར་རྟོས། བ་ལྷ་ཐ་སྤུའོ་དང་༽ ཁག་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ནི་ཀྱིན་ལོ་དཔུང་ཆེན་པོས་

བྲག་འདེད་ཀྱིས་དབུས་གཙང་དང་། ཁ་ཤས་ནི་མཚོ་སྒྲ་རེངས་དང་མཚོ་སྒྲ་རེངས་སུ་ཐོར་ཤིག་ཏུ་

བསྐད་ནས་བྱོས་བྱོལ་དུ་བྱིན་པ་ལ། མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱིས་དམག་ཕྱིར་འཐེན་བྱས་པ་ན་ཡང་སྐར་

མཚོ་སྟོན་པའི་འགྲམ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བྱིར་ལོག་པ་རེད། དེ་ལ་ཉོ་ལོ་ཆེ་ཡི་སྟེག་འཕྲེའི་སྟེ་སྤུའོ་ལོ་ཡི་རུབ་

སྟོར་ཞིག་དམག་པམ་ཀྱིས་ཐོར་ཞིག་ཏུ་སོང་སྟེ་མ་ཕྱེད་ཕྱོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་རུར་སྟོས་ཤིང་། ཀྱིན་

ཞང་གི་རུ་བར་གཏོར་སྟོན་ཆེན་པོ་སོག་ཇེས་ཕྱོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཀན་ཕྱོ་དང་སི་ཁོར་དཀར་མཛེས་བཅས་སུ་

བྱིན། ད་དུང་འབྲི་རྒྱའི་སྟོད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འདན་ཁོག་ཏུ་འང་སོག་སྟེ་ཆགས་ནས་བསྐད་<sup>18</sup> ཅེས་བན་ལི་ཁྲོ་

ལོ་ཉར་གསུམ་༼སྟེ་ལོ་༡༣༩༣་༽ པར་ཉོ་ལོ་ཆེ་ཡིས་རུ་སྟེ་སྟོར་ཞིག་མ་ཕྱེད་སོག་ཇོང་དུ་སྐར་བར་

མངོན་ལ། དེ་ནས་བན་ལི་ཁྲོ་ལོ་ཉར་དུག་༼སྟེ་ལོ་༡༣༩༥་༽ པར། མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱིས་

དཔལ་རེས་རྒྱུད་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱས་ཏེ། ཉི་ཐོ་དང་ཉི་ཞེ་སོག་པོ་ཚོ་ཁག་གི་མཚོ་སྟོན་ལ་འབྲེལ་འབྲེལ་

བྱ་བའི་རྒྱུན་བཅད་པས། མཚོ་སྟོན་སོག་པའི་རུ་སྟེ་ཁག་ཁེར་རྒྱུད་གི་གནས་ལ་བཀོད་པས་སྟོ་བས་

ཤུགས་ཉིན་བཞིན་ཉམས་དམས་སུ་བྱིན། དེ་བཞིན་ཉོ་ལོ་ཆེ་དང་། ཀྱིན་ཞང་། ཡུང་ཕྱོ་

སྤུའོ་ནམས་ཉག་པར་མཚོ་སྟོན་པའི་ཉི་འགྲམ་དུ་འདུས་སྟོད་བྱས་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་དུས་སྟེས་དབང་

གིས་ཟེ་ལིང་གྲོང་མཐར་འཇམ་ཆོལ་རེ་བྱས་ཀྱང་། ཡིན་ནའང་ཤུགས་ཆེན་པོས་དམག་ཆེན་

བཤམས་པའི་རུས་པ་སྟོང་པ་རེད།<sup>19</sup> སྐ བས་ཐོག་དེར་ཆགས་བ་མང་པོ་ཉལ་ཉར་སོང་བ་ནང་

འབྲུག་གི་རྒྱུན་དུ་སོང་བས་ཉལ་ཉར་ཆོག་གྱ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ལ་ཉ་ནས་བདས། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༣༢ཀྱི་སྤུ་ལོར། ཆོག་གྱ་དཔག་བཅས་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་དུ་སྤྲིབས་ཏེ་བྱ་མེད་རྟོར་ལོ་ཆེད་ཅུ་སྤེ་མང་པོ་བཅོམ་ནས་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱད་པས་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་སྤྲོགས་སུ་ཆོག་གྱ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་རེ་ཞིག་དབང་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར། སྤར་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༧༩ན་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༣༢འདྲིའི་བར་ལ་བྱ་མེད་ཆེད་པ་གྱུར། རྟུང་ཐའི་ཇི། ལྷ་བཙུན་གཉིས་སོགས་སྤྲོ་བས་དང་དབང་ཤེད་ཆེ་བས། ལྷ་ས་དང་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་སྤྲོགས་སུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བས་པ་དེ་ཡི་མཆུག་ཚྲོགས་པ་རེད། དེ་ནས་ཁྲུ་ཡ་ཐའི་ཇི་དང་པག་ཐར་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་སོགས་ཐའི་ཇི་དཔོན་རིགས་མང་པོ་མ་གྲུ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བྱ་མེད་རྟོར་ལོ་ཆེད་སྤེའི་སྤྲོགས་སུ་ཁྲུ་བསྐྱས་བས་པས། འདི་སྤྲོགས་ཀྱི་རོང་གི་ཡུལ་གྱ་མང་པོ་འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་བས།<sup>20</sup> ཡང་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་ལྷག་འཕྲོའི་ཅུ་སྤེ་སྐོར་ཞིག་མགོ་ལོག་ཡུལ་ཡུལ་སོགས་སུ་གནས་བཅས་ཏེ་སྤྲོན་ཆད་དེ་ཅུ་ཆད་པའི་སོག་པོ་དང་མཉམས་དུ་འབྲེས་སྤོད་བྱས། དེའང་དམིགས་བསལ་གྱི་ཁོར་ཡུག་གི་འོག་དེ་དག་བོད་རིགས་དང་མཉམ་གནས་བྱས་པས། རྒྱད་དང་གོ་མས་སྤོལ་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་བོད་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ་རྒྱེས་སུ་བོད་རིགས་སུ་བ་དང་། མ་ཁྲུག་གི་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེ་ཡི་ལྷག་འཕྲོ་དག་ནི་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་མཆུག་ཏུ་ཆོག་གྱའི་དབང་དུ་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་རྟོ་ཐོད་བྱ་སོག་པའི་དབང་དུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། ཡུང་གིན་གྱི་ལོ་སྤོད་དུ་ཆེ་ཅུ་དབྱེ་སྐབས་ཆན་རྒྱུ་ཆེད་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་འད་བྱ་མེད་ཀྱི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ལྷག་ཡོད་པ་༩ དེའི་ནང་དུ་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་སུ་དེ་ཅུ་སྤོད་པའི་དར་ཐྱེད་ཅུས་པའང་འདུ་། དེ་དག་ནི་པོ་ཤོག་གྱའི་ཁོངས་སུ་བྱས་ཡོད།

མདོར་ན། གོང་འཕྲོས་དག་ལས་མཐོང་བྱུང་པ་ནི། མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སུ་གིན་ལོ་དཔག་སྤྱིས་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་སོག་པའི་སྤྲོ་བས་ལྷགས་ཉམས་དམས་སུ་བྱས་པའི་སྐབས་དེར་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེད་ཅུ་བ་སྐོར་ཞིག་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚྲོང་དུ་མཆེད་འོང་བ་དང་། དེ་ནས་སོག་པོ་ཆོག་གྱས་མཆོ་སྤྲོན་གྱི་བྱ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཅུ་སྤེ་ནམས་བཅོམ་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་འད་རྟོ་ལོ་ཆེད་ཅུ་བ་སྐོར་ཞིག་མགོ་ལོག་དང་ཡུལ་ཡུལ། མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཚྲོང་གི་གནས་འདི་ཅུ་མཆེད་འོང་བ་རེད།

བཞི། དུས་རབས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་དུས་སྟོན་དུ་རྟོ་ཤོད་ཐུང་ཐོར་གོད་སོག་པོ་མཆོད་  
འོང་ཚུལ་སྟོར།

དུས་རབས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་དུས་སྟོན་དུ་མཆོད་འོང་བའི་རྟོ་ཤོད་ཚོ་བཞི་བེས་ལ་ཐེ་ཏོ་ཨོ་ཨོ་ཨོ་ཨོ་  
སོག་པོའི་ཚོ་བ་བཞིའི་ཁྲོད་གྱི་གཅིག་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ནི་གྲུ་ཤི་རྟན་ཏོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༣༤༣ནས་  
༡༦༣༧བར་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༣༤༣རྟེན་ལོར། ཨོ་ས་ལོད་ཡུལ་དུ་ཀོ་ཤི་རྟན་  
འབྱུངས། ཀོ་ཤི་རྟན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིན་ཇིའི་སི་རྟན་ནས་ཇིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཡུམ་གཅིག་པའི་  
རྒྱ་བོ་རྟ་པོ་ཐུ་རྟ་སར་གྱི་བུ། ཨོར་ཁེ་སུ་མེར་ཐའི་ཇི་ནས་མི་རབས་ལྔ་པ། ཨལ་ས་གྲུ་ལ་ཏའི་རྟ་  
ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་ལ། བུ་ཨ་རུག་ཐེ་ཐུར་དང་། ཨོ་རུག་ཐེ་ཐུར་ཞེས་པ་གཉིས་བྱུང་། དེ་གཉིས་  
གྱི་ཆེ་བ། ཨུ་རུག་ཐེ་ཐུར་གྱི་བུ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་ནམས་ཏར་ཆེ། ཏོར་ཆེ། ཨུ་རུ་སོགས་པའི་ཅིན་  
བྱང་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་རྒྱབ་དང་འབྲེལ་མར་གནས་པའི་སོག་པོའི་དཔོན་རིགས་ནམས་ཡིན། བུ་རྒྱུད་བ་སོ་  
རུག་ཐེ་ཐུར། ཁོ་ཤོད་སྤྱིའི་དཔོན་པོར་གྱུར་ལ། དེའི་བུ་ཏེ་ཏུ་རང་ཏེའི་ཇིན། དེ་ནས་མི་  
རབས་དགུ་འདས་པ་ན། པོ་པའི་མིར་ཅན་ཞེས་པའི་དཔོན་ཆེན་ཞིག་བྱུང་། དེའི་བུ་རྟ་ནའི་རྟ་  
ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་ཁོ་ཤོད་སྤྱི་ལ་དབང་བའི་དཔོན་ཆེན་ཞིག་བྱུང་། རྟ་ནའི་རྟ་ཡོན་ལ་ལྷམ་གཉིས་ཡོད་  
པའི་ཆེ་བ་ཨ་རུ་ཏའི་རྟ་ཐོན་ལ་བུ་ལྔ་སྟེ། བུ་གསུམ་པའི་མིང་ལ་བུ་རུའི་པ་རུ་ཉི་ཟེ། དེ་བོད་སྐད་དུ་  
ལ་རྒྱ་འཛིན་མཁན་ཞེས་པའི་དོན་དུ་འབྱུག སྤྱིས་སུ་ཁོའི་ཐོབ་མིང་ཀོ་ཤི་རྟན་ཟེར་ལ། ཀོ་ཤི་གོ་  
ཀོན་རྟན་ཡང་ཟེར།<sup>21</sup> དེ་ལ་ཀོ་ཤི་རྟན་ཐོག་དོན་ཡང་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༠༦ལ་མེ་རྟེན་ལོར། ཀོ་ཤི་རྟན་  
དེ་ཉིད་ཉལ་རྟ་དང་ཨོ་ས་ལོད་གཉིས་འབྲུག་པའི་སྐབས། ཉལ་རྟའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཆམ་ཆོམ་མེད་པར་  
སོང་སྟེ་ནང་འབྲུག་འདུམ་པར་མཇོད་པས་དེ་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་སྟོང་འཁོར་ཆོས་ཇི་དང་། ཉལ་རྟའི་རྒྱལ་  
སྟོན་ནམས་དགའ་ནས་ཏའི་ཀོ་ཤི་གོ་ཀོན་རྟན་ཞེས་པའི་ཆོ་ལོ་ཕྱིན་པས། བུ་ཇིའི་བ་ཇི་ཉི་འདི་ལ་དེ་

ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཉན་དུ་ཐོག་པ་ཡིན།<sup>22</sup>

ཡང་བོད་ལ་མཆོན་ན་དེ་ཤོད་དུ་གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་སྟོབས་  
ལྷགས་ཀྱིས་དག་ལུགས་པ་ལ་འཇིགས་སྒྲུབ་སྒྲུལ་པ་སོག་པོ་ཆོག་ཐུང་བ་སྟེབས་པ་ན།      དག་  
ལུགས་པས་ཁོས་ཡོད་ ༼ ཤིན་ཅང་ཕྱོགས་ ༽ རྩན་གར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སོང་ནས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཉན་ལ་རྒྱབ་ཏེན་  
བཅོལ་བ་རེད།      དེ་བཞིན་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཉན་ལ་མཆོན་ན་བིས་ལ་ཐེ་ཆོ་ཁག་ནི་ཤར་གྱི་སོག་པོས་དང་གི་  
ཤིན་ཅིང་བར་དུ་བཤོལ་པ་ན་རྩེས་སུ་ཤར་རུབ་བྱུང་གི་དབང་རྒྱུ་འདི་དགྱེད་དུ་སྒྲུབ་བ་སྟེ།      ཤར་ཕྱོགས་  
ཀྱི་ཐ་ལམ་ཤུ་ཐང་ཆེན་མོའི་ལྷོ་རྒྱུད་དམ་ཐ་ལམ་ཤུ་ཐང་ཆེན་མོའི་བྱང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སོག་པོའི་རུབ་ཁག་གིས་  
ནས་རྒྱན་བིས་ལ་ཐེ་ཆོ་ཁག་ལ་བཤུལ་བཤུལ་པ་དང་།      རུབ་ཁག་གི་ཉ་སོག་མི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་རྟག་  
པར་བིས་ལ་ཐེ་ཆོ་ཁག་དང་རྟག་པོའི་གདོང་གཏུག་བྱེད་པ་རེད།      ལོ་ནས་ལོར་བསྐྱེད་དེ་རྒྱན་ཆད་  
མེད་པའི་དམག་འབྲུག་འདི་དག་གིས་ནི་བིས་ལ་ཐུ་ཆོ་ཁག་ལ་གཏོར་སྐྱོན་ཆབས་ཆེན་ཐེབས་སུ་བཅུག་  
ཡང་ཕྱོགས་གཞན་ཞིག་ནས་བིས་ལ་ཐུ་སོག་པོའི་ཆོ་ཁག་བཞི་པོའི་བཀའ་བཀོད་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་མཁན་  
ཕན་ཚུན་བར་ལ་འང་དེ་འདྲའི་སྒྲག་བསམ་ནས་པར་དག་པའི་གཞི་བཟུང་མེད་པ་ན།      རང་ཁྱལ་  
དུ་འང་ཁོ་དབང་འཕྲོག་རེས་ཀྱི་འཐབ་རྩོད་གཅིག་འཇགས་གཅིག་ལངས་བྱས་པ་རེད།      དེ་ལ་ཤིན་  
ཅིང་བར་དུ་བཤོལ་རྩེས་ཀྱི་བར་སྐྱབས་དེ་རུ་རྟོ་ཤོད་ཆོ་བའི་སྟོབས་ལྷགས་དེ་ནི་ཆོ་ཁག་དེ་བཞི་པོའི་ཁྲོད་  
ཆེས་ཆེ་བར་མངོན་པས་མནའ་མཐུན་འགོ་གཙོ་ཡི་ཚུལ་དུ་གནས་ཡོད།      རྩེས་སུ་རུང་གར་ཆོ་བའི་  
སྟོབས་ལྷགས་རིམ་བཞིན་ཆེ་རུ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ།      ལྷིང་སིན་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་བིས་ལ་ཐུ་ཆོ་བཞིའི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་རུང་གར་  
ཆོ་བའི་གོ་གནས་སྐྱར་གསོ་རེ་བར་ཅི་རུས་ཀྱིས་བརྩོན་ལེན་བྱས་པ་རེད།      དེ་བས་བིས་ལ་ཐུ་ཆོ་  
བཞིའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཀེ་ལྷ་གི་ཐེ་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་རྟོ་ཤོད་ཆོ་བ་དང་ཉ་ལ་རུ་ལའི་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་རུང་གར་ཆོ་བ་  
བཅས་ཆོགས་ཁག་ཆེ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཆགས།      དེ་ལ་རུང་གར་ཆོ་བའི་སྟོབས་ལྷགས་ཆེ་རུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་  
བསྐྱེད་བིས་ལ་ཐུ་རང་ཁྱལ་གྱི་སེམས་ཀྱི་མ་ཁའང་ཆེན་ཆེན་ཆེ་རུ་སོང་བ་ན།      བཀའ་བཀོད་རྒྱུད་



