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## Comparison of Optative Endings in Manchu and Mongolian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century - Based on Cheonghak saseo (清學四書) and Monghak samseo (蒙學三書)<sup>1</sup>

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**Summary:** The optative endings in Manchu and Mongolian have comparatively studied in accordance with the textbooks Cheonghak saseo (清學四書) and Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) of the 18<sup>th</sup> century which are kept in Korea and analyzed the use of optative endings in quotations and negative statements. The two languages were similar in the quotation verbs like ‘se-’ and ‘ge-/keme-’ which were made to simply quote and express the intention of the subject. Furthermore, the negation words ‘ume’ and ‘büü, bitegei’ were also similar in negative sentences. However, this study was only limited to the use of optative endings; further comparative studies in the use of tenses of Manchu and Mongolian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century need to be carried out.

**Key words:** Optative ending, negative sentence, Manchu, Mongolian.

### Introduction

This study aims to compare the optative endings of Manchu and Mongolian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century based on the Manchu textbooks Cheonghak saseo (清學四書)<sup>4</sup> Cheong-eo nogeoldae (清語老乞大), Samyeok chonghae (三譯總解), Soaron (小兒論)<sup>5</sup>, P’alsea (八歲兒)<sup>6</sup> and the Mongolian textbooks Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) /*Mongo nogeoldae* (蒙語老乞大), *Cheophae mongo* (捷解蒙語), *Mongoyuhe* (蒙語類解)/ and analyze the use of optative endings in quotations and negative statements. Other than Mongoyuhe (蒙語類解), which is in a form of a dictionary, both Cheonghak saseo (清學四書) and Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) have the meanings and pronunciation after every sentence in Manchu and in Mongolian respectively, which makes both significant documents in the study of 18<sup>th</sup> century Korean.

Cheong-eo nogeoldae (清語老乞大) and Mongo nogeoldae (蒙語老乞大) are textbooks that consist of conversations, whereas Samyeokchonghae (三譯總解) is a translation of Samgugji (三國志)<sup>7</sup>. On a different note, Cheophae mongo (捷解蒙語) consists mainly of conversations, letters and encouragement of further learning. Both

<sup>1</sup> This paper has been written under the project “Language and Culture Relation in Southern Asia: Studies on various versions of *nogeoldae /tao qida/* in Korean, Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese” grant by Scientific and Technological Fund of Mongolia 2018/41.

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<sup>4</sup> 『清學四書』 is as expressed in Hwang Guk-jung (2011)

<sup>5</sup> Discussion with a Little Child

<sup>6</sup> Eight-Year-Old Child

<sup>7</sup> Romance of the three kingdoms

Soaron (小兒論) and P'alsea (八歲兒) consist of conversations. This means that the textbooks that this study concerns itself with shows both colloquial and literary use of language as well as using various colloquialism expressing wish, hope, suggestion, command, apprehension, etc. Hence, this study will use the textbooks mentioned above to compare the use of optative endings of Manchu and Mongolian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and analyze their respective uses in quotations and negative sentences in order to identify the similarities and differences of both languages.

The following are preceding studies concerned with optative. In terms of Manchu, most of the studies only suggested the use and meaning of optative ending. Möllendorff (1892) explained the use of 'ø (imperative), -ki (subjunctive), -kini (optative), -cina (concessive)' using example sentences, as well as identifying that '-cina' and '-kini' can both form imperatives or causatives, also using example sentences. Park Eun-yong (1973) divided the ending into 'ø, -cina, -ki, -kini, -rahū, -rao/reo/roo', in order to explain their meanings through example sentences. Baek Eung-jin (2012) divided these into 'ø (imperative), -cina (optative), -ki (propositive), -kini (causative), -rahū (apprehensive), -reo (precative)' identify each of their meanings and uses through example sentences. Yeon gyu-dong (2012) proceeded with the analysis on '-ki, -kini, -cina', approaches based on person and its use with the verb 'se-' and other approaches from various perspectives.