འཛིན་མཁམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཚོ་བ་ཁྲིད་དེ་གནས་གཞན་དུ་སྒྲོར་ནས། ཡུལ་ཁག་གཞན་དག་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་གསར་པར་སྒྲིགས་པའི་བྱ་ཐབས་བོད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་པ་རེད།<sup>23</sup>

དེ་བཞིན་འདི་འདྲའི་ནང་གི་འགལ་རྒྱུན་དང་ཕྱི་འགལ་གསལ་པ་བསྐྱོལ་མར་གྱུར་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་འོག་སྐབས་དེར་བོད་ཀྱི་དགེ་ལུགས་པའི་དགོན་སྡེ་འདུས་སྤྱིའི་མི་སྡེ་མངགས་གཏོང་གི་བེས་ལ་ཐུལ་རོགས་སྦྱོར་ཞུས་པ་དང་དུ་སྒྲུབ་སྟེ། བུ་ཕྱི་རྒན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༣༤ལོར་ཅུ་སྡེ་རྣམས་ཁྲིད་ནས་མཚོ་སྔོན་དུ་བསྐྱོད་དེ་མཚོ་སྔོན་དང་ཁམས་བོད་མཐོ་སྒང་གཅིག་གྱུར་དུ་བཟོ་བའི་ལམ་བུར་ཞུགས། དེ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཐོར་གོད་ཀྱི་ཚོ་བ་འང་མཉམ་དུ་སྒྲོམ་འོང་བའི་ཐོར་གོད་ནི། བོད་དབུས་ཀྱི་མི་སྡེ་ཚན་གཅིག་རྒྱབ་སྟོགས་སུ་སོང་ནས་བསྐད་པ་ལས་འཕེལ་ཟེར། རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་ནི་ཨ་མོ་གུ་ལ་ལང་དང་སོ་གུ་ན། སྤུ་ཡན། མ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མེར་གན་པོ་ལུ་ཏ། ཅོ་ལ་ཆ་གུའི་ཨུར་ལུག་<sup>24</sup> བཅས་ལས་ཆད། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༣༤ལོར་ཅུན་གར་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་བུ་ཕྱི་རྒན་གྱི་ཅུ་སྡེ་ཆང་མ་མཚོ་སྔོན་དུ་སྒྲོམ།<sup>25</sup> སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༣༤ལོའི་དགུན་སྟོད་ལུ་ཕྱིས་ཇོ་ལུན་གར་སྤུ་ཐུར་ཐའི་ཇི་དཔུང་བཅས་དམག་གོགས་ལ་ཁྲིད་ནས་སྟོགས་འདིར་བྱོན་ཏེ། ལམ་གྱི་ཡི་ལེན་ཐ་མེས་དང་ཏམ་ཏག་གི་རྒྱ་ཁྱང་དང་འདམ་ཆེན་པོ་སྔོན་དགུན་མཚམས་སུ་འབྱུགས་སྟེང་ནས་བཞུལ་ཏེ། མཚོ་སྔོན་གྱི་ས་སྤྱིའི་བུ་ལུང་གར་དུ་འབྱོར་ནས་མི་རྣམས་ངལ་གསོས་ཏེ་རི་དྲགས་རྣ་བ་མང་པོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བསྐད་པའི་རི་ལ་མིང་གུན་ལ་མ་ཐུ་ཞེས་མིང་བཏགས། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༣༧ལོའི་༩མེ་སྐང་ལོ་༩ལོ་གསར་རྒྱབ་དང་པོར་མཚོ་སྔོན་གྱི་སྟོད་དུ་འབྱོར་ནས་དམག་ཆིག་ཁྲིས། ཆོག་ཐུའི་དམག་སུམ་ཁྲི་དང་གཡུལ་ཆེན་གཤེས་ཏེ། རི་སྡེ་གཉིས་ཁྲག་གིས་དམར་པོར་གྱུར་བ་ལ་དེང་སང་ཨུ་ལན་རྟོ་ཤོ་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་དུ་གྲགས། སྤུ་ཡན་ཐའི་ཇི་སོགས་དམག་བཅས་ཀྱིས་ཆོག་ཐུའི་དམག་སྒྲག་མ་རྩར་གྲེལ་གྱི་འབྱུགས་རོམ་སྟེང་དུ་དེད་ནས་པམ། དམག་འགའ་ཞིག་དེའི་ཤར་རོས་ལུང་བར་གཏད་ནས་སྐངས་པར་དེང་སང་ཤ་ཏལ་ཟེར། ཆོག་ཐུ་དཔོན་ནི་འཕྱི་ཁྱེད་ཞིག་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་དགེ་ལུན་པའི་བསྟན་དགྲ་དེ་པམ།<sup>26</sup> ཅེས་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་དམག་དཔུང་སྡེ་གཞུག་ཏུ་མཚོ་སྔོན་དུ་སྒྲོམ་པར།

ཐངས་དང་པོར་རྟོག་ཆོ་བའི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་བཞི་སྟོང་། ཐོར་གོད་ཆོ་བའི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་ལྔ་སྟོང་། ཁྱོན་  
 མི་ཁྱིམ་གཉིས་ཡོད།<sup>27</sup> སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༧ལོའི་ཟླ་ལ་པར་ཁམས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་དམག་བྱངས་ནས་བེ་  
 རོན་ཡོད་རྗེ་མམ་པར་བྱས་ཤིང་། དེ་བཞིན་དམག་དཔུང་དབུས་སུ་བྱངས་ནས་གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་  
 པོ་༡༦༩༧ལོར་གཏོར། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༨ལོར་གཏུག་གྱིས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བྱས།  
 ལོ་དེའི་སྟོན་ཀར་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྟོར་བའི་རྟོག་དང་ཐོར་གོད་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་ཕོན་ཆེན་གྱིས་མཆོ་སྟོན་དུ་  
 རུབ་སྐྱར་ཡོང་བ་ལ། རྟོག་གི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་ཆིག་ཁྱིམ་སྟོང་། ཐོར་གོད་ཀྱི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་སུམ་སྟོང་།  
 ཁྱོན་མི་ཁྱིམ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།<sup>28</sup> དེ་ནས་དུ་ལའི་སྐྱ་མ་དང་པར་ཆེན་རྣམ་གཉིས་བསམ་འགྲུབ་  
 ཕྱིར་གཏན་བྱངས་ཏེ། གཙང་གི་ས་ཆ་རྣམས་པར་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་ཕུལ་ཞིང་། གཞན་བོད་ཁྱི་  
 སྟོར་བཅུ་གསུམ་དུ་ལའི་སྐྱ་མར་ཕུལ་བས། ཡབ་སྲས་དབུ་འཕང་སྲིད་ཅེའི་བར་དུ་མཐོ་བར་  
 གྱུར།<sup>29</sup> དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དུ་ལའི་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་ཆིང་གོང་མ་སྲིད་གཞུང་གིས་ཀྱང་གཟིགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོབ་སྟེ།  
 སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༨ལོར་མཇལ་འཕྲད་ཀྱི་བསུ་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བསྐྱར་ཤིང་ལོར་རུབ་ཀྱི་ལྷ་གནས་ཆོས་དགེ་བ་བདེ་  
 བར་གནས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་བཀའ་ལུང་གནས་འོག་གི་སྐྱེའགྲོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱར་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ལ་  
 འགྱུར་མེད་རྗེ་ཆོང་རྒྱ་མཆོ་སྐྱ་མའི་ཐམ་ག་གནང་ཞིང་། བོད་སོག་ཆོས་ལུགས་ལས་རིགས་  
 ཁག་གི་གཙོ་འཛིན་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་མང་འགསོལ། དེ་ནས་བཟུང་ཟིལ་ཤུགས་ཇི་རྒྱས་སུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་རིམ་  
 གྱིས་སོག་པོའི་རྟན་མང་གི་ཁོ་དབང་ལ་ཆོད་འཛིན་གནང་བ་རེད། དེ་བཞིན་སོག་པོ་ལ་མཆོན་ན་  
 སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༨ལོར་གཏུག་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དབང་ཆ་རྩོད་རེས་གྱིས་སྟོབས་ཤུགས་  
 ཉམས་དམས་སུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༩ལོར་དུ་ཡན་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་ཐུར་བྱང་ལ་རྟོ་  
 གོད་ཐུའི་དབང་ཆ་མཉམ་གྱིས་ཐོབ་ཅིང་། དུ་ཡན་རྒྱལ་པོས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དབང་བཟུང་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་  
 པ་ཐུར་གྱི་མཆོ་སྟོན་ལ་གཙོ་གཉེར་མཛད། དུ་ཡན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྲིད་དབང་བཟུང་རྗེས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཁྱུང་  
 བཞེས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཆོས་ལྷན་མང་གི་དབང་ཤུགས་སྟོད་པར་བཀག་འགོག་བྱས་ཏེ།  
 དགེ་ལུགས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཤུགས་ཆོག་པ་དང་རྟོག་ལྷན་མང་གི་སྟོབས་ཤུགས་བར་ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་

འགྲན་རྩོད་བྱེད་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཆགས་ཤིང་། མཐའ་འབྲས་ཕྱོགས་གཉིས་པོ་མ་ཁ་བཅོས་པ་  
 རེད། དེ་ལ་ཆིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་དབང་བསྐྱར་མ་ཁན་གྱི་དགོ་ལུགས་པའི་ལུགས་རྒྱན་དེ་ཉིད་ཐོད་སྡོད་  
 བཏང་ནས་སེར་སྐྱ་དབང་བསྐྱར་མ་ཁན་པན་རྒྱན་བར་གྱི་དབང་ལུགས་དོ་མཉམས་པར་བྱ་བ་ནི།  
 རུབ་བྱང་མཐའ་མཚམས་བདེ་འཇགས་དང་ཀྱང་དབྱང་སྲིད་གཞུག་གི་དབང་བསྐྱར་ལ་པན་སྤེབས་  
 ཡོང་བས་ན། ཉོ་ཤོད་རྣམས་མང་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དབང་མཚམས་བཅད་པ་རེད་<sup>30</sup>

དེ་ལ་རྣམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཁུག་དང་ཁང་ཞིའི་སྐབས་ཉིད་ན་ཉོ་ཤོད་ཆོ་བའི་ཐེ་ཏུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་  
 འབྲོག་ས་དག་ནི་གཏན་སྡོད་འགྱུར་མེད་ཅིག་མ་ཡིན་པར། དེ་ལ་རིམ་བཞིན་འགྱུར་ཕྱོག་བྱུང་བའི་  
 གནས་ཤིག་ཏུ་ཆགས་ཡོད། རྩ་རྩ་ཕྱན་སུམ་ཆོགས་པའི་གནས་ལ་སྤྲེགས་ནས་སྡོད་པ་དེའང་རི་  
 སྡོར་ནས་འགོ་བའི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ཤིག་ཏུ་མངོན་པ་ན། བྱ་ཕྱི་རུ་ཉན་གྱི་བྱ་ལྔ་པ་ཡེ་ལི་  
 ཏུ་ཆིང་བྱ་དར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤོག་ཐུ་མཆོ་སྡོན་གྱི་རྒྱབ་ངོས་སུ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། སྐབས་འདིར་མ་རྒྱུ་  
 ཁྱུག་པའི་ཉིན་སྲིབ་དང་། མཛོད་དག་གི་འདུལ། ཐུ་མེད་ཉོར་ལོ་ཆིང་གྱེ་རྣམས་ཡོད་པ་མ་  
 གཏོགས་གཞན་མང་པོ་མེད་པར་བྲགས། དེའི་ཕྱིར་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༧༡་ལྷགས་ཡོད་ལོར། ཐུ་མེད་  
 ཀྱི་ཐའི་ཇི་འགའ་ཞིག་གིས་ལུ་གུའི་ཆོལ་སོར་འཕྲོད་པ་བཟུང་ནས་དར་རྒྱས་པོ་ཤོག་ཐུ་ལ་སྡོན་མོ་  
 བསྐྱབས་པས། བོད་སོག་གི་མི་སྡེ་ཆོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ངོ་མཚར་དུ་བཟུང་སྟེ་དྲི་བ་བྱས། ཁོ་  
 ཆོས་ལན་དུ་རྩ་ས་བཟང་བ་དང་རུ་བ་མང་པོ་མེད་ཚུལ་ཞུས་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་མ་རྒྱུ་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་རུབ་  
 སྡོར་རྒྱུ་ལྷུས་གཞི་བཏོན་པ་རེད། དེར་མཐུད་དེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༧༢་ནས། དར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤོག་ཐུའི་རུ་  
 བ་རྣམས་རིམ་གྱིས་ལོ་འགའི་རིང་ས་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་སྡོར་ཡོང་བ་ཡིན། ང་ཚོ་འདི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྡོར་  
 བའི་སོག་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་མཆོ་སྡོན་བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མ་ཕ་རིའི་སོག་པོ་དང་མ་ཕ་རིའི་མང་ཞེས་ཟེར་ལ།  
 མཆོ་སྡོན་སོག་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐེ་རུ་ཐ་ལ་མོང་གོལ་དང་ཐེ་རུ་ཐ་ལ་མང་ཞེས་ཟེར་བར་བྲགས།<sup>31</sup>  
 རུ་བ་དེ་དག་སྡོར་བའི་ལྔ་གཞུག་ཏུ་ཆབ་ཆ་ནས་མ་རྒྱུ་ལྷོ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བཀྲལ་ནས་བྲི་ཀ་དང་ཐུན་ཏེ།  
 ཀོས་ནན། རེབ་གོང་། ཅེ་ཁོག་ ཀན་ལྷོ་སོགས་བརྒྱད་དེ་ལོ་ངོ་ཉི་ལྔ་ཅ་གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་  
 ཡུན་འདས་ནས་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ཡུལ་དུ་གཏན་སྡོད་བྱ་པ་རེད་<sup>32</sup> དེ་བཞིན་ལོ་དེར་ཁོའི་ཡུར་ལུག་གི་

བྱ་བཞི་པ་མང་ནི། ཡུད་ཅུས་གྱི་བྱ་གཉིས་པ་ཐུ་ཐུ་བཅས་པ་འང་རྟོ་ཤོད་ཐུ་ཤོད་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཆོང་དང་  
མཉམ་དུ་མ་ཆུའི་ལྷོ་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཆད་འོང་བ་དང་། མང་ནི་རུ་ཆོ་ཁག་གཅིག་ཆབ་ཆའི་ཡུལ་ཁག་ཏུ་  
བསྐྱད་པ་ལ། དེང་གི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཆོང་གི་ཐོར་གྲོད་སོག་པོ་ནི་ཞི་བད་བཀུས་གྱི་ཆ་བོ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ལྷ་ཡི་བྱ་  
རྒྱུད་ཡིན།<sup>33</sup> དེ་ལ་རུ་བ་སྐར་བའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་གྲུ་ཤི་གཤེགས་ཇེས་མཆོ་སྤྱན་སོག་པོ་གཡམས་  
རུ་དང་གཡོན་རུ་གཉིས་བགོས་པ་ལས་གཡོན་རུ་འདོན་ལ་བསྐྱོས་པའི་ཕྱིར་<sup>34</sup> དང་། བོད་ཡིག་  
གི་ཡིག་ཆ་དང་དུ་བཀོད་པ་ལྟར་མཆོ་བྱང་ཁུལ་གྱི་འབྲོག་ཐང་གི་རྩ་ས་རྒྱུད་བས་འབྲོག་ཁུལ་གྱི་དཔལ་  
འབྱོར་ལ་ཆོད་འཛིན་ཐེབས་པས་རུ་བ་སྐར་ཡོང་བ་རེད། སྐབས་འདིར་དར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤོག་ཐུས་  
མཁའ་འགོ་སློབ་ཐམས་པུ་བསྐྱོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྡེ་ཆང་མ་དབང་བྱས་ཡོད་སྟབས། མགོ་ལོག་ཉ་མཆོ་རྒྱན་  
ཆད། རེབ་གོང་དང་། རྩོམས། བིས་མདོ། རྟོར་ཆང་། ཡམ་ཆོག་ ཇེས་ཆང་།  
རོང་ཆོ་ཆེན་སོ་སོ། ཐེ་པོ་བཟའ་རུ་བཅས་དབང་བསྐྱར་བྱས་<sup>35</sup> ཇེས་སུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༤ལོར་དར་རྒྱལ་  
པོ་ཤོག་ཐུ་ནད་གྱིས་རྟོང་ས་པ་ན། མངའ་འབངས་ཡོངས་ཆོངས་རང་གི་བྱ་གསུམ་པ་ཉིད་ཆིང་ཁོ་  
ཤོས་ཆིངས་ཆེན་མང་ཆོད་དབང་བསྐྱར་འཛིན་ །སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༩ནས་༡༧༢༡བར་ །གྱིས་དབང་བྱས་ཏེ་

།སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༩༩ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༢༡བར་ །ཆིན་དབང་གི་གདུང་རབས་བཅུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་དོ།

མདོར་ན་བོད་སོག་གི་འབྲེལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་གཞན་དག་དང་འབྲེལ་བར་ སོག་པོ་དབང་  
བསྐྱར་པས་དང་ཐོག་བོད་དུ་སྟོབས་ལུགས་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་དེ་ཐོག་མར་དམག་ལུགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དམག་  
དོན་སྟོབས་ནས་རྒྱལ་བའི་མང་གཞིའི་སྤྱི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཐོག་གི་འབྲེལ་བར་སྟོབས་ཏེ་ཆབ་སྲིད་གྱི་  
དམིགས་འབེན་ཉིད་གནད་དུ་སྤྱིན་པར་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་བཞིན་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་ཆོང་གི་སོག་པོ་  
དག་གནས་གང་དེར་གོང་འཕྲོས་སྐོར་ཐངས་གསུམ་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ་མཆོད་རྒྱལ་ཡང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཆ་ནས་དེ་ལས་  
མ་འདས་པ་ཞིག་མེད་པའོ།



དོ་རིས་ཐིས་ཕུའུ་ཡིས་བསྐྱར་མཆན་བཏབ་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དོས་375-76པར་གསལ།

11, 23, 34 2002 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་10པར་ཕྱི་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་དང་བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་  
དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གི་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ལ། ཁྲིན་ཆེན་དབྱིན་གྲིས་བརྩམས་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
ཆབ་སྲིད་གྱི་དུས་པའི་དོས་p. 176དང་p.231-32 p.404པར་གསལ།

13, 17, 18 1993 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་10པར་མཆོ་སྡོན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གིས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ལ། སྤྱི་ས་ཡུ་གི་  
ཡིས་གཙོ་སྒྲིག་བྱས་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བསྐྱར་དོན་དོས་92དང་p.98 p.102པར་  
གསལ།

14, 15 2002 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་1པོར་མཆོ་སྡོན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གིས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ལ། ཆོས་ཡུང་རྟོང་  
དང་། གང་ཏེ་ཚུ་ལྟ། ཏུ་ལུ་ཁང་ཚོན་བཅས་གྲིས་གཙོ་སྒྲིག་བྱས་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དུས་རབས་རིམ་བུར་གི་  
ལོ་རྒྱུས་དོས་284-85པར་གསལ།

16 1992 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་མཆོ་སྡོན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གིས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ལ། རྒྱན་པོ་ལེད་གིས་བརྩམས་  
པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་དོས་148པར་གསལ།

19 1991 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་མཆོ་སྡོན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གིས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཟེན་  
བཞོན་དོས་142པར་གསལ།

25 1983 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་དང་པོར་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གིས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ལ། དུང་དཀར་སློབ་མཐུན་  
ལས་གྲིས་མཛད་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་ཚུལ་ལྟར་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་དོས་99པར་གསལ།

26 1982 ལེའི་ཁྱེ་མཆོ་སྡོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་གིས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ལ། སུམ་པ་ཡི་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་  
གྲིས་མཛད་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆོད་སྒྲིག་གསལ་བྱེད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སོ་དོས་<sup>12-13</sup>པར་གསལ།



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ཀྲང་ཐིས་ཤན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་༼ཐོར་གོད་ཆོ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས༽ ལྷུ་མ་པར་ངོས་102པར་གསལ།

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1990 ལའི་མཆོ་སྟོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱོད་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱོད་ལ་དཔལ་མང་པའི་ཉམས་བརྩམས་པའི་༼རྒྱ་བོད་  
ཉོར་སོག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཉམས་ཉུང་དུར་བརྗོད་པ་བྱིས་པ་འཇུག་པའི་འབབ་སྟེགས་བཞུགས་སོ༽ 67-68པར་གསལ།

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དམ་ཆོས་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་༼བོད་ཡིག་དཔུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་རིགས་ཁྲིད་གི་མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་  
རྒྱུས་མདོ་ཙམ་བཀོད་པ༽ ༼བོད་རྫོང་ས་ཞིབ་འཇུག༽ 92ལའི་དེབ་གཉིས་པར་གསལ།

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1963 ལོར་བཏོན་པའི་༼མ་ལྷོ་སོག་རྫོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས༽ ངོས་12པར་གསལ།

སྐལ་བཟང་དར་རྒྱས། ད་ལྟ་ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྟེ་གནས་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་དུ་ཕྱག་  
ལས་གནང་ཐུས་སུ་མཆིས།

PASTURE FIGHTS, MEDIATION, AND ETHNIC NARRATIONS:  
ASPECTS OF THE ETHNIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE MONGOLS AND TIBETANS IN QINGHAI AND GANSU

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INTRODUCTION

'Conflict' is one of the traditional themes of anthropology; in particular, many scholars have studied 'ethnic conflict'. While most scholars hold the view that ethnic groups are for conflicts, not conflicts for ethnic groups, and they abhor conflicts in general (Kurimoto 1997), they have neglected the severity of the issue when a conflict slides into an ethnic conflict, especially from the point of view of those concerned. Since the publication of Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (Anderson 1983), the discourses of imagination, creation, fabrication, and so on, have become fashionable to represent ethnicity. These discourses clearly represent intellectual preferences and a wish to move away from wars and conflicts caused by primordial instincts. Unfortunately, in the real world, ethnic conflicts have not lessened but intensified. In this respect, there seems to be some disparity between scholars' understanding of ethnicity and that of the people concerned. In other words, ethnic conflicts are not something that can be defined away or wished away, as there are many things both tangible and intangible that lead to real conflicts, especially in a multiethnic context.

This paper intends to analyse the ethnic conflict between the Mongols in the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County (hereafter Henanmengqi) and neighbouring Tibetans for pasture (see map 1). Both Mongols and Tibetans in China are ethnic groups or 'nationalities' (*minzu*) in the Chinese official lexicon, each having splendid traditions and cultures. Much has been said about their intertwined histories and religions but there has been little study on their contemporary social relationship. Far from being segregated, interaction between the two ethnic groups is still ongoing particularly in Qinghai province, and it is not always a happy one.

My study is centred on the narrations of the people concerned, and makes an interpretation of why and how they narrate and what they understand about ethnicity in pasture fights.<sup>1</sup> First, I will take a brief look at the history of the pasture fights between Henanmengqi and its neighbouring regions after Liberation, that is, after the Communist takeover in 1949. Then I will focus on the pasture fights of some Henanmengqi residents, who had recently changed their ethnic identity from Tibetan to Mongolian. At this point I also investigate the effects of mediation efforts made by communal authorities such as reincarnate lamas, popularly known as Living Buddhas, and local government officials. I will demonstrate how the official nationality category becomes an important factor when people narrate about the fight processes or judge the fairness of the mediations. Finally, I want to illuminate how the reality of an ethnic conflict is formed for the people concerned.

#### HENANMENGQI AND THE PASTURE FIGHTS

Mongols account for 91% of all the Henanmengqi population; the rest are Tibetans. However, they are isolated ethnically, surrounded by Tibetans in Qinghai and Gansu provinces. The Henanmengqi Mongols and Tibetans are not very different from each other in terms of either culture or language; in academic studies, the Henanmengqi Mongols are often described as 'Tibetanised Mongols'.<sup>2</sup> However, the Tibetanised Henanmengqi Mongols call themselves Soggo (*Sog po*),

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<sup>1</sup> My fieldwork—carried out from 1996 to 2003 for 15 months in total—was funded by the Toyota Foundation, the Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research of JSPS (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) and the Shibusawa Fund for Ethnology. It was difficult to obtain comprehensive information from both sides due to the nature of the conflict. The fact that I am a Mongolian (from Inner Mongolia) made it even more difficult for me to gather information from the Tibetan side at the same level as from the Mongolian side. The main part of my fieldwork was conducted in Henanmengqi and related areas in Qinghai province; but in an attempt to correct a possible bias, I also collected data in and surveyed the central part of Gannan TAP. It may still be insufficient. The information contained in this paper is from my own field data published in Shinjilt (2003) and several newly obtained unpublished internal documents related to the pasture fights.

<sup>2</sup> For academic studies of the county, see Li (1989, 1992) and Jamsran *et al.* (1996). Other studies include Abe (1998, 1999), Dhondup and Diemberger (2002) and Dhondup (2002); the latter being a dissertation about historical personalities and literary scholars of Henanmengqi.

which means Mongol in the Amdo-Tibetan dialect. Interestingly, the majority of the Nyin mtha' Xiang (township) residents, the largest of the six Xiangs in Henanmengqi, belong to the Gtsang a rig tribe, historically a Tibetan tribe, which changed their identity from Tibetan to Mongolian in the 1980s (Shinjilt 1998, 1999, 2003).

Within the Henanmengqi local community, the category Soggo is not complicated. To set themselves apart from the category of Tibetan, the Henanmengqi Mongols always emphasise several elements that denote their identity as Soggo—for example, the tent's structure, the upper and under seating order within the tent, the placement of the oven, the clothing styles the naming practice of livestock, and so on. Those 'Things Soggo' have become ethnic markers or the standard of classification between oneself and others.<sup>3</sup> What complicates the situation is that the same ethnic markers as used *vis-à-vis* Tibetan are not always agreed upon by all the groups who claim to be 'Mongolian'. For instance, the people of Nyin mtha' are not ordinarily considered to be Soggo by the people of the other five Xiangs of Henanmengqi. In fact, they even doubt the former's identity as Mongolian *minzu*, a wider officially defined category encompassing Mongols elsewhere in China. What is the implication of such internal dynamics of the Henanmengqi for the category of the Soggo or Mongolian in Nyin mtha' Xiang at times of conflicts?

Before looking into the impact of pasture fights on the maintenance or loss of their ethnic identity, I would like to outline the pasture fights experienced since the 1950s in the Henanmengqi region. Pasture fights exist not only between Henanmengqi and its neighbours but also among

<sup>3</sup> For example, Soggo's tents (*sog gur*) are round in shape and covered with white sheep wool felts. They can be distinguished from Tibetan tents (*sbra nag*), which are generally square and covered with black yak wool felts. Interpretation for the upper seat and lower seat is also different. In both *sog gur* and *sbra nag* the deepest part of the tent from the entrance is the most sacred, the place for the Buddhist altar. Seen from the altar side, Henanmengqi people consider the right hand side more honoured place, and are for men and visitors. The left hand side is considered lower and is for women and children. The space symbolisms in *sbra nag*'s tents are completely opposite. There are Soggo's characteristics in the oven's shape and its direction. Henanmengqi's *sog thab* (Mongolian oven) is square and made of clay, the head faces the Buddhist altar and the fuel tank faces the entrance of *sog gur*. The *bod thab* (Tibetan oven) is triangular and faces opposite of *sog thab*. The shoes called *sog lham* (Mongolian shoes) have a long and big sole and curved toes. Hats called *sog zhwa* (Mongolian hats) have red tufts on the top. Characteristics of *sog rtsag* (Mongolian leather gown) include long collar and 'horse-shoe' shaped sleeves. Livestock with Henanmengqi origin are also distinguished, such as *sog lug* (Mongolian sheep).

Tibetans<sup>4</sup> and among the Henanmengqi Soggos.<sup>5</sup> However, disputes between Henanmengqi and its neighbours often last longer and are more complicated than other disputes and usually require arbitration and reconciliation.

Geographically, Henanmengqi is located in the centre of the Amdo Tibetan region and has a border of 478 km surrounded by several counties and prefectures: to the north there is Rtse khog county of the Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP); to the west are Rma chen county of the Mgo log TAP and Thun te county of the Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province; to the south and the east are Rma chu county, Klu chu county and Xiahe (Bsang chu) county of the Gannan TAP, Gansu province (see Map 2). Henanmengqi experienced and continues to have conflicts over pasture with all of these counties,<sup>6</sup> often involving heavy human and livestock casualties (see Table 1).

#### PASTURE CONFLICTS AND THEIR ARBITRATIONS

Here I provide a brief ethnographic account of the conflict between Nyin mtha' Xiang of Henanmengqi and Dngul rwa zholma Xiang

<sup>4</sup> There has been a conflict since 1988 between Mgarrtse Xiang of Tongren county and Xunhua county (Zhang 1993). The conflict between the Tibetan region surrounding the Bla brang monastery to the east of Henanmengqi and the Reb gong region which is to the north of Henanmengqi has lasted for a long time. This conflict, which had already lasted more than 40 years by the 1940s (Ma Wuji 1992 [1941]), was settled in the 1950s, but suffered 76 deaths (Huangnan Zangzu Zizhizhouzhi Bianji Weiyuanhui 1999: 898).

<sup>5</sup> There were a lot of pasture fights inside Henanmengqi before and immediately after it was reorganised as an autonomous county in the 1950s, but they decreased afterwards (Unreleased paper No. 7 1953; Unreleased paper No. 8 1955).

<sup>6</sup> This issue of conflicts between Henanmengqi and its neighbours has been deeply related to their external politics. After the construction of Bla brang monastery towards the first half of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Henanmengqi society ruled by the Qinwang had maintained macro diplomacy in order to either lessen the power of Tibetans or defend themselves from Tibetans in the north and the west by allying with those in the east in terms of religion and politics. Its political influence can be seen in the fierce pasture conflicts with Tibetans in the north. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, along with the decline of Henanmengqi's political influence, pasture fights started to occur with Tibetan groups in the east and the west which have been Henanmengqi's allies. In the north, conflicts between Rtse khog county and Brag dmar Xiang continued from before the Liberation to the mid-1990s. In the east, conflicts between Xiahe county and Klu chu county, and those Brag dmar Xiang and gser lung Xiang of Henanmengqi lasted until 1992. And conflicts in the south between Rma chu county and khu sin Xiang continued for more than sixty years until 1995. Conflicts in the west among Rma chen county, Thun te county and Nyin mtha' Xiang are longstanding ones.

(hereafter Dngul rwa) of Rma chu county of the Gannan TAP, Gansu province, which lasted more than two years from 1997, and which not only impacted heavily on the local society but also attracted attention from both inside and outside China.<sup>7</sup> The so called '8.3 Incident' that happened on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1997, triggering a conflict which lasted two years, was over a pasture of about 330,000 mu (about 220 km<sup>2</sup>) to the south of the Yellow River.

Nyin mtha' Xiang has two settlement centres to the south of the Yellow River: 'Ob thung village and Rka chung village. The former was directly involved in the conflict. Since 'Ob thung belongs to Gtsang a rig, like the majority of residents in Nyin mtha' Xiang, the latter was pulled into this conflict, as the tribal norm dictated. Before 1997, when the conflict occurred, the actual boundary of the two Xiangs was the Dpyi khog mountain which divides the Yellow River and its southern branch, the Dpyi khog river: Dngul rwa lies in the south and Nyin mtha' in the north; until then people moved quite freely and naturally, according to the residents of both Xiangs.

From July 30<sup>th</sup> to August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1997, a woman from 'Ob thung who went to hospital in the central part of Dngul rwa disappeared. So did four of her relatives who went to look for her. Again, three out of the five who went to look for those four vanished during the same period. Early on the morning of August 2<sup>nd</sup> several Tibetan monks from Dngul rwa came to 'Ob thung and delivered a message: "This land originally belonged to us. You must leave this land now if you want to avoid war and rescue the eight". One senior man, who we shall call A, in 'Ob thung answered: "There is no reason we must leave. We will fight if you like. We want the eight returned". The monks then left, saying: "Come and get the eight at the top of the boundary mountain at eleven o'clock tomorrow".

The next day, August 3<sup>rd</sup>, eleven people of 'Ob thung were dispatched to receive the hostages in the early morning, only to encounter armed forces from Dngul rwa. Only seven people climbed up to the mountain top leaving the other four to look after their horses. Since their only weapons were three rifles, three were shot to death. With enforcement coming from Nyin mtha', fighting continued late into the

<sup>7</sup> Reports on the conflict appear frequently not only in China's internal reports, but also on the overseas Tibet related websites (Unreleased paper No. 9 1999; Unreleased paper No. 10 1999; TIN 1999).



night. But outnumbered and out-powered, Nyin mtha' had seventeen people injured and ten mountain peaks taken by Dngul rwa. This incident was later called the '8.3 incident'.