For the studies of the optative in Mongolian, N.Poppe (2006) divided these into 'ø (imperative), -γtun/-gtün (benedictive), -γarai/-gerei (prescriptive), -tuγai/-tügei (imperative of the third person), -suγai/-sügei (voluntative), -y-a/-y-e (voluntative), -γasai/-gesei (optative), -γujai/-güjei (dubitative)' and explained these using example sentences. Lee Ki-mun (1964) also divided them into '-γtun/-gtün (benedictive), -γarai/-gerei (prescriptive), -y-a/-y-e (voluntative), -suγai/-sügei (optative), -tuγai/-tügei (concessive), -γujai/-güjei (dubitative)' and then presented the ending according to Monggo nogeoldae (蒙語老乞大), then explaining each of these. Choi Ki-ho (1985) analyzed Monggo nogeoldae (蒙語老乞大) from the morphological perspective and defined optative ending as 'ø (imperative), -γtun/-gtün (benedictive), -γarai/-gerei (prescriptive), -y-a/-y-e, -suγai/-sügei (voluntative), -γasai/-gesei (optative), -tuγai/-tügei (concessive), -γujai/-güjei (dubitative)'. This study also explained their meanings in detail as well as mentioning the persons of the subject. Lee Sung-gyu (1999) divided the final ending into imperative-optative ending which expresses persons and tense ending which expresses tense. Here, the ending used according to first, second and third persons were divided like the following: first person - -y-a/-y-e, -suγai/-sügei (-su/-sü); second person - ø, -γtun/-gtün (-γtui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün), -γasai/-gesei (-sai/-sei), -γarai/-gerei (-rai/-rei); and third person - -tuγai/-tügei, -γujin/-güjin (-ujin/-jin). Their uses in Monghok samseo (蒙學三書) was then analyzed.

Now let's look at the status of comparative studies. The following are studies that dealt with Mongolian, Manchu and Korean: T.Otgontuul (2009)'s 'Comparative study on case ending of Korean, Mongolian and Manchu'; Choi Dong-gwon (1999, 2006, 2009)'s 'Comparison study of intention sentences in Korean, Mongolian and

Manchu’, ‘Comparison study on quotations’; and ‘Comparison study on substitutes’. Choi Ki-ho (1985) has conducted a comparison study of Mongolian and Korean in the 18<sup>th</sup> century based on *Mongo nogeoldae* (蒙語老乞大) from a morphological perspective and G.Hangaimaa (2011) conducted a study on colloquialism based on *Mongo nogeoldae* (蒙語老乞大) and *Cheophe mongo* (捷解蒙語). Comparative studies of Mongolian and Manchu in the 18<sup>th</sup> century include Ju Su-hyeon (2018)’s ‘comparison study on particles’. The preceding studies were active in defining and explaining optative of Manchu and Mongolian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but comparative study on the two based on *Cheonghak saseo* (清學四書) and *Monghak samseo* (蒙學三書) hasn't been conducted yet. Also, study on the use of optative in quotations and negative sentences. Hence, this study is being conducted to supplement these areas.

Both Manchu and Mongolian have specific criteria that can classify words as optative, and they can be subdivided into imperative, wish, voluntary, cohortative and apprehension. Therefore, it is easy to classify similar endings based on their uses and meanings in both languages as well as identify the differences between the two languages. This study compared all of the sentences in *Cheonghak saseo* (清學四書) and *Monghak samseo* (蒙學三書) that either ended in optative endings, is a quotation in optative or is a negative sentence in optative (335 sentences in Manchu and 275 sentences in Mongolian). Then, this comparative study was carried out between the Manchu and Mongolian equivalents. Romanization of Manchu follows that of Möllendorff (1892)<sup>8</sup>, and Romanization of Mongolian follows that of Monghan

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	When alone	In the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word		When alone	In the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word
a	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ	s	-	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ
e	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ		-			
i	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ	š	-	ᠰ	ᠰ	-
o	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ	t	-	ᠲ	ᠲ	ᠲ
u	ᠤ	ᠤ	ᠤ	ᠤ	d	-	ᠳ	ᠳ	-
ū	ᠥ	ᠥ	ᠥ	ᠥ	l	-	ᠯ	ᠯ	ᠯ
n	-	ᠨ	ᠨ	ᠨ	m	-	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ
k	-	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠬ	c	-	ᠴ	ᠴ	-
g	-	ᠬ	ᠬ	-	j	-	ᠵ	ᠵ	-
h	-	ᠬ	ᠬ	-	y	-	ᠶ	ᠶ	-
b	-	ᠪ	ᠪ	ᠪ	r	-	-	ᠷ	ᠷ
p	-	ᠪ	ᠪ	-	f	-	ᠸ	ᠸ	-

sajeon (蒙漢詞典) (1999, Lee Jong-chul:2018 reused)<sup>9</sup>

### Comparison of optative endings

Before comparing the optative endings in two languages, this study needs to classify the optative forms appearing in Cheonghak saseo (清學四書) and Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) based on their meanings: first person imperative (a. the individual action of the first person singular – usually seen in promise form, b. first person plural imperative(includes listener) – appears in suggestion); second person imperative; and third person imperative(expressing hopes and wishes for that third person. when its meaning is expanded, it may be express causation). When an ending expresses both singular and plural imperatives, it is denoted as 1, but otherwise, they are divided as 1.a. or 1.b.

#### Optative in Manchu

Optative forms in Manchu can be broadly divided into six - ‘-ki, -ø, -kini, -cina, -reo(rao,roo) and -rahū’.

#### 1) -ki ①②③

This is the most typical ending of wish and is the most commonly used as well. Its meaning may change according to the subject, but in most cases, it expresses the intention and wish of the speaker. There is no restriction in terms of subjects, but in Cheonghak saseo (清學四書), this ending only appears when first or second person is used as the subject.

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Mongolian vowels and consonants (蒙文字母)	Transcription character vowels and consonants (轉寫字母)	International pronunciation table (國際音標)	Mongolian vowels and consonants (蒙文字母)	Transcription character vowels and consonants (轉寫字母)	International pronunciation table (國際音標)
ᠠ	a	ɑ	ᠮ	m	m
ᠡ(ᠡ)	e(e)	ə	ᠯ	l	l
ᠢ	i	i~I	ᠰ	s	s
ᠣ	o	ɔ	ᠱ	š	ʃ
ᠤ	u	ʊ	ᠲ	t	t
ᠥ	ö	o	ᠳ(ᠳ)	d, d [Chinese character]	d
ᠦ	ü	u	ᠴ	č	tʃ
ᠨ	n	n	ᠵ	ǰ	dʒ
ᠩ	ng	ŋ	ᠷ	y	j
ᠪ	b	b	ᠷ	r	r
ᠫ	p, f [Chinese character]	p	ᠸ	w	w
ᠬ(ᠬ)	q(k)	x	ᠵ	z	dʒ
ᠬ(ᠬ)	Y(g), ḡ [Chinese character]	g			



If the subject is first person singular, the ending expresses hopes and intention of the speaker, whereas if the subject is first person plural, it expresses suggestion. If the subject is in second person, this ending expresses the speaker's wishes and hopes to the listener, thereby conveying a sense of demand or request.

- 1) a. bi tuwaki. (清老 6:16a) /I will see/  
 b. muse sasari yoki dere. (清老 1:10a) /Let's go together/  
 c. ejen gung hū dun bedereki. (三總 10:12b) /Caster, please go ahead/

(1.a) shows a sentence with a first-person singular subject, and as shown, this sentence expresses the intention of the subject. (1.b) has a first-person plural subject and expresses a meaning of suggestion, and (1.c) has a second person subject and expresses a sense that the speaker is demanding or asking the listener to do something.

## 2) -ø ②

This is when a sentence ends in a verb stem. Its basic meaning is to express the wish and hopes of the speaker to the listener, but this is often used in its expanded meaning of order and command to the listener. Its subject is in both second person singular and plural, and some of them appear irregular.