As indicated in Table 2, there had been four major battles between the '8.3 incident' and August 1998. At midnight on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1998 several dozen Dngul rwa civilians attacked a Nyin mtha' camp and injured one person. Reinforcements of Nyin mtha' from the adjacent camps pushed the invaders to the border, where they encountered more Dngul rwa fighters waiting for them; Nyin mtha' finally avenged their humiliations by mounting a counter attack, which left twelve dead and five injured on the Dngul rwa side, with only two deaths on their own side.

The 'Ob thung region fell into anarchy; in order to defend the local people's safety, a group of civilian fighters called *soba* was organised in Nyin mtha'. In defence of thirty seven households, nomadic warriors from six out of the eleven communities in Nyin mtha' constructed six *so mgo* or defence camps of tent style in the Bor wol area, which are uninhabited mountains in the north more than 4,000 m above sea level.

Conflict mediation has two major methods in Qinghai and Gansu provinces: 'bureaucratic mediation' by administrative authorities from local or central governments, and 'non-governmental mediation' conducted by religious authorities such as Living Buddhas. Usually, mediation is entrusted to the county authority if the conflict is between Xiangs, to the prefecture if it is between counties, and to the province if two prefectures are involved. The central government has to be involved if two provinces are in dispute.

The conflict involving Nyin mtha' and Dngul rwa proved to be too difficult for local governments to resolve, as it involved two provinces and two ethnic groups/nationalities. Monks of the Bla brang monastery, which is considered to have a firm relationship with Dngul rwa, and those of the Gtsang monastery, which is reputed as a monastery of Gtsang a rig, initiated the non-governmental mediation. By virtue of its higher status and the involvement of well-known Living Buddhas, the Bla brang monastery took the lead.

Two Living Buddhas, Reverend B and Reverend C from the Bla brang monastery, who were given great credence by the public of both Tibetans and Mongols of the two tribes, and who were entrusted by the governments of Gansu province and Qinghai province, settled this reconciliation issue (Unreleased paper No. 3 1998).

At the final mediation session, these two Living Buddhas produced a 'mediation report' (Unreleased paper No. 4 1998).

The report stated that the disputed 330 thousand mu pasture originally belonged to Gansu province. However, given the reality that Nyin mtha' had owned this land for more than 30 years after the 1960s it was advised that the pasture be split between the two Xiangs of the two provinces: 180 thousand mu to be put under the jurisdiction of Dngul rwa, and 150 thousand mu under the jurisdiction of Nyin mtha'. Dngul rwa accepted this verdict but Nyin mtha' rejected it. There were three reasons for their rejection:

Historically, the curved region of the Yellow River had been within the jurisdiction of Henan Qinwang after the 1830s, and the controversial area was pastureland of Gtsang a rig and Gtsang lha sde tribes.

It was considered a fundamental mistake to settle the current pasture dispute based on the 1962 agreement for the pasture conflict mediation between Gansu province's Rma chu county and three counties of Qinghai province's Mgo log prefecture, for the agreement does not concern Henanmengqi.

The report violates the principle issued by the central government in 1997, which prescribed that the current condition of the region in which the local residents undertake their life and production activities be respected (Unreleased paper No. 5, 1998).

Since the local governmental and non-governmental mediation efforts failed, the local governments and the people involved had no choice but to call for central government intervention. The non-governmental representative of the village leaders from Nyin mtha' Xiang and their farm operators travelled to Beijing in September 1998 and presented a petition concerning the case.

This petition insisted on their proprietary rights to the disputed pasture, in accordance with the historical background. Their argument stated that some parts of the neighbouring regions such as Rma chu used to belong to Henanmengqi, and especially the central part of Dngul rwa was once pastureland of Gtsang a rig which belonged to the historical Henanmengqi Qinwang banner. On this basis, the petition referred to the ethnic condition of the Henanmengqi people:

Within the existing area [meaning Henanmengqi and surrounding Tibetan inhabited area], we are the minority of the minorities, and also the weakest group removed farthest from the main body of the Mongolian nationality [referring to the Mongols of Inner Mongolia] (Unreleased paper No. 6, 1998).

The petition justified the rejection by making the following statement:

The mediation report from the two Living Buddhas was not approved of by the mediation representatives from both sides; it was merely their personal opinion. This report neglected historical customs whereby the pastureland was used by the two parties concerned, and it also violated rules and principles of both provinces and the state. Therefore we reject the report (Unreleased paper No. 6 1998).

In response to this petition, in October 1998, the central government dispatched investigators to the actual sites of conflict. Based on their findings a report for reconciliation was finalised by the central government in November 1999, and the central decision was finally issued in March 2000. It was decided that of the disputed 330,000 mu pastureland, 30,000 mu should belong to Rma chu and 300,000 mu to Henanmengqi. This resolution went against Rma chu's expectation, but was welcomed by Henanmengqi. Confrontation between the two groups has not disappeared since then, but no armed collision has been reported.

#### PASTURE CONFLICTS AND ETHNIC NARRATIONS ABOUT ITS MEDIATIONS

All of Henanmengqi's 'enemies' in the conflicts are Tibetan according to China's nationality classification. However, if we further our study of the relationships between Henanmengqi and its enemies, things become more complicated. Dngul rwa is deeply related to Henanmengqi as far as its formation and expansion are concerned (Qinghai Sheng Shehui Kexueyuan Zangxue Yanjiusuo 1990: 394–95; Ma Dengkun & Wanmaduoji 1994: 74–79; Zhou Ta 1996: 162–63; Maqu Xianzhi Bianji Weiyuanhui 2001: 853–55). People of Henanmengqi insist that there are Soggos in Dngul rwa. The following rumours circulate within Henanmengqi concerning Dngul rwa's internal management in this conflict: one tribe in Dngul rwa was charged 140,000 yuan in penalty for not sending its fighters when Dngul rwa declared war against Nyin mtha' with an aim to drive the Soggos out of this land, just because the tribe's origin was Soggo.

As for what triggered the conflict, the Henanmengqi government report determined the '8.3 incident' as a cause, but other incidents were also referred to. As in other Tibetan districts, there is a tendency of revenge between Henanmengqi and its neighbouring regions.

Historically Nyin mtha' and Dngul rwa experienced a series of collisions over livestock rustling, often accompanied with bloody counter-attacks. Before the '8.3 incident' that led to the escalation of the conflict, there had already been fighting and heavy casualties on both sides: twenty-two had died on the Nyin mtha' side and twenty three on the Dngul rwa side.<sup>8</sup> According to the people of Nyin mtha', the '8.3 incident' was started by the people of Dngul rwa who wanted to get even with Nyin mtha' in terms of the number of the dead.

In the wake of the conflict, both sides sent requests to the civil administrative departments (*minzhengting*) of their respective provinces, Qinghai and Gansu, that Living Buddhas be involved in the mediation, and both provinces sent their respective reports to the central government. The central government entrusted authoritative power to the Living Buddhas. Had both sides agreed to the Living Buddhas' mediation report, that report would have had legal authority. As already mentioned, Nyin mtha' rejected it.

With hindsight, some people of Henanmengqi were ambivalent towards the role of the Living Buddhas in mediating the conflict: "Living Buddhas were not wrong; it was the bureaucrats in the region that were wrong". In other words although the decision made by the Living Buddhas was advantageous to Dngul rwa, Nyin mtha' people did not overtly blame the lamas but attributed the problem to Gansu province's ambition for land. As the conflict lasted longer than expected, some also felt anxiety at their rejection of the Living Buddhas' mediation report. As one remarked, "because the Living Buddhas have high status and influence, the state will consider their views when it requires some solutions". They were particularly worried that if the central government's decision was the same as that of the Living Buddhas they might lose not only their land but also their blessing from the Living Buddhas simultaneously.

Less religious people were more straightforward:

If the Living Buddhas were Soggo, and the majority of residents in this area were Soggo, the situation would be different. There's no Living Buddha who is serious about Soggo.

<sup>8</sup> According to a paper Henanmengqi presented in 1957, a fight which lasted from 1950 to 1951 left 19 dead on Dngul rwa side and 15 dead on Gtsang a rig side (Unreleased paper No. 11 1957).

This 'ethnic' way of thinking was supported by others who remarked:

We lost our lands because we were too weak in this region as Mongolians. Inner Mongolians and Mongolians in Haixi prefecture show no interest in us and their support is out of the question.

The stance maintained by Henanmengqi was not shared by people from the Gannan TAP who have been hostile to Henanmengqi since the Nyin mtha' conflict. Mr. D, a government official in the Gannan TAP, confided to the author in private:

Henanmengqi initially left the conflict mediation power in the hands of Living Buddhas, because they believed in them. If that was so, they should have obeyed their decision unconditionally.

On the other hand, he also acknowledged the internal dynamics of Henanmengqi, saying: "Mr. B or Mr. C must have known the difficulty of reconciliation with Henanmengqi. No one wanted to be involved in such troubles". It suggests that the government officials were wary of the ethnic dimension of the conflict, since to deal with Nyin mtha' was to deal with Soggo as a whole. Moreover, Mr E (a government official in the Gannan TAP) said to me as follows:

It was easy for Henanmengqi to penetrate into the centre of Dngul rwa zholma Xiang, occupying the Dpyi khog Mountain in the conflict with Dngul rwa this time [as of 1999]. Henanmengqi has always been strong when they fought their neighbours. They occupied the centre of Bla ru mgul Xiang in the fight with Klu chu county a few years ago. A public organisation in Henanmengqi supported them. Undoubtedly, the [Henanmengqi] armed forces department [Wuzhuangbu] gave its military support.

Why did *Wuzhuangbu* act as such, given the fact that it is a state organisation? Mr. E said: "No such thing would happen among Tibetans. Henanmengqi is Soggo, which is different from its neighbours".

Henanmengqi's criticism also targeted the political structure of the Chinese government. Some of the Qinghai provincial government officials were said to have given up their pastureland, until the 1980s, in order to maintain peace in the border region, under the idea 'to exchange pasture for peace' against the will of Henanmengqi. That they could do so was because the land belonged to the state. As pastureland and livestock were contracted to individual households after the 1980s, they acquired new meanings. As one said:

It is a crime to invade and steal other people's land. It is one's duty to protect one's own pastureland. So far we Henanmengqi have ceded our pastureland to Tibetans unilaterally. But we refuse to tolerate this situation any longer.

One official's remark best represented the view of most Henanmengqi government officials on the pasture conflict and its background:

Dngul rwa's final purpose is to expand into the land of Henanmengqi, an undertaking started in 1997. Although both sides interacted with each other in peace without any border conflict since Liberation [i.e. after 1949], they started to create new troubles after some forty years. They have undertaken military preparation in order to create a recognised fact of occupation before the state finished its border demarcation project. Dngul rwa have tried to occupy lands legally through the conflict mediation, which is their specialty, by redrawing the boundary deep inside the Henanmengqi territory.

In a report concerning conflicts on the Henanmengqi side, the ethnic elements that existed in Nyin mtha' vs. Dngul rwa conflict were described as follows:

The '8.3 incident' was Dngul rwa's conspiracy and was achieved systematically as planned. The chieftains of Dngul rwa Xiang started to procure weapons in the central area of Rma chu county and Dngul rwa Xiang from the end of July. Dngul rwa Xiang ordered that each household contribute one soldier, one rifle, and one horse out of one household, and that fighters gather at the border on July 31<sup>st</sup> when the first battle commenced. Moreover, at the centre of Dngul rwa, the chieftains of Dngul rwa tribe declared war saying: "It is the Mongols we will conquer and the Mongol land we will capture. They must return to their homeland". (Unreleased paper No. 2 1998)

One Xiang leader in Henanmengqi expressed the importance of the pasture conflict which Nyin mtha' experienced in this way: "The pressing current question is whether or not we Mongols can live on the Qinghai-Tibetan highland where we have lived for 300 years".

The former Henanmengqi representative who attended the peace conference stated that it was impossible to expect the provincial government officials to give a fair decision for Henanmengqi, since most of them are Tibetans whether they are from rival Gansu province or Qinghai province to which Henanmengqi belongs administratively. Regardless of their public stance, local government officials from both sides blamed the rival local government for being responsible for the conflicts and for their territorial expansionism; they were aware that



ethnicity would not make the conflict reconciliation any easier. In that case, how did the people's perception of conflicts affect their behaviour in concrete terms?

#### ASSERTION AS MONGOLIAN AND ACTIONS AS SOGGO

For Henanmengqi, it is the 'Tibetans' who invaded their territory. As a result this becomes an unmistakable 'fact' rather than a mere speculation supported by the recognition of 'unfairness' about the above-mentioned conflict mediation. Therefore, people in Henanmengqi demanded that the central government should be neutral in their decisions. As a means to approach this national authority, the name 'Mongolian' seemed to be most effective. Justification of their indigenous claim to the land became central to their fight against eviction. Strategies for justification included ethnic naming of the land and the emphasis on historical continuity of their living on the site of conflict. For example, Beshengkhe'ule and Shamar are words that are added to place names; they are probably Mongolian. All the land names in the controversial area are not necessarily of Mongolian origin, but a mixture of Mongolian and Tibetan or even pure Tibetan. The Mongol origin of a non-Tibetan land name is not readily discernable to most of the people in Henanmengqi who speak Tibetan as a first language, and who may not have historical or linguistic knowledge. Instead of pursuing the correct meaning in Mongolian, they find it meaningful to assert that the land name is simply not Tibetan.

The local Mongols frequently trace their history back to the Qing dynasty, sometimes even back to the Mongol empire and the Yuan dynasty of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, as a basis to assert the fact that the Henanmengqi Mongols were the original inhabitants of the land.<sup>9</sup> In their petition presented to central government and other papers related to the conflict between Nyin mtha' and Dngul rwa, the Nyin mtha' side repeatedly emphasised that the territory was given to prince Henan Qinwang by the Qing dynasty. The purpose of this assertion was to maintain the present territory of the Autonomous County, and to point out that their original sovereignty was over a much larger territory that had been allocated to the prince Henan Qinwang. This appeal to history simultaneously reaffirms the Soggo characteristics of the land names, and is intended as a challenge to the attempts of their rivals and

<sup>9</sup> For example: Unreleased paper No. 12. 1998.

the arbitrators who question the Henanmengqi Soggo's qualifications as indigenous residents of the area.

Nyin mtha' Xiang officials emphasised Henanmengqi's historical territory as the main reason for rejecting the mediation decision of the Living Buddhas of the Bla brang monastery. In the 'petition' the Nyin mtha' people handed to central government, they explained in detail the size of the pastures of Henanmengqi Mongolians lost in the long-lasting pasture conflicts dating back to the late Qing dynasty, and they emphasised their unenviable dilemma as Mongolians having to confront neighbouring Tibetans:

Since we are isolated from our main nationality and surrounded by Tibetans with enormous population, we have historically suffered from many ethnic collisions. After the Liberation, a new socialist relationship between the Mongolians and Tibetans has been created, and the obstacle in nationality has been basically removed. However, we have been treated quite unjustly in the course of the mediations in pasture conflicts. These mediation decisions were made by either local government or the trusted Living Buddhas. Since the establishment of the Autonomous County, we have suffered thirty one deaths in the pasture conflicts, paid 900,000 yuan in penalty and given away more than two million mu of pastureland. It is one sixth of the pastureland that existed immediately after the Liberation, and one fifth of the present pastureland (Unreleased paper No. 6. 1998).

Moreover, they attributed the problem in conflict mediation and their crisis to their identity as Mongolian:

We have accepted most of the mediation decisions for the sake of life and border stability, and we are suffering from the pain. However, they were quite unfair and very wrathful. Under this condition, our nationality pride as Mongolians has been immensely hurt and the friendly Mongol-Tibetan relationship was compromised. We Mongolians, who have suffered the ethnic pressure and insult, even considered relocating ourselves from the river area [the curved area of the Yellow River, the present Henanmengqi] to move closer to the our nationality body [migration to the region where the majority of Mongolians live, such as Inner Mongolia] (Unreleased paper No. 6 1998).

For people of Henanmengqi including Nyin mtha', the emphasis on their 'Mongolian' identity was the most effective means to solve the problems they faced. In short, 'Mongolianness' for the people of Henanmengqi at the time of pasture conflicts is the latest weapon or strategy, which they use to protect themselves. In the past the Mongolian identity had no emotional or natural bond for them, espe-

cially for the people of Nyin mtha' who, historically, had been Tibetans. To prevail against the mediators, Henanmengqi officials began to insist on the historical rights their ancestors had established in the controversial area. Officials then picked up ordinarily unfamiliar Mongolian elements as symbolically important. This assertion as 'Mongolian' compelled the solution to the pasture conflicts to be sought beyond the boundaries of counties, prefectures and provinces. However, this alone could not bring about a solution. It was the identity of Soggo that mobilised Henanmengqi people in the actual action in each pasture conflict. Henanmengqi people often narrated with pride how they chased the enemy out of the Henanmengqi's land. The success was attributed to the mobilising power of Soggo, as all Xiangs and tribes within Henanmengqi are duty-bound to form a united front against their common enemies in the pasture conflicts. As mentioned above: "Inner Mongolians and Mongolians in Haixi prefecture show no interest in us, their support is out of the question".