- 2) a. suweni juwe nofi neneme gene. (清老4:22b) /You two go ahead/  
 b. gucu si tutafi sain bisu (清老8:1b) /My friend, stay here and be well/

The examples above show that the sentences are concluded in verb stem and that the first person speaker is expressing his or her wish of what the second person listener should do. In (2.a), the speaker is giving a command to a second person plural, and in (2.b) the speaker is expressing what he/she wants to a second person singular. Here, 'bisu' is the irregular form of bimbi verb when the sentence finishes in verb stem.

## 3) -kini ①.a②③

'-kini' doesn't have any restrictions in terms of subject and it tends to express the wish and intention of the speaker. However, in most cases, this tends to have a third person as a subject. In rare cases where the subject is in first person, this ending expresses the speaker's hopes. When the subject is in second person, this ending conveys a sense of request or command to the listener. When the subject is in third person, it either shows a wish for that third person or shows a causative relationship.

- 3) a. jiyangjiyūn i gūnin lakcakini sefi (三總1:16b) /I wish to halt your thoughts/  
 b. taka tucibukini. (三總10:2a) / Please make them leave for a moment/  
 c. mejige be isibukini serenggekai. (三總5:7a) /It was to send the news/  
 d. muse juwe nofi cembe halame genefi ce amasi jifi amgakini. (清老4:7b)

/Let's go and relieve them from duty so that those two can come back and sleep/

In (3.a), the subject is in first person and it is obvious that the intention of the speaker is shown through the '-kini' ending. (3.b) can be analyzed as 'tuci+bu+kini',

and as ‘-bu’ conveys causation, it can be argued that ‘-kini’ expresses command to the second person listener. (3.c) is when Jojo sends a spy to send the news, the subject, spy, becomes the third person and is analyzed as ‘isi+bu+kini’, which means that ‘-kini’ has been used to express a wish for that third person. In (3.d), the subject is third person plural, and ‘-kini’ was used to convey a meaning of causation.

4) -cina ①.a②③

‘cina’ does not have a restriction on its subject combination, but in Cheonghak saseo (清學四書), it was only used with a second person subject. When the subject is in first person, this ending is used to express the speaker's hope and when the subject is in second person, it is used to express a gentle command or request of the speaker for that second person. When the subject is in third person, it shows the speaker's hope for the third person.

- 4) a. *gucuse ilicina*. (清老3:3b) /Friends, wake up/  
 b. *cenghiyang gūwa akdun niyalma be baifi unggicina*. (三總6:18b)  
 /The prime minister should find another trustworthy person to send/

(4.a) is directed at second person plural listeners and (4.b) is directed at a second person singular. In both cases, the ending was used to convey a sense of gentle request to the listener.

5) -reo(rao, roo) ②③

‘reo’ ending is used when the speaker expresses his/her wishes and request politely to a second- or third-person subject, while presenting himself/herself as a humbler being. In Cheonghak saseo (清學四書), only second person subject was used, but this ending is similar to other optative endings in that it expresses the speaker's hopes.

- 5) a. *moro bici emke bureo*. (清老3:9b) /If you have a bowl, please give it to me/  
 b. *amasi jidere erin de kemuni mini diyan de jifi tatareo*. (清老3:4b)  
 /When you come back, always come stay at our hostel/

Whereas (5.a) is a polite request from the speaker to the listener, in (5.b), the speaker puts the listener on a pedestal as well as expressing hopes and wishes for something that may or may not happen in the future.

6) -rahū ②③

‘rahū’ is in apprehensive form and is used with a verb stem to express fear and worry of the speaker. It is used to express hope that the situation that the speaker is worried about will not happen. The subjects used with this ending is in second person and third person.

- 6) a. *simbe aikabade burakū ojorahū seme* (三總1:3a) /I thought you might not give me (Chosun)/  
 b. *gūwa niyalma gamarahū* (清老7:1b) /I was worried that someone else would take it/

Example (6.a) is from the scene where Dongtak is worried about whether Wangyun would not give Chosun. Here, the speaker is Dongtak and ‘you’ is the listener, Wangyun. This means “I thought you (Wangyun) might not give (Chosun) to me”, and this expresses the speaker's fear and worry due to a certain action of the subject in second person. Example (6.b) shows a situation where the speaker is worried that another third person would take it away.

### *Mongolian optative ending*

There are 8 optative endings in Mongolian - ‘-y-a/-y-e, -suyai/-sügei (-su/-sü), ø, -ytun/-gtün (-ytui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün) -yasai/-gesei (-sai/-sei), -yarai/-gerei (-rai/-rei), -tuyai/-tügei, -yujin/-güjin (-ujin/-jin)’.

#### 1) -y-a/-y-e ①

‘-y-a/-y-e’ is, in essence, an ending that expresses the speaker’s hopes and intentions. When the subject is in first person singular, it expresses the speaker’s hope or decision to do something, and when the subject is in first person plural, it expresses the speaker's hope or intention to do something with the listener.

- 1) a. bi odču üjeyē. (捷蒙2:16a) /I will go and see/
- b. bide qoyala qoyin-a ašar ečiy-e. (蒙老4:15a) /We will head there slowly/

Here, it is obvious that the subject in 1.a is in first person singular and that the sentence is expressing the intentions and hopes of the speaker. On the other hand, in 1.b, the subject is in first person plural, which expresses the speaker's intention to do something with the listener.

#### 2) -suyai/-sügei (-su/-sü) ①

This is used to express the hope of the first-person to do something. According to N.Poppe (2006:90), the singular ending is ‘-suyai/-sügei’, and in pre-classic colloquialism, it is used in the form of ‘-su/-sü’<sup>10</sup>. In Monghak samseo (蒙學三書), ‘-suyai/-sügei’ only has a first person singular as its subject, but ‘-su/-sü’ has both first person singular and plural as subjects. When the subject is in first person singular, it shows the speaker’s will and hopes for a certain action. When the subject is in first person plural, it expresses the speaker’s will to the listener, thus asking the listener to act together with the speaker.

- 2) a. bi erike ečisü. (蒙老1:24b)/I will go and borrow it/
- b. bida jisiyalaju bosuyad kičiyejü mori idegülsü. (蒙老2:18a)  
/Let's wake up in turn and diligently feed the horses/

(2.a) uses the ending to express the speaker’s will, whereas (2.b) uses the ‘-su/-sü’ ending to express a sense of request to the listener.

<sup>10</sup> The voluntative suffix of the singular is -suyai/-sügei, in the pre-classical language -su/-sü.

## 3) -ø ②

This is when the sentence ends in the form of verb stem and this can have both second person singular and plural as its subject<sup>11</sup>. It is used when commanding or ordering the listener to fulfil the speaker's wishes.

3) a. *či üdter tegün-i erire od.* (捷蒙4:7b) /You go and find him quickly/

b. *qoyar kümün mori abčiju tende talbi.* (蒙老4:1b) /You two, lead the horses and leave them there/ Here, (3.a) has a second person singular subject and (3.b) has a second person plural subject. Both sentences act to express the speaker's intention to the listener and is therefore a command or an order.

4) -*ytun/-gtün* (-*ytui/-gtüi*, -*tun/-tün*) ②

'-*ytun/-gtün*' expresses the speaker's hopes for a second person listener, but in comparison to the 'ø' ending, it elevates the listener. '-*ytun/-gtün*' ending is the plural of '-*ytui/-gtüi*' (N.poppe, 2006:89)<sup>12</sup> and '-*tun/-tün*' is its colloquial form with the omission of 'y/g'. In *Monghak samseo* (蒙學三書), the endings were used both in its singular and plural form and without strict distinctions. This ending, in essence, expresses the speaker's hope and depending on the context, it may also be used to express soft orders to the listener, suggestion and wish.