Five of the Xiangs in Henanmengqi have a stereotype against Nyin mtha' Xiang as already explained at the beginning of the paper, i.e. they were believed to be originally Tibetan. However, under the conflict condition, Nyin mtha' as a member of Henanmengqi Soggo gained support in the form of weapons, provisions and volunteers from other Xiangs when they were attacked by Dngul rwa.

On the day following the '8.3 incident', scores of people from Brag dmar Xiang requested opportunities to defend a highland position, but Nyin mtha' refused by saying: "We appreciate the fact you have come. However, we don't want to trouble you any further". Instead, Nyin mtha' just rented the twenty five rifles that Brag dmar had brought. In 1998 more than ten people from Mdogsum Xiang and about one hundred fighters from Mthoyulma and Brag dmar Xiangs also came to support Nyin mtha'. A rumour circulated that the actual commander of the Nyin mtha' counter-attack in 1998 was someone from Gser lung Xiang.

In the course of conflict between Nyin mtha' and Dngul rwa, the entire Henanmengqi experienced the following: eight individuals became hostages; all of the members of their sub-village were attacked; and as a result there was co-operation among all sub-villages, villages, Xiangs, including several Soggo tribes within Henanmengqi. It can be pointed out that as a result of the conflict, in which the entire Soggo people were attacked, an unprecedented mutual co-operation developed among the Henanmengqi Soggos.

## CONCLUSION

Pasture conflicts can be seen from the perspective of common human relations among the cattle breeders whose basic livelihood depends on pastureland. Considering that severe pasture conflicts have occurred among the same Tibetans bordering Henanmengqi, it is not necessarily true that the Tibetan side intentionally cast a net in order to attack the Soggo of Henanmengqi. Thus from this more objective point of view, pasture conflict affecting Henanmengqi is not necessarily ethnic conflict. However, the ethnic category which encompasses certain local groups becomes significant only when it is necessary to mobilise people in the pasture conflicts between the Henanmengqi Soggo and its neighbours, and to facilitate a smooth reconciliation, as in the conflict case involving Henanmengqi and Rma chu. The people of Henanmengqi refer to the ethnic and political position of the Living Buddhas only when it is obviously a matter of problems concerning profits such as those over pasturelands. Nonetheless, their belief in the religious authorities remains undiminished. They question the fairness of bureaucratic reconciliation by pointing out that those officials involved are Tibetans. As is obvious, perceptions of ethnicity play a big role in the assessment of the fairness of the arbitration. Ethnicity pushed them to go beyond the local governmental and non-governmental arbitration and to appeal directly to the national authority that is believed to be more neutral.

In the appeal to the national authority, the case was presented as a matter of the survival of the Henanmengqi Mongolians on their present land. That the Dngul rwa side gathered fighters, was alleged to have intended the removal of Henanmengqi Mongolians (including Nyin mtha') from the 'Tibetan' highland. Regardless of whether such an intention existed, the appeal itself was a testimony to the extreme sensitivity of Henanmengqi to any outside hostility. The Henanmengqi people saw in ethnicity the best chance of obtaining a 'fairer' conflict settlement. By pointing out the Mongolian elements in land names, they insisted on historical sovereignty over the controversial site; they knew that history privileges the Mongols. Moreover, they attributed their current problems to their minority status; indeed, they called themselves a minority of the minorities. They fully capitalised on their Mongolian identity: what seemed to be a rather routine conflict among

nomads became more significant simply because it happened to occur on the borderland of Mongols and Tibetans. Ethnicity was then presented to the national authority as the very cause of the conflicts.

What we have seen so far shows how ethnicity is both imaginative and instrumental. However, if one recognises how the appeal and co-operation in the name of ethnicity leads directly to their chance of survival in the face of strong enemies, ethnicity becomes quite real for the people concerned. Ethnicity comes forward as the most important key word when people discuss the conflicts and the arbitrations, especially when the Dngul rwa raised a clarion call to 'drive away the Soggos'. Since ethnicity demands loyalty, the ethnicity of both the governmental and non-governmental authorities was also a prominent issue.

In this light, it is understandable that the Tibetans ignored the tribal differences in Henanmengqi and called the entire area including Nyin mtha' 'Soggo'. Soggo connoted 'non-nativeness' to the Tibetans who insisted on their own 'native' identity, thereby legitimating their entitlement to the disputed land. In their own defence, the Henanmengqi people appealed to much higher principles, that is, nationality, equality and citizenship, and emphasised their nationality identity as Mongolian and their status of being a minority of minorities, thus deserving special protection from the state.

These ethnic appeals as Mongolian and Tibetan come largely from officials on both sides of the hostility. Ordinary people in Henanmengqi are hardly fighting for 'Mongolian' *per se*. Their actions in and interpretations of the conflicts are multidimensional, and the only meaningful identity for them is Soggo. As in the case of the rumour about the alleged 'Soggo' origin of a tribe in Dngul rwa being fined for their refusal to participate in the conflict against Nyin mtha', it is 'Soggo' not 'Mongol' that was at issue. In short, it is the local identity as Henanmengqi Soggo, rather than the abstract principle of being members of the Mongolian nationality, that engendered mutual support in the pasture conflicts. This local Soggo identity took on a real meaning as the people of Henanmengqi have had a difficult relationship with neighbouring Tibetans.

For the Henanmengqi people who are thoroughly 'Tibetanised', the chronic pasture conflicts compel them to reconsider their identity and emphasise their identity as Soggo. As the Nyin mtha' conflict with the 'others' in the neighbouring Tibetan communities intensified, the often mutually quarrelsome people of the five Xiangs would temporarily sus-

pend their internal squabbles and come to the aid of Nyin mtha', recognising the latter's identity as Soggo, as their interests coincided. By this process, the Nyin mtha' side succeeded in presenting themselves as Soggo. With the extension of the Soggo category to Nyin mtha', Henanmengqi or the Autonomous County's administrative boundary becomes congruent with the Soggo boundary. Pasture conflicts with the Tibetan neighbours enabled the Soggo category to expand and maintain its people's life order, thereby becoming an indispensable instrument for protecting people's properties and their lives in Henanmengqi.

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### *Unreleased Papers*

(The authors' names are omitted and the formal titles of the documents simplified for the protection of privacy)

- Unreleased paper No. 1. 1999. (Henanmengqi side). A report on the present condition of the Henanmengqi border.
- Unreleased paper No. 2. 1999. (Henanmengqi side). The process and the result of 8 severe blood-shedding incidents.
- Unreleased paper No. 3. 1998. (Non-governmental arbitrators). Report to the border control offices in Gansu and Qinghai provinces.
- Unreleased paper No. 4. 1998. (Non-governmental arbitrators). Opinion on mediation of the pasture conflict between Nyin mtha' and Dngulrwa.
- Unreleased paper No. 5. 1998. (People in Nyin mtha'). A letter to nongovernmental arbitrators.
- Unreleased paper No. 6. 1998. (Representative of the Nyin mtha' public). Report on murder incident and armed attacks of the Dngulrwa.
- Unreleased paper No. 7. 1953. (Working committee of the Communist Party in Henanmengqi). The final report on conflict mediation of all the tribes in Henanmengqi.
- Unreleased paper No. 8. 1955. (Working committee of the Communist Party in Henanmengqi). Report of conflict in Khusin and Mdogsum.
- Unreleased paper No. 9. 1999. (Central government) A notice for the local stability in border-demarcation project.
- Unreleased paper No. 10. 1999. (Central government inquiry-making organ). The final opinion on fixing administrative boundary between Henanmengqi and Rmachu in the conflict situation.
- Unreleased paper No. 11. 1957. (Henanmengqi side) Pasture conflicts between tribes in our county and tribes in Gannan TAP.
- Unreleased paper No. 12. 1998. (Leaders of Nyin mtha') The living condition of Nyin mtha' to the south of the Yellow River in the 1960s.
- Table 1: Number of dead and injured on Henanmengqi side in pasture conflicts since the second half of the 1980s.

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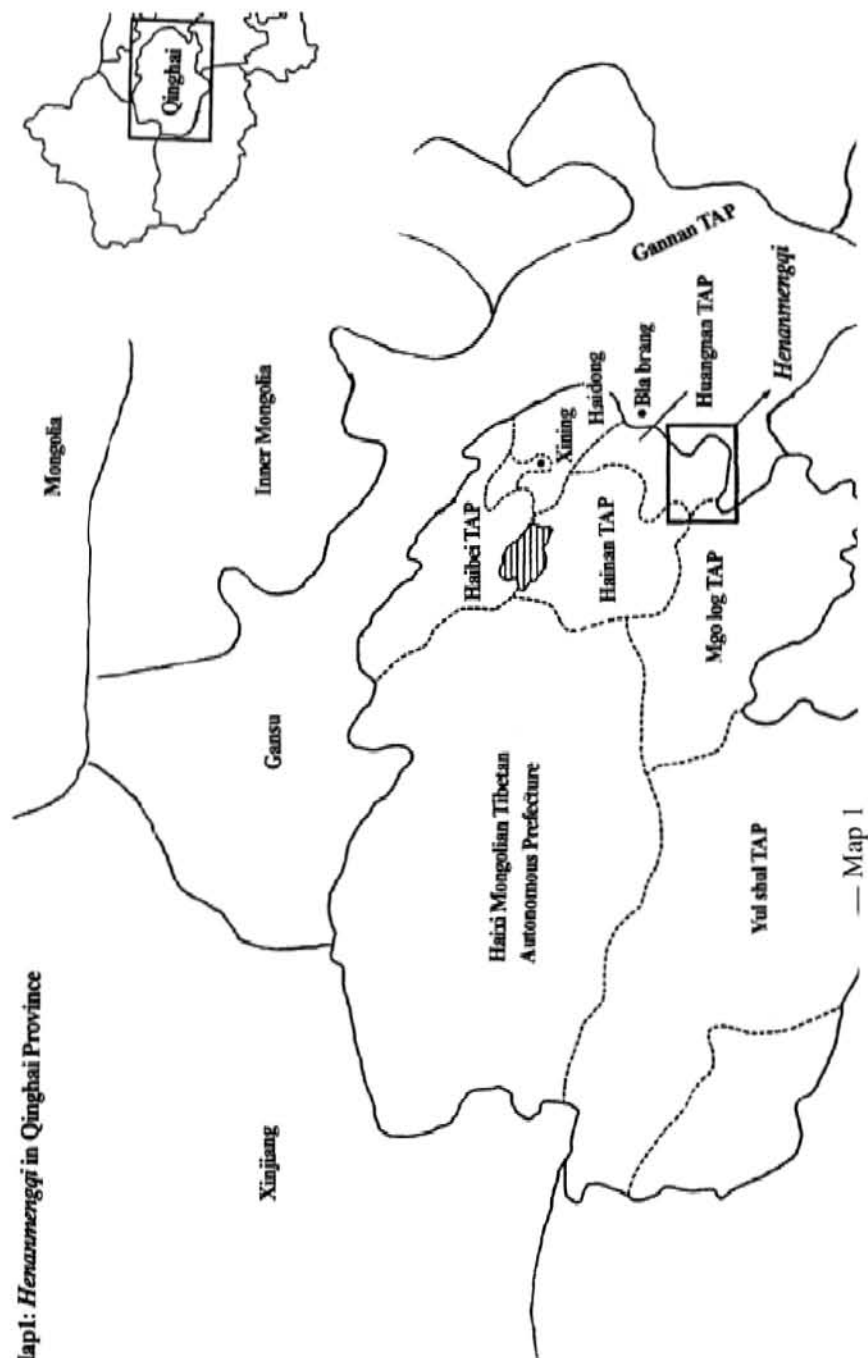
<i>Xiang name in Henanmengqi</i>	<i>County name of the opponents</i>	<i>Time of incident</i>	<i>Number of dead and injured</i>	
			<i>dead</i>	<i>injured</i>
Gser lung Xiang	Klu chu county, Gansu province	16 July 1988	0	2
		09 June 1989	0	3
		22 August 1990	0	1
		29 August 1990	0	1
		14 September 1990	0	5
		07 September 1991	3	2
Khu sin Xiang	Rma chu county, Gansu province	05 August 1989	3	1
		02 October 1991	0	4
		09 September 1992	1	2
		01 April 1994	1	2
Brag dmar Xiang	Rtse khog county, Qinghai province	03 March 1987	1	9
		31 July 1992	0	1
		04 August 1992	0	1
		16 July 1993	2	1
		20 June 1995	0	1
Nyin mtha' Xiang	Ram chu county, Gansu province	03 August 1997-end of 1999	18	28
<i>Total</i>		For about 12 years	29	64

Table 2. Data of pasture conflicts between Nyin mtha' and Dngul rwa

<i>Time of Incidents</i>	<i>Number of dead and injured on Nyin mtha'</i>			<i>Number of dead and injured on Dngul rwa</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>village</i>	<i>dead</i>	<i>injured</i>	<i>dead</i>	<i>injured</i>	<i>dead</i>	<i>injured</i>
03 August 1997	'Ob thung	3	17	0	0	3	17
17 October 1997	Nyin mtha'	1					
	'Ob thung	1	1	0	1	2	2
14 March 1998		0	0	2	0	2	0
22 August 1998	Mdzo mo	3	8	0	0	3	8
15 October 1998	Nyin mtha'	1					
	Bevula	1	0	12	5	14	5
24 April 1999	'Ob thung	1					
	Nyin mtha'	2	1	0	0	3	1
01 May 1999	Bde ldan	0	1	0	0	0	1
20 May 1999	'Brug lung	5	0	0	0	5	0
<i>Total</i>		18	28	14	6	32	34

Sources: unreleased papers No. 1 and No. 2 1999 and fieldwork data

Map1: *Henanmengqi* in Qinghai Province



Map2: *Henanmengqi* and the surrounding areas

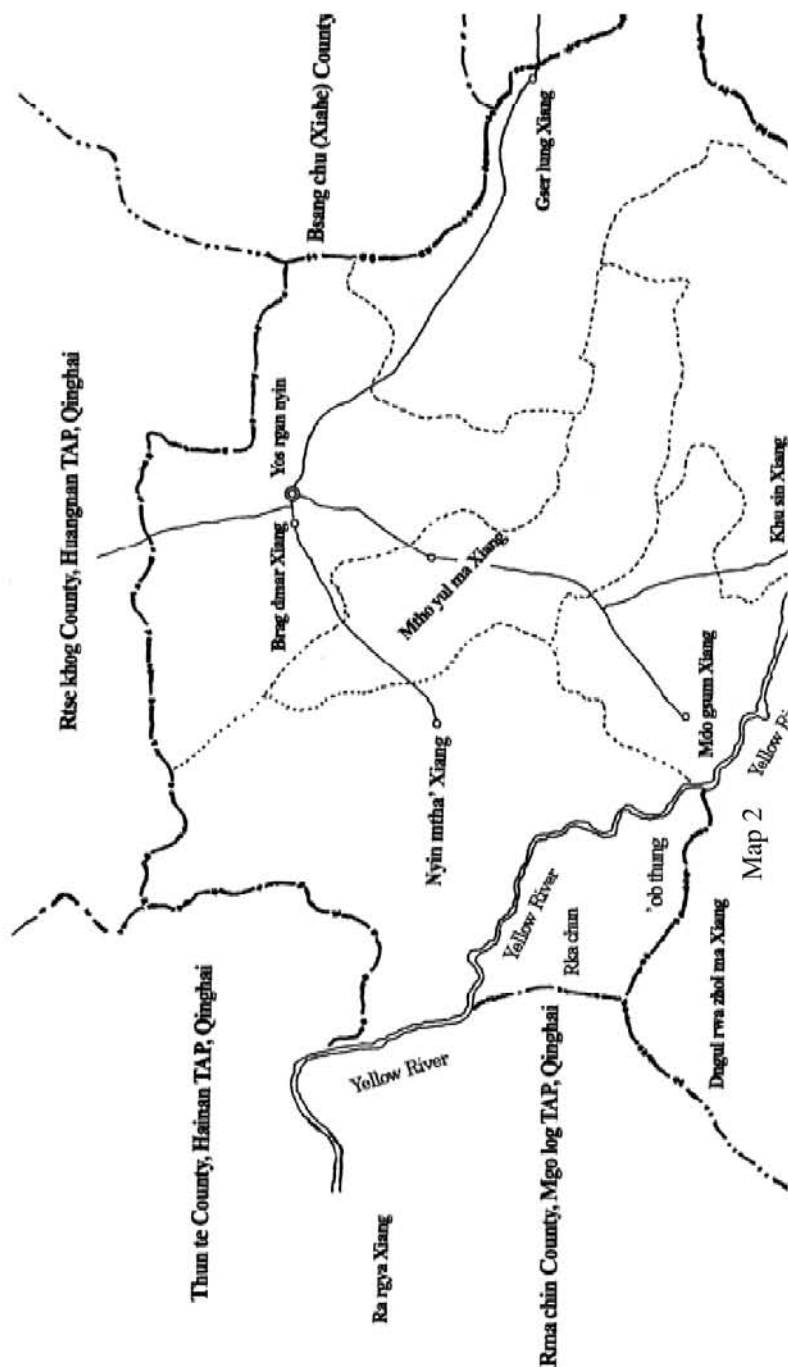




Plate 1: The bridge separating Henanmengqi from Klu chu county.  
Klu chu is to the west



Plate 2: 'Ob thung village and Rka chung village to the south of the Yellow River



Plate 3: An iron stove with a bullet hole in 'Ob thung village



Plate 4: A trench on a mountain peak





Plate 5: Nyim mtha' militia surveying the 330,000-mu no man's land



Plate 6: A white sentry tent



Plate 7: Militia attending a meeting in the sentry post

འདམ་གཞུང་གི་ད་ལྟའི་གནས་སྐབས་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ངོ་སྤྲོད་མདོར་བསྡུས།

ལྷན་ལྷན་ཆེ་རིང་གཡང་འཛུམ།

ཐོད་དང་སོག་པོ་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཉ་ཅང་རིང་ཞིང་ཤེས་རིག་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་འོད་སྟོང་འབར་བ་ལྷན་པའི་མི་  
རིགས་ཡིན་ལ། ཏུ་ལུན་རིང་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཕེལ་རིམ་ནང་དབྱ་གྲོགས་འགྲོ་འོངས་མང་དག་  
བྱས་པ་ལས་ཕན་ཚུན་བར་ལྷགས་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད། ད་བར་ཚུམ་པ་པོ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་མི་  
རིགས་དེ་གཉིས་སྒྲིལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གནང་བ་མ་ཟད། ཡིག་རིགས་མི་འདྲ་བའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཞིབ་  
འཇུག་བྱུང་འབྲས་སྤེལ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་ཀུན་གྱི་སྤྱན་ལམ་དུ་ཡོད་བཞིན་པ་ལྟར་ལགས། ད་ཐེངས་  
ཚུམ་ཡིག་འདི་ཡང་ད་ལྟ་འདམ་གཞུང་དུ་བྲགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དེའི་སོག་པོ་དང་། སོག་རྒྱུད་ལས་ཆད་  
པ་དེ་དག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཕེལ་རིམ་དང་དེ་བཞིན་གོམས་སྲོལ་འཕེལ་འགྲིབ་ལ་དབྱུང་པ་རགས་ཅམ་བྱ་  
རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

ས་བབ་ཆགས་ཚུལ་དང་བྲགས་ཅན་མཆོ་དང་རི། ཡུལ་སྲོལ་གོམས་གཤེས།

འདམ་གཞུང་རྫོང་ནི་ལྷ་ས་གོང་ཁྲི་བྱི་བྱང་ངོས་སྤྱི་ལེ་༡༧༠ཙམ་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་། རྫོང་  
ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲི་ལ་སྤྱི་ལེ་བྱ་བཞི་མ་ཁྲི་༡༢ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༥ལོའི་གོང་གི་འདམ་སྤྱི་ཁབ་  
ཀྱི་མངའ་ཁོངས་དང་། སྤྱ་ཆང་སྤེ་པའི་མངའ་ཁོངས། ཡངས་ཅན་སྤེ་པའི་མངའ་ཁོངས། རྩ་སྤྱིང་  
དགོན། ནག་རྒྱའི་ས་ཆ་འགའ་ཞིག་བཅས་ལས་བྱུང་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེ་དག་གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷའི་རི་  
རྒྱུད་དུ་གནས་ཡོད་སྐབས་རྒྱ་མཆོའི་ངོས་ལས་མི་ད་༢༠༠ཡོད་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེ་ལྟར་

གནས་ཡུལ་ས་ཁམས་མཐོ་པོ་ཡིན་ཡང་། རྫོང་དེ་ནི་སྤྱོད་མའི་འདམ་སྤྱི་བྱུང་ཁང་གནས་ཡུལ་  
 བྱོང་མཁར་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ལྷ་བར་བྱས་ཏེ་སྤྱོད་མ་བཞི་མཚམས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རི་བརྒྱད་ནི་རང་བཞིན་ལྷན་དུ་  
 བྱུང་པའི་འབྲོག་ས་ཡག་པོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་རྫོང་དེ་ནི་ལྷ་སའི་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་རྫོང་ཁག་བདུན་གྱི་ནང་འབྲོག་  
 ལས་ཁོ་ན་རོལ་བཞིན་གྱི་རྫོང་ཞིག་ཡིན། འདམ་གཞུང་རྫོང་ལ་ད་ཡོད་མི་འབོར་གྱི་ཅུ་མ་ཡོད་པ་  
 ལས་གཙོ་བོ་བོད་རིགས་དང་སོག་རིགས་རྒྱུད་པ་ལས་བྱུང་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཡང་མི་རིགས་གཞན་དག་  
 ཀྱང་གནས་དེར་འཛོམས་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད།

རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ངོས་ལ་རྒྱིད་པ་འཕེལ་ཡོད་པའི་གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷ་ནི་ད་ལྷ་རྫོང་དེ་གའི་སྤྱིང་  
 བྱང་ཤར་ཁོངས་སུ་གནས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་གནས་རི་ཙུ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད།

ཀུན་གྱི་ཡིད་དབང་འབྲོག་རྩལ་པའི་ཡུལ་ལྗོངས་ལྷན་སྤྱད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་སྟེ། རི་ཅེར་  
 ཁ་བའི་ནམ་བཟའ་དུང་ལྷར་དཀར་བ་བཞེས་ཤིང་རི་རྩེ་དཔེད་ཆགས་བྲག་གིས་བརྒྱན་པ། རི་  
 བཤམ་གཡུ་མདོག་སྤང་གིས་མཛེས་རྒྱན་སྤྲད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེས་ན་ས་ཆ་མི་འདྲ་བ་ནས་  
 གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷར་ལྷས་པ་ན་མཐོང་སྤང་མི་འདྲ་རེ་ཡོད་གི་ཡོད་པ་ནི་རི་ཆེན་དེའི་གཡལས་གཡོན་དུ་  
 སྤྱོད་པོ་རེ་དང་། ཐང་སྤྲས་རི། ད་དུང་འབྲིང་བག་དང་། འཛོམས་གཉམས་  
 བརྒྱས་སྤྱད་པའི་ཇོ་མོ་གནམ་མཚོ་སོགས་ཡོད། དེ་དག་ལས་ཇོ་མོ་གནམ་མཚོ་ནི་ཡོངས་  
 བྲགས་སུ་གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་དང་བདེ་སྤྱད་མཉམ་བཞེས་གནང་གི་ཡོད་པར་གསུངས་ཤིང་། ཇོ་མོ་དེའི་  
 ཤར་རུབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རིང་ཆད་ལ་སྤྱི་ལེ་སྤྱུ་མ་ཅུ་དང་། གཏིང་ཆད་རིང་ཤོས་སར་རྒྱིད་སྤྱུ་མ་ཅུ་སོ་  
 གསུམ། རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ལ་སྤྱི་ལེ་བྲུ་བཞི་མ་༡༩༢༠ཡོད། སོག་སྤྲད་ནང་ཐང་ཀ་ལི་མཚོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཇོ་  
 མོ་དེ་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ངོས་ལས་རྒྱིད་པ་འཕེལ་ཡོད་པས་འཛོམས་བྱིང་ཐོག་བ་ལྷའི་མཚོ་ལྷ་མཐོ་  
 ཤོས་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད། ད་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་བ་ལྷའི་མཚོ་ལྷ་ཆེ་ཆུང་བསྐྱར་པ་ན་དེ་ནི་ཨང་  
 གཉིས་པ་ཡིན་པར་བྲགས།

གནམ་མཚོ་དང་། ཡར་འབྲོག་གཡུ་མཚོ། མ་པམ་གཡུ་མཚོ་བཅས་ནི་ད་ལྷ་བོད་རང་  
 སྤྱོང་ལྗོངས་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མཚོ་ཡིན་པས་ལོ་ལྷར་དང་ལྷན་མང་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་བསྐོར་བའི་ཡུལ་གཙོ་

ཐོག་གི་ཡིན། དེ་དག་ལས་གནས་མཆོ་ནི་གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷའི་གསང་ཡུལ་དང་། ཡང་ན་  
བོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་བྱས་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་རྩིས་བྲག་གསལ་འཁོར་གསལ་གནས། ཡང་ན་ལྷ་མོ་ནལ་  
འབྱོར་མའི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཤོད་རྒྱུན་མང་བ་མ་ཟད། རྩོམ་གནས་མཆོ་ནི་སྤྱི་མདོ་ག་  
མཐིང་ནག་ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་སྟུན་གསུམ། ཕྱག་གཡས་པས་ཞོར་གཞོང་དང་ཕྱག་  
གཡོན་མས་མེ་ལོང་བསྐྱམས་པ། དབུ་ལ་ཅོད་པན་མཆོད་ཅིང་དབུ་སྒྲ་རྒྱབ་མདུན་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་  
འཛར་བ་སྟེ་ལྷ་མོ་ནལ་རྒྱལ་མའི་ནལ་བཟའ་ལྷ་བུ་ཡིན་ལ་གཡང་འི་སྤྱིང་དུ་བཞུགས་པར་བཤད།

གཞན་ཡང་གནས་མཆོ་ནི་ཐོག་མར་བོན་ཆོས་ལྷ་སྤྱང་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཡང་། སངས་  
རྒྱུས་བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་དེ་བོད་ལ་དར་རྒྱས་བོད་སྤྱོད་ལྷ་སྤྱང་བྱས་ལ་བཙིས་ནས་བསང་མཆོད་  
ཕུལ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཡུལ་རྩི་ནལ་འབྱོར་མའི་སྤྱལ་པ་ཡིན་པར་ཡང་བྲགས། གང་ལྟར་ཡང་།

གནས་མཆོར་སྒྲོར་བ་གསལ་པ་ན་ཤེས་རབ་འཕེལ་ཅིང་ཉོན་ཐྱིབ་ལྷོག་ཐུབ་པར་ཤོད་བཞིན་  
ཡོད་པས་ལོ་ལྟར་དང་ཡང་སྒྲོས་སུ་ལྷག་ལོ་གང་ཡིན་དུས་སུ་བོད་མའི་གནས་ས་ཀྱང་ནས་གནས་  
བསྒྲོར་བ་མང་པོ་ཡོང་བ་མ་ཟད། རྒྱལ་ནང་ས་གནས་ཁག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་། འབྲུག་ཡུལ།

འབྲས་ལྗོངས། ཨི་ཤི་ཡ་ཤར་ལྷའི་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་དང་ས་སྤོགས་མང་པོ་  
ཞིག་ནས་མཆོ་མཇལ་དུ་ཕེབས་མཁན་ཡོད། དེ་སྐབས་དང་ལྷན་མང་ཆོགས་ཆོས་ཕྱག་མཆོད་འབུལ་  
འདྲ་མིན་སྒྲ་ཆོགས་བྱས་པ་མ་ཟད། བཅུན་པ་མང་པོས་བྱུབ་མཐའ་སོ་སོའི་ལྷགས་ལྟར་ལྷ་  
མོ་ནལ་འབྱོར་མར་མཆོད་པ་དང་བསང་གསོལ་འབུལ་གྱི་ཡོད།

ཤོད་རྒྱུན་གཞན་ཞིག་ལ་མཛོས་སྟུག་ལྷན་ཞིང་ལས་ལ་བཙོན་པའི་འབྲོག་མོ་ཞིག་གཉིན་  
སྟིག་བྱས་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་སོང་ཡང་བུ་ཚ་མ་བྱུང་བས་ཡིད་སྟུག་ནས་སྤོད་སྐབས་དགོང་མོ་ཞིག་མི་  
ལས་ནང་གནས་མཆོའི་འབྲས་དུ་སྟེབས་ཤིང་གནས་མཆོ་ལས་ཡིད་འོང་བུ་མོ་ཞིག་དོན་སྟེ་དེས་རྒྱ་བ་  
བཞི་པའི་ཆོས་པ་བཙོ་ལྟར་མཆོ་ཁར་བུ་ལེན་པར་ཤོག་ཅེས་པའི་ལྷའི་བད་ཞིག་གནང་བ་བཞིན་དུ་དོན་  
དངོས་ཀྱང་བྱུང་བར་བཤད།

གནས་མཆོའི་རྒྱའི་འབྲུང་བྱུངས་གཙོ་བོ་གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷའི་འབྲུག་པ་དང་། གཡས་  
གཡོན་རྒྱ་མིག་སོགས་ཡིན་ཞིང་དེ་དག་ལས་རྒྱུག་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་དེ་སྤྱི་ཐིང་ཐིང་གནས་མཁའི་མདོག་དུ་

ཡོད་པས་གནམ་མཚོ་ཞེས་གྲགས། འོན་ཀྱང་དམངས་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཤོད་སྟོལ་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡོད་  
དེ། གནམ་མཚོའི་རྒྱ་ནི་ལྷ་འི་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་གསེལ་ཐབ་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩིའི་ཉིང་ཁུ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་དེ་ནི་  
ལྷ་ཡི་ཕོ་བྲང་ནང་ལྷ་ཡི་སྤྲུལ་སྤྲུལ་མེ་ཆོའི་ངོ་མཚར་རྩ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ནོར་ཤེལ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པར་བཤད།

གནམ་མཚོ་ལ་གླིང་ཕྱན་ལྷ་ཡོད་ཅིང་དེ་དག་ལས་མཛེས་ཤོས་ནི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླིང་ཕྱན་ཡིན་  
ལ་རང་བྱུང་རི་མོ་མང་པོ་མཇེལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་ཟེར། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་འི་ཕྱག་ཅེས་པ་ཞིག་མཇེལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་ཅིང་དེ་  
ནི་སེམས་རྩ་འཁོལ་བའི་སྤྱིན་བདག་ཅིག་གིས་ཐག་རིང་མགོན་པོ་ལ་བསུ་བ་ལུ་བ་དང་སྤྲུགས།

བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་ལུ་བ་འདྲ་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར། གནམ་མཚོའི་ཉི་འཁོར་གང་སར་མཚོ་  
གཞན་དག་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་མཛེས་ཤོས་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ངོས་ལས་རྩིད་ཀྱི་འོམ་ཡོད་པའི་འབྲུག་  
རོམ་མཚོ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དེའི་སྒྲོར་ལ་མཚོ་དེ་ནི་གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷ་དང་གནམ་མཚོའི་ལྷ་  
ཏིག་མཛེས་རྒྱན་ཡིན་ཅེས་ཤོད་སྟོལ་འདུག།