4) a. *ta mün kü kedün qundaya uuyutun.* (捷蒙3:12a) /You guys, drink multiple glasses/

b. *či sayin-iyar aytun* (蒙類5a) /Take care of yourself/

As shown in (4.a), this ending can be used to express a soft suggestion to the second person listener, or it can also be used for warm wishes as in the case of (4.b).

5) -*yasai/-gesei*(-*sai/-sei*) ②③

'-*yasai/-gesei*' is usually identified as the speaker's wish for the third person subject that is unattainable, but in *Monghak samseo* (蒙學三書), it is only used with a second person subject. In this case, it expresses the speaker's wish and hope for attainable things and has the meaning of request and demand to the second person. In *Monghak samseo* (蒙學三書), '-*yasai/-gesei*' form is not seen, but only the colloquial form, '-*sai/-sei*' form is shown.

5) a. *yeke abayai sayin mönggü-yi öggüsei.* (蒙老4:13a) /Brother, give me good silver/

b. *či qayiralasa*ı*.* (蒙老3:15b) /Have mercy on (us)/

<sup>11</sup> The vowel of the final syllable of the stem was lengthened or a long vowel was added to the stem. This form is called the precative, e.g., Kh. *ögö* 'please give!', Urd. *itšē* 'please go away!'. To this form pronouns of the second person were added enclitically, e.g., Kh. *ögöš* 'please give!'(sing.) and *ögöt* 'please give!'(plural) (N.Poppe, 1987:253) According to the explanation that this ending is used to reiterate and emphasize the order to the other person and therefore has an additional meaning of 'must' (Lee Sung-gyu, 1999:104), this is viewed as a part of emphasis and is therefore not dealt with separately.

<sup>12</sup> The suffix is -*ytun/-gtün*, a plural in -n of -*ytui/-gtüi*.

In (5.a), it is obvious that the speaker is asking softly to the listener about things that may come true. Similarly, in (5.b), the ending carries meaning of request to the listener, not just a simple command.

6) -*yarai/-gerei(-rai/-rei)* ②

This ending is used to express the speaker's request to the second person. It is used in Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) once, only in Mongo nogeoldae (蒙語老乞大), and is used in its colloquial form, '-rai/-rei', instead of its full form.

- 6) a. *bay-a kümün-i gekügei bolqula erke ügei min-u gerte irerei.* (蒙老3:9b)  
/If you didn't forget us, please visit our house/

In this case, the context shows that the ending was used to lower the speaker himself and express his hopes to the second person subject at the same time, which concludes to a soft request.

7) -*tuɣai/-tügei* ②③

'-tuɣai/-tügei' ending is used both with second person and third person subjects. When the subject is in second person, it expresses the speaker's hope, wish, prayers and order for the listener, and when the subject is in third person, it shows the speaker's hope for the third person or causation.

- 7) a. *bi abayai-yi qoriɣsan anu čimayi sayin boltuɣai maɣu-yi suruɣujin kemekü sanaya* (捷蒙3:13b)

/I only stop you because I wish you were benevolent and I am (worried) that you may learn wild things/

- b. *abayai ta bičig dayudaɣu yeke tüsimel kergem oltuɣai. toloyai ösü čayidala erkim aju türütügei.* (捷蒙4:6a)

/Brother, study hard and attain a high place. Be rich and valuable until your hair grows white/

- c. *bi urda ečiged tere qoyala-yi qoyisi irejü untatuɣai.* (蒙老4:3b)

/I will go first and make the two return, so that they can sleep/

- d. *anda nar-tu ögčü debesültügei.* (蒙老2:8b) /Give this to the wanderers to use as sheets/

In (7.a) the speaker is speaking to a second person listener, and this sentence expresses the speaker's wish that the listener would be benevolent. (7.b), on the other hand, expresses a sense of prayer for the speaker's brother, whereas (7.c) shows a meaning of causation to the third person subject of '-tuɣai/-tügei', while expressing the speaker's intentions at the same time. (7.d) can be analyzed as 'debes+ül+tügei', and as '-ul/ül' has the meaning of causation, '-tügei' in the above sentence expresses a sense of hope and intention for the third person.