འདས་གཞུང་ཁུལ་དུ་སྤར་ནས་ད་བར་ཉམས་མེད་དར་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བའི་དུས་སྟོན་ཆེན་མོ་  
ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་འདས་སྤྱི་རིམ་ཞེས་གྲགས་ཤིང་། དེ་ནི་བོད་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ཆོས་༡༠ནས་འགོ་བརྩམས་ཏེ་  
དུས་ལུང་རྒྱ་བ་གཅིག་ཅིང་འགོར་བར་གྲགས། དུས་སྟོན་དེ་སྤྲུལ་པའི་པན་པོ་དག་འཁྲུན་ཆོས་  
འཁོར་དང་། སྟོད་ལུང་ལྷིང་ཁ་དགོན། འདས་རྒྱུང་རྒྱ་དགོན། སེ་ར་  
སྤྲུགས་པ་གྲ་ཆང་བཅས་ནས་དགོ་འདུན་པ་གདན་འདྲེན་ཞུས་ཏེ་འདས་སྤྱི་འབངས་ཡོངས་ལ་ནད་  
གོགས་བད་ཆད་མི་ཡོང་བའི་ཞབས་རྟེན་རིམ་གྲོ་བཀའ་འགྲུར་གསུང་སྟོག་གནང་བ་མ་ཟད། ཉིན་དང་  
པོ་དེར་བྱིས་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ནས་བཅུ་བར་གྱི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་རྟ་རྒྱུག་བང་རྩལ་འགྲན་དུ་བཅུག་ཇེས་རིམ་པ་  
ཉི་ཤུ་བར་གྲོ་རིམ་འགྲིག་ནས་བྱ་དགའ་གནང་བ་དང་། ཉིན་གཉིས་པ་ནས་འགོ་འཇུགས་ཏེ་རྟ་རྒྱུག་  
དང་མི་རྒྱུག་སོགས་བང་རྩལ་གཞན་དག་འགྲན་པ་ལས། ཉིན་གཉིས་པར་བརྒྱ་ཤོག་བརྒྱད་སོ་སེའི་  
འོག་གི་ལས་བྱ་དང་ཁུ་འདུ་བས་མི་རྟའི་བང་རྩལ་འགྲན་པ་དང་། རྟ་ཐོག་མདའ་འཕེན་ཁ་བཏགས་  
སྤྲུག་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་ཅལ་འགྲན་འདུར། ཉིན་གསུམ་པར་ས་མདའ་སྟེ་རྒྱུང་མདའ་འགྲན་ནི།  
གོ་སྐབས་དེ་བཅུ་སྤྲད་ནས་སྤྱི་དོན་གཉིས་བསྐྱབས་པ་ནི་ཕྱི་ནང་ཆོང་ཚོག་བཟེ་



ལེན་དང་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལོ་བྲལ་བསྐྱེད་ལེན་བྱེད་པ་དེའོ།      དེང་དུས་ཀྱང་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་དེ་  
ཉམས་མེད་དུ་གནས་ཡོད།

### ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཕེལ་འགྲིབ

འདམ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་མིང་དེ་ལོ་ངོ་ཅིག་སྟོང་སྟོན་ནས་ཡོད་ཅིང་།      དེ་སྟོར་རྒྱ་རྟོང་གཏིར་ཡིག་  
ཤོག་བྲིལ་༡༨༤༧ནང་བཅན་པོ་ཁྱི་འདུས་སྟོང་གིས་འདམ་གྱི་ཅོག་རོ་བཟའ་དང་འབྲེལ་མཇེད་པའི་ཆེ་  
ཞེས་འཁོད་འདུག་ལ་མ་ཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་ཐོད་གྱི་དབང་རིས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་གྱི་ཡ་གྲུལ་འདམ་  
ཤོད་དཀར་མོ་ཞེས་པར་ལྟས་ན་འདམ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཆ་དེ་ནི་སྐུར་རྒྱལ་བཅན་པོའི་དུས་ནས་གནད་  
འགག་གལ་ཆེན་བརྒྱུད་བའི་ཡུལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མངོན།      དེང་སྐབས་ཤོད་རྒྱུན་ལྟར་ན་ས་ཆ་དེ་ནི་སོག་  
པོས་འདམ་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་པའི་རྩ་ར་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཞིང་།      དེ་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་སྐབས་གྲུར་ནི་  
བསྟན་འཛིན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དགེ་ལུགས་པར་རྟགས་རམ་བྱས་ནས་དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་བཙུགས་  
སྐབས་དེ་ཡི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ལེགས་འབྲུལ་དུ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་ནས་སོག་པོའི་རྟ་དམག་རྒྱུན་སྟོད་འཁོ་  
གནས་སུ་གནད་བར་ཤོད་སྲོལ་འདུག      དེ་ཡང་སོག་པོ་དང་དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་།      ཡང་  
སྟོས་སུ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་དང་སོག་པོའི་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་ཇི་སྟབས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་བྱུང་མིན་ཐད་བོད་གྱི་  
དེབ་ཐེར་གཡུ་ཡི་ཐོང་བ་སོགས་ལ་གསལ་པོ་བཀོད་འདུག་པས་དེར་གཟིགས་འཚལ།

དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་དབུ་བརྟེན་རྗེས་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཐོང་བུ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་གྲུ་ནི་ཉན་གྱི་དམག་  
དཔུང་ལ་འདམ་ཤོད་གྱིས་དེ་འཁོ་རྟེན་དང་སྐར་སར་གནད་ཞིང་།      འདམ་གྱིས་དེ་ནི་བོད་གྱི་དབུས་  
བརྒྱུད་དུ་གནས་ཤིང་ས་ཆ་གཞན་དུ་འགྲོ་སྟོད་བདེ་བ་མ་ཟད།      ལྷ་ཐང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ལྷོ་བྲང་འགྲུལ་  
ལམ་ཉག་གཅིག་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པས་དམག་གི་འཕྲུག་འཐེན་སོགས་སྐབས་བདེ་བའི་བྱུང་ཆོས་ལྡན།

དེ་སྐབས་གྲུ་ནི་ཉན་དང་ཁོང་གི་བུ་རྒན་པ་ལྟ་སར་བཅའ་སྟོད་བྱས་ཀྱང་སོག་དམག་བྱིངས་  
ནམས་འདམ་གཞུང་དུ་བསྐྱད་པས་ཡུལ་དེའི་ཡུལ་མི་དང་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་བྱུང་ཞིང་།      སོག་པོ་

མང་དག་ཞིག་གཞིས་ཆགས་བྱས་པ་ལས་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་སོག་པོ་ཚོར་བོད་པའི་འཚོ་བ་སྐྱེལ་སྤངས་  
སོགས་གོམས་གཤིས་འཇགས་ཏེ་མཐར་སོག་བོད་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་འགྱུར།

### འདམ་བརྒྱ་ཤོག་དང་འདམ་སྤྱིའི་སྒྲོར།

ལྷན་གར་བས་བོད་ལ་བཅན་འཛུལ་བྱེད་སྐབས་འདམ་ཁུལ་དུ་ཚོ་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་  
ལོ་གསུམ་རིང་ལྷན་གར་བའི་དབང་འོག་ཏུ་བསྐྱུད། ༡༧༢༠ནས་༡༧༣༠ཙམ་བར་པོ་ལྷ་བསོད་  
ནམས་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་པ་བྱ་གཉིས་གྱིས་འདམ་གྱི་ཚོ་པ་ཁག་ལ་ཁ་ལོ་བསྐྱུར་ཅིང་ཚོ་པ་ཁག་གི་འགོ་པར་  
ཐད་ཇི་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གོ་མིང་སྤྲད། ༡༧༣༡ལོར་ཆན་ལུང་གོང་མས་བོད་གྱི་ལས་དོན་བྱེད་  
སྤྱོད་སྒྲོར་གྱི་ཚུ་འཛིན་བཅུ་གསུམ་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱས་ཤིང་། འབྲོག་ཚོ་དེ་དག་ལ་བོད་སྟོད་  
ཨ་མ་བན་གྱིས་༡༩༡༢བར་ཐད་ཀར་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བྱས་པར་གསུངས། ༡༩༡༣ནས་བརྒྱུད་འདམ་བརྒྱ་  
ཤོག་བརྒྱད་པོ་སེར་སྤྱི་སོས་ཅིས་ལེན་བྱས། བརྒྱ་ཤོག་དེ་དག་གི་སྤྱི་དཔོན་ལ་འདམ་སྤྱི་ཞེས་གྲགས་  
སོ། ༡༩༣༩ལོར་དམངས་གཙོ་བཙུན་བསྐྱུར་བྱས་དེ་ཡུལ་དེ་གར་འདམ་གཞུང་རྒྱུ་ཆོང་བཙུགས་  
སོ། གཞན་ཡང་དེ་སྒྲོར་ཅུང་ཞིབ་ཚགས་པ་དུང་དཀར་ཆོག་མཛོད་ནང་བཞེད་འདུག་པས་དེར་  
ཡང་གཟིགས་འཚེ།

དེ་ལྟར་སེར་སྤྱི་སོས་འགན་ལེན་བྱས་ཤིང་། འདམ་སྤྱིའི་བསྐྱོད་བཞག་བྱ་ཚུལ་ནི་དང་ཐོག་  
སེར་སྤྱི་སོ་བརྒྱད་དཔོན་གྱི་གྲ་ཚང་གསུམ་པོས་འོས་མི་དོ་སྦྱར་བྱས་ཤིང་བོད་ས་གནས་སྤྱི་དགའ་ལྷོ་  
གིས་བཀའ་པས་བསྐྱོད་བཞག་གནང་གི་འདུག་པས་འདམ་སྤྱི་མི་གསུམ་རེ་བསྐྱོད་བཞག་བྱ་སྟོལ་འདུག་  
འདམ་སྤྱི་དེ་དག་འོག་གཉིས་པ་དང་དུང་ཡིག་བརྒྱ་ཤོག་སོ་སེའི་བརྒྱ་དཔོན། བརྒྱ་  
དཔོན་དེ་དག་འོག་ཏུ་ལས་དོན་བྱེད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རེ་དང་། ལུན་བསྐྱུ་རེ། བཅུ་དཔོན་རེ།  
ལུས་ལེན་གཉིས་རེ་བཅས་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་འདམ་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པོས་གྲོས་མོལ་

གནང་ཆེས་བསྐྱོབ་ཞུས་གནང་བཞིན་འདུག། དེ་དག་ལས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་བསྐྱོབ་ཞུས་བྱ་དགོས་ན་འདམ་  
སྤྱི་གསུམ་པོའི་མོས་མཐུན་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟད། དེ་དག་དགའ་ལྡན་མོ་བྱང་ལ་སྒྲན་ཞུ་ལྟུང་ཆེས་གཞི་  
ནས་དགའ་ལྡན་མོ་བྱང་གི་བཀའ་བཀོད་ལྟར་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་དུ་འགོད་སྟོན་འདུག།

གོང་གསལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འབྲེལ་འབྲིས་དེ་དག་ལ་གཞིགས་ནས་དུས་རབས་ཉི་ཤེས་བར་འདམ་  
མི་ཆོར་སོག་དམག་གམ་སོག་དམག་བོད་ལྷག་ཅེས་བོད་རྒྱུ་ཡིག་ཆ་དང་ཁག་གི་ནང་ཡོད་སྐད་སྤྱི་  
བྲགས་ཤིང་། རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐྱེད་ལྗེ་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་འདམ་དེ་དག་གུ་མི་ཉན་དང་ཁོང་གི་སོག་  
དམག་གི་འཛོགས་བྱེད་ལུ་ཡིན་སྐབས་གཞུང་ཁྲལ་ལས་ཕྱི་ཁྲལ་ལ་གྲུ་ཡངས་བྱུང་། དེ་ཆེས་  
ལས་བན་གྱིས་ཐད་ཀར་རྩལ་གཏོགས་བྱས་སྐབས་གཞུང་ཁྲལ་ཁག་ལས་ཐར། དེ་ཆེས་སེ་ར་  
དགོན་གྱིས་དབང་འོག་དུ་གནས་པས་གཞུང་ཁྲལ་བསྐྱེད་མི་དགོས་པ་བྱུང་། ནང་ཁྲལ་སྐྱོར་ལ་  
འདམ་པ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལོ་ཁྲལ་ཅེས་པའི་ཁྲལ་ཞིག་འཇུག་དགོས་ཤིང་། འབྲི་ཆ་ནི་ལྗེ་བཞི་  
ཞེས་རྟ་མགོ་རེར་མར་ཉག་ལྗེ་དང་། ཅམ་པ་བྲེ་བཞི། ཇ་སྐྱན་ཤེལ་ཉག་གང་། ལྷ་  
ཕུལ་གང་། བུལ་ཕུལ་དོ། དདུལ་སྐང་ལྗེ་བཅས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དེ་སྐབས་རྟ་མགོ་རེར་ར་ལྗེ་བཅུ་  
དང་། ལུག་ཉར་ལྗེ། ཁྲལ་ནོར་ལྗེ། རྟ་མཆོག་བཅས་སུ་བཅི་སྟོན་འདུག།

གཞན་ཡང་བརྒྱ་ཤོག་ནང་ཁྲལ་འགྲོ་སོང་ཅིས་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་སྐུག་ཅིས་ཞེས་རྟ་ཐོག་ཡོད་  
པའི་བྲིས་ཆ་དེ་ཡིན་ཕྱིན་རྟ་མགོ་རེར་དདུལ་སྐང་ལྗེ་བཅུ་དང་། དེ་ལས་ལྷོག་པ་ན་ལོ་རེར་ལྷི་བ་  
རྒྱབ་བཅོམ་སྐབས་དགོས། གལ་སྲིད་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་གྱི་དོན་དུ་དུད་འགྲོ་འཛོལ་དང་། འཁོ་  
དགོག་པ། ཅམ་པ་འཐག་པ་སོགས་ལས་པ་ན་ཁྲལ་རྟེན་དང་སྐྱ་ཆ་སོགས་གང་ཡང་མེད་ཁར་ཟས་  
སོང་ཡང་སོ་སོས་འབྱུང་དགོས་པར་བཤད།

གཞན་ཡང་༡༧༡༧ལོའི་གོང་དུ་ལྷ་ས་སྤོན་ལམ་ཆེན་མོའི་སྐབས་སུ་མ་དམར་ནག་  
གདན་འདྲིན་ཞུ་བྱིས་འདམ་བརྒྱ་ཤོག་བརྒྱད་ལས་སོག་རྒྱུད་མི་གཉིས་ཐུག་འབྱེད་དུ་མངགས་དགོས་  
ཞིང་། དེ་གཉིས་ལ་ཐུག་སྤྱི་ཞེས་འབོད་སྟོན་ཡོད་ལ་མི་རབས་ནས་མི་རབས་སུ་ཐུག་སྤྱི་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་བ་  
ན་དེ་དག་གི་བྲིས་ཆ་དང་ལའང་ཐུག་སྤྱི་ཞེས་མིང་ཐོག་པ་ནི་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་གོ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད། ཐུག་སྤྱི་གསར་པ་

འདམ་དགོས་བྱུང་བ་ན་སོག་རྒྱུད་ཁོངས་ནས་འོས་མི་འདམས་ཆེས་རྒྱང་རྒྱུ་དགོན་གྱི་རྟེན་གཙོ་  
 དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོའི་མདུན་དུ་བྱུགས་རྟགས་ལྷས་པ་ཇི་ལྷར་ཐོན་པ་གཏན་འཁེལ་བྱེད་སྟོལ་འདུག  
 དེ་དང་ཕྱོགས་མཚུངས་པར་སྟོན་ལམ་སྐབས་འདམ་སོག་རྒྱུད་ཁོངས་ནས་ཡ་སོར་ཞེས་  
 པའི་མི་གཉིས་དང་། ཡ་གཡོག་མི་བརྒྱད། ཏ་པ་མི་ཉི་ལྔ་བཅས་སོག་ཆས་སྤྲད་ཅིང་། བཞོན་ཏ་  
 བ་དང་བྲག་སྐ་ཆས་གང་གསར་ཐོག་སྟོན་ལམ་ཆེན་མོའི་མཇེད་སྟོར་བཞུགས་དགོས་བྲགས་།  
 བོང་གསལ་འཛོལ་དེ་དག་ནི་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཁག་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་གྲོང་  
 ཁྱིམ་ལྷ་སའི་སྤྱིད་གྲོས་ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་གནང་བའི་འདམ་གཞུང་སྟོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་གཞིར་བཟུང་  
 ཐོག་ བྲུས་མོས་ས་ཁུལ་དེར་དངོས་སུ་བསྟོད་ནས་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱས་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་ཡིན།

## A REVIEW OF THE TIBETAN-MONGOLIAN LEXICOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

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Tibet and Mongolia have had close economic, political and cultural relations for many centuries. The translation of Buddhist texts from Tibetan into Mongolian was necessitated by the spread of Buddhism from Tibet into Mongolia in the thirteenth- and later in the seventeenth-century. This furnished the requirement for the compilation of Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries. This paper presents the first comprehensive review of the development of Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries, from the earliest ones in the eighteenth- to the most recent ones in the twentieth-century, and identifies the most important ones. The aim of this overview is to create a resource that would aid other researchers in their study of the linguistic and philological aspects of translation from Tibetan into Mongolian. This is especially pertinent at this time when many Mongolian scholars are embarking upon translation of religious texts into modern Mongolian with a view to making Buddhist knowledge more widely accessible.

The many monasteries built in Mongolia in the seventeenth eighteenth-centuries were not only places of worship but also of scholarly education. Mongolians went to study at the 'three great monasteries' near Lhasa and at other distinguished Tibetan monasteries. There they became fluent in spoken and literary Tibetan and many wrote their religious commentaries in that language. A parallel can be made with the Middle Ages in Europe, when Latin was the language of Christian education. It has been estimated that more than 200 Mongolians have either written commentaries in Tibetan or have translated the great Indian and Tibetan Buddhist works (including those belonging to the Ten Buddhist Sciences) from Tibetan into Mongolian. For example, the many volumes of Kanjur and Tenjur have been translated several times during the period of fourteenth-eighteenth-centuries.

The process of translation that was being carried out by the Mongolians required the compilation of Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries. These became important manuals for translators and scholars of

Tibetan Buddhism. The list of dictionaries compiled by Tibetan authors and used by Mongolians can be derived from the colophons of Mongolian lexicographers.

The first Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries were based on Tibetan lexicographical works. The earliest and most popular Tibetan dictionaries were by Shalu Rinchen Chojjonsambu (1444–1527)<sup>1</sup> and Agvan Choji Jamtso. Shalu Rinchen Chojjonsambu's dictionary<sup>2</sup> was composed in 1514. Several copies of this work have survived and are presently in the Department of Textology collection at Mongolian National University. The surviving versions exist in the form of two xylographs and two manuscripts. One of the xylographs has no colophon and its pagination is both in Tibetan and Chinese. In the second xylograph the names of the copyist, block printer, editor and revisers are mentioned. The pagination is only in Tibetan. One of the manuscripts was copied from a block-print at the Gandan Puntsoglin<sup>3</sup> monastery in Tibet. The second manuscript is a Mongolian translation of the Tibetan dictionary but the name of translator is not mentioned. The headwords are in bold type and appear only in Mongolian with the Tibetan version omitted. It looks a lot like a Mongolian sutra. His dictionary consists of a foreword, the main part or word list and a colophon.

<sup>1</sup> His full name in Tibetan is *Sha lu rin chen chos skyong bzang po*.

<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan title is *Bod kyi bstan bcos legs bshad pa rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa*, the Mongolian title is '*Tübed-ün doqiyān-u šastir-a sayitur nomlāysan erdeni-yin oqi qayur čag kemegdekü orošibai*'. This Tibetan xylograph has 29 pages and consists of the following seven parts:

1) *Rkyang pa'i brda bye brag tu bshad pa* (to tell especially about letters that form a syllable).

2) *Ba yig gi 'jug pa bye brag tu bshad pa* (to tell especially about using the prefix *ba*).

3) *Ga dang da'i 'jug pa bye brag tu bshad pa* (to tell especially about using the prefixes *ga* and *da*).

4) *'A yig gi 'jug tshul bye brag tu dpyad pa* (to test especially the use of the prefix '*a*).

5) *Ma yig gi bye brag tu bshad pa* (to tell especially about using the prefix *ma*).

6) *Mgo can gyi brda bye brag tu bshad pa* (to tell especially about using the prefix *ba*).

7) *Snga ma'i ming shugs kyis phyi ma ji ltar thob tshul sogs gces pa sna tshogs pa thun mongs du dbyad pa* (to test generally the connection of the previous word with the next one).

<sup>3</sup> This monastery exists in Shigaze (Gzhis ka rtse) of the Tibet Autonomous Region. It was built by the Tibetan historiographer Taranatha (1575–1634). Its old name was Dagdan Puntsoglin (Rtag brtan phun tshogs ling), the present name was given by the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama (1617–1682).



The foreword explains Tibetan orthography whereas the colophon discusses the origin of the Tibetan script. Distinctively, the headword is not written as a separate word but as a seven-syllable verse, with each group of syllables containing words and combinations of words. For example: *ka ba ka dan ka ra dang / khrung khrung khral 'jal seng ge'i khri / khong khro khron pa khra bo mdog / khrag khrig khri grangs sha khrag dangs / etc.*<sup>4</sup> The headwords are usually given in alphabetical order although there are some deviations from this norm.

The Tibetan dictionary composed by Agvan Choiji Jamtso<sup>5</sup> and its Mongolian translations were also popular and commonly used in Mongolia. Some translations contained the word list in Tibetan as well as Mongolian while others omitted the Tibetan. This dictionary uses the same approach employed in Shalu Rinchen Choijonsambu's work, i.e. the word list is written in seven syllables, like a line of verse.<sup>6</sup>

The works of Tibetan authors Jog<sup>7</sup> (a student of Shalu Rinchen Choijonsambu), Tsedan Shabdun<sup>8</sup> (1910–1985) and others also enjoyed popularity among Mongolians. These dictionaries are orthographical with some grammatical explanations. They were translated into Mongolian and existed both in manuscript and xylograph forms. The titles of these dictionaries are mentioned in most dictionaries of famous Mongolian authors, which demonstrates their importance.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The translation in Mongolian is *ba yan-a kadan siker kiged, to yoriu alba ögekü arslan-u tabčang, nayur (ayur) qutuγ eriyen öngge, krag krig tümen toy-a miqa čisun kiged*.

<sup>5</sup> The full name in Tibetan is Ngag dbang chos gyi rgya mtsho dbyangs can snyem ba'i sde. The title of the dictionary is *Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos tshig le'ur byas pa mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron me*: its Mongolian name is 'Tübed-ün doqiyān-u ilgaburi geyigülün üyiledügči sastir-un üge büllügen üyiledügsen merged-ün kelen-ü jula kemegdekü'. This dictionary consists of three parts:

1) *Sngon 'jug sogs yi ge'i spyor ba rgyas par bshad pa* (full explanation of the use of prefixes).

2) *Rnam dbye dang phrad sogs gces pa sna tshogs thun mongs du bshad pa* (general explanation of the useful cases and particles).

3) *Yi ge'i sbyor ba 'khrul pa spong ba bshad pa* (to tell about the abandonment of mistakes in letters).

<sup>6</sup> For example, *sprin dkrigs zho dkrogs rol mo dkol phung krol ni/ 'dul ti' ka nyi ma 'od zer las/ rgyal pos chad pa bcad pas gsad bya gsod byed du 'chad pa...*

<sup>7</sup> Jog's name in Tibetan is Skyogs ston lo tsa' ba rin chen bkra shis. He was a pupil of Shalu Rinchen Choijonsambu. The name of his dictionary is *Bod gyi skad las gсар rnying gi brda'i khyad par ston pa legs par bshad pa li shi'i gur khang*.

<sup>8</sup> His name in Tibetan is Tshe tan zhabs drung and the title of the dictionary is *Dag yig thon mi'i dgongs rgyan*. Deb ther smad cha, stod cha, Mtsho sngon mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1957.

Mongolians also composed Tibetan and Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries and this paper considers the most interesting ones. Brova Gungajamtso (1718) is known to be the first Mongolian to compile dictionaries.<sup>10</sup> Indeed he compiled two: *Ming gi rgya mtsho'i rgyab gnon dag yig chen po skad kyi rgya mtsho 'am skad rigs gsal byed nyi ma chen po zhes bya ba bzhugs so* and *Dag yig chung ngu gdul bya'i snying mun sel byed nyi ma stong gi 'od zer zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. They served not only as manuals for translators but also as textbooks. The first dictionary contains extensive grammatical notes and many examples of transformation of verbs, some being transformed more than 100 times. In the second dictionary words are arranged in alphabetical order with verses between word lists. From the linguistic point of view, the Mongolian equivalent of the Tibetan word list is important for the study of Mongolian vocabulary and grammar as well as the manner of translation in the eighteenth-century.

Other commonly used dictionaries compiled by Mongolian authors include ones by Agvandandar, Gun Gombojav, Rolbiidorj, Girdbazar and Luvsanrinchen.

The dictionary by Gombojav, the famous eighteenth-century Mongolian scholar, is called *Bod kyi brda yig rtogs par sla ba zhes bya ba bcos khul gyi zhus dag gsum song ba* and is in three parts. In the first part the word list is similar to the Tibetan lexicographical works mentioned above insofar as it is written in the form of a verse. The word list also contains combinations of words but the main word in these combinations is shown differently. For example, in the dictionary by the lexicographer Agvan Choji Jamtso under the letter *ka* the following words are given: *khral bkal* (to levy taxes), *khal bkal* (to lead), *srad du bkal* (to twist or roll yarn into thread) etc.; under the letter *ga* the words given include *chos bsgyur* (to translate sacred books), *mdog bsgyur* (to change colour) etc. In the first example we see several meanings of the word *bkal*, in the second, meanings of the word *bsgyur*. The combinations are arranged so that the main word (*bkal* or *bsgyur* in this case) is in the second or last place. But in the dictionary by Gombojav combi-

<sup>9</sup> For example, in dictionaries by Agvandandar, Girdbazar, Gombojav and others.

<sup>10</sup> The Mongolian titles of the two dictionaries are:

1) *Nere-yin dalai-yin darulya dag-yig üges-ün dalai ba üges-ün jüil-i todorayul-un üiledügči yeke naran kemekü oroşiba.*

2) *Öčüken üsüg nomuyadqaly-a-yin jiriken-ü qaranqui yi arilyan üyiledügči mingyan naran-u genel kemekü oroşiba.*

nations are arranged in a reverse manner so that the main word falls in the first place. For example, the main word *bka'* (decree) is placed at the beginning of noun combinations such as *bka'* (decree) + *shog* (paper) = *bka' shog* (letter), *bka'* (decree) + *mchid* (speech) = *bka' mchid* (order), *bka'* (decree) + *lung* (instruction) = *bka' lung* (command), *bka'* (decree) + *blo* (intelligence) + *bde* (peace) = *bka' blo bde* (eloquence) etc. From these examples we can see that Agvan Choiji Jamtso gives polysemantic meaning of verbs such as *bkal* and *bsgyur*, while Gombojav arranges combinations of nouns. As is the case with most dictionaries by Mongolian authors, the second part includes the list of the most useful archaisms and neologisms. In the third part of Gombojav's dictionary words are arranged separately, one word at a time, in alphabetical order. The colophon of this dictionary is interesting as it gives one an opportunity to determine the date of its composition.<sup>11</sup>

The next famous Mongolian lexicographer to be considered is Agvandandar (1759–1840), who composed dictionaries of three different kinds.<sup>12</sup> Copies of the first, 60-page, dictionary, named *Gangs can gyi brda' gsar rnying las brtsams pa'i brda' yig blo gsal mgrin can*, were used throughout Mongolia. This dictionary was later translated into Mongolian and served as a Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary. It seems that it was intended only for advanced scholars of Tibetan. The lexicographer quotes from more than forty works by Tibetan authors and explains the meaning of archaisms, quoting the neologism version in parallel. This dictionary is similar to the dictionary composed by the lexicographer Jog. However, the latter has fewer quotations and explanations than the dictionary by Agvandandar. The second dictionary composed by Agvandandar is a 30-page orthographical dictionary of Tibetan, entitled *Dag yig gces bsdus 'khrul spong legs bshad skya rengs gsar ba*. Later it was also translated into Mongolian. The foreword verse is written in accordance with the theory of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa*.<sup>13</sup> This dictionary, named *'Khrul spong* or *Abandoning*

<sup>11</sup> V.L. Uspenskiy, 1986. K istorii sostavleniya tibetsko-mongolskogo slovaryā 'Togbar lava'. *Mongolica, Pamyati Akademika B.Y. Vladimirtsova (1884–1931)*. Moskva: Nauka, 110–12.

<sup>12</sup> Agvandandar (1759–1840) wrote about 40 works in Tibetan. He was a Buddhist philosopher, poet, linguist and lexicographer. His works were famous among Tibetans as well as Mongolians.

<sup>13</sup> Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa*, which means *Mirror of Poetry*, is one of the earliest Indian works on the theory of poetry.



*Mistakes*, lists words with similar pronunciation but different meanings in order to help students distinguish between similar words. Agvandandar wrote his third dictionary, named *Brda' yig ming don gsal bar byed pa'i zla ba'i 'od snang*, in 1838. In a Chinese xylograph of this work 4,000 words are listed in 139 pages. Although the dictionary is not extensive, it was useful for Mongolians for a long time and is mentioned in most lexicographical works from this time onwards.

In some Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries the Mongolian word list is written in Mongolian and also in Tibetan with Tibetan synonyms alongside. The most extensive dictionary of this kind, named *Bod skad kyi brda gsar rnying dka' ba sog skad du ka'a li sum cu'i rimpas gtan la pheba ba'i brda' yig mkhas pa rgya mtsho blo gsal mgul rgyan ces bya ba bzhugs so*, was composed by Ishdorj who lived in western Mongolia in the nineteenth-century.<sup>14</sup> The Mongolian scholar B. Rinchen republished this dictionary in a 1,000-page book in 1959. This dictionary is also interesting from the linguistic point of view since it shows the specific character of the compiler's dialect. It also includes words and meanings that are not mentioned in later dictionaries. In the colophon of his dictionary, the author says: "The dictionary named *Ocean of Wise, Neck Ornament of Bright-Minded which Explains New, Old and Difficult Tibetan Words into Mongolian by Thirty Letters of ka'-li*' is written by poor foolish Ishdorj for the purpose of helping himself and other people". He also mentions that he took the dictionary *Hu re chen mo'i brda' yig 'tshol bar sla ba*<sup>15</sup> as a base.

Another interesting kind of text written by lexicographers is a glossary, or *duimin*<sup>16</sup> in Mongolian. These glossaries were spread around Mongolia, usually in manuscript form. For example, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century ten glossaries were printed in Arvai kheer. They became very well known in Mongolia by the name of this place. The scholar Ts. Dorj wrote about them in 1962.<sup>17</sup> These glossaries were supplementary to

<sup>14</sup> In the foreword to this publication Prof. Rinchen wrote that this dictionary will be interesting for linguistics. Gavj Gomboj made an index to the dictionary which was attached to the publication. The index contains more than 20,000 entries.

<sup>15</sup> The full name of this dictionary is *Sna tshogs btus ming tshol bas la ba dkar po mthong smon zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. It was spread both in a 70-page xylograph and a 102-page manuscript forms. As mentioned in the colophon, it was written by Erdene Bilegtu Guush Anand.

<sup>16</sup> This word borrowed by Mongolians is a loan-word meaning 'collected words'.

<sup>17</sup> Dorj, T. 1962. *Tübed Mongol doqiyān-u bičig tegüber neres-ün jüyil, OUMKBE-nii ankhadugar ikh khural*, 1-r debter, Ulaanbaatar.

the works of Tibetan authors written in different fields of knowledge. The word lists in these glossaries are not arranged as in ordinary dictionaries—in the Mongolian alphabetical order—but in the order derived from the original Tibetan works, with a word-for-word translation. They are not extensive works and tend to include what could be regarded as ‘difficult’ terms, such as archaisms left unexplained in other dictionaries. These glossaries remain vitally important as manuals for scholars and readers of Buddhist and other Tibetan literature.

The Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary named *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas* was composed by Rolbiidorj in 1742. It is interesting as a big thematic and terminological dictionary which includes terms of the Ten Buddhist Major and Minor sciences. The foreword explains the theory of translation from Tibetan into Mongolian, which is important and useful even today.<sup>18</sup>

The most extensive Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary, entitled *Bod hor gyi brda yig ming tshig don gsum gsal bar byed pa mun sel sgron me* (lit. *Tibetan Mongolian Dictionary which Illuminates the Word, Speech and Meaning, Named a Lamp Eliminating Darkness*) contains 40,000 words. It was composed in 1859 by the famous Nomtiin Rinchen or Sumatiratna (Luvsanrinchen) (1820–1907), who was a talented lexicographer, linguist, translator, and poet. This famous and widely used dictionary occupies a well-respected place within the body of traditional Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries. The original text consists of more than a thousand scripture pages and served as a handbook for Tibetologists and Mongolists since it first appeared. It was republished in Ulaanbaatar in 1959 in two volumes as an example of the highest standard of Mongolian traditional lexicography. Since then, while the literary works of Sumatiratna and his biography have been studied, little study has been done on his dictionary.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> In this theory principles of method of translation were enumerated. For example:

Not to translate word-for-word but to translate according to the meaning.

To translate not for fame but for religious benefit.

To translate artistically.

Not to revise the original text but to leave it as it is.

To transcribe proper names and put explanations on them and so on.

<sup>19</sup> D. Burnee, 2002. Sumatiradnagiin toliid neriig tailsan tukhai. *Acta Mongolica* 1(182). Ulaanbaatar: Mongol Ulsiin Ikh Sarguuliin erdem shinjilgeenii bichig, 73–81. D. Burnee, 2002. Sumatiratna and Reorich (to the comparative study of their dictionaries). *The 8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Mongolists (5–11<sup>th</sup> August 2002, Ulaanbaatar)*, 57.

In this article I have mentioned the biggest and the most famous Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries. They belong to the period of eighteenth–twentieth-centuries when most Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries were written. Although many other Mongolian dictionaries were composed before the 18<sup>th</sup> century none of them have so far been uncovered. There are also many small Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries composed during the same period (eighteenth–twentieth-centuries) but these will be introduced at a later stage.



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