## 8) -γujin/-gūjin (-ujin/-jin) ②③

The root of ‘-γujin/-gūjin’ is ‘-γujai/-gūjei’, but in Monghak samseo (蒙學三書), ‘-γujin/-gūjin’ ending appears more often, as well as the colloquial ‘-ujin/-jin’. This is used to express the worry and fear of actions against the wishes of the speaker. Both second person and third person subjects can be used.

8) a. *či sonosqula eglekūjin kememüi.* (捷蒙4:9b) /I (worry) that you may laugh when you hear this/

b. *busud kümün abčiγujin.* (蒙老7:1a) /I'm (worried) that other people might take it/

In (8.a), the speaker is worried about the situation in which the second person listener would laugh at him/her. In (8.b), the speaker is worried that a third person would take away something.

### *Comparison of optative endings in Manchu and Mongolian*

So far, this study has looked at the optative endings in Manchu and Mongolian in Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) and Cheonghak saseo (清學四書), and identified the form, definition, use in relation to person and specific characteristics of each endings. These optative endings can be in a one-to-one, one-to-many or many-to-one relationship. Further details are explained below.

#### 1) ‘ø’ in Manchu and Mongolian ②<sup>13</sup>

‘ø’ ending is the most basic imperative ending in verb stem, and its subjects are in second person singular and plural. It expresses the speaker's wishes and hopes to the listener and thereby conveys a sense of order and command. As this has the same form, meaning and subject in both Manchu and Mongolian, it can be seen as having a one-to-one relationship.

#### 2) ‘-ki’ in Manchu and ‘-y-a/-y-e’<sup>①</sup> and ‘-suyai/-sügei (-su/-sü)’<sup>①</sup> in Mongolian

‘-ki’ in Manchu does not have a restriction in subject, whereas ‘-y-a/-y-e’ and ‘-suyai/-sügei(-su/-sü)’ needs a first person subject. These endings are both used to express the will and wishes or to express such to the listener to ask the listener to do it together. However, ‘-ki’ in Manchu is also used in conjunction with second- and third-person subjects in order to express the speaker's wish to the listener to make a request or ask, which is different from the use of corresponding endings in Mongolian.

#### 3) ‘-kini’<sup>①</sup>.a<sup>②③</sup> in Manchu and ‘-tuyai/-tügei’<sup>②③</sup> in Mongolian

‘-kini’ in Manchu does not have a restriction in subject, whereas ‘-tuyai/-tügei’ in Mongolian has a second-/third-person subject. The two endings are similar in that when the subject is in third person, it is used to express the speaker's wish to the third person or causation.

<sup>13</sup> If the subject of the optative ending is the same, it was marked at the end of the sentence.

This is explained in further detail below.

‘-kini’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- First person subject: speaker's hopes and wishes
- Second person subject: request/order to the listener
- Third person subject: speaker's wish to the third person, causation

‘-tuyai/-tügei’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- Second person subject: order, wish and prayer to the listener
- Third person: speaker's wish to the third person, causation

From this, it is obvious that the use of both of these endings have expanded from expressing the speaker's hopes and use in conjunction with different subjects have different meanings. In the case of ‘-tuyai/-tügei’, it seems to have expanded to prayers about impossible things.

#### 4) ‘-cina’<sup>①.a②③</sup> in Manchu and ‘-ytun/-gtün(-ytui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün)’<sup>②</sup> and ‘-yasai/-gesei(-sai/-sei)’<sup>②③</sup> in Mongolian

‘-cina’ does not have a subject restriction, whereas ‘-ytun/-gtün(-ytui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün)’ and ‘-yasai/-gesei(-sai/-sei)’ in Mongolian requires a second person subject. The two are similar in that they are used to express a soft demand, request and wish in comparison to imperatives ending in verb stem.

‘cina’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject

- First person subject: speaker's wish
- Second person subject: speaker's soft demand, request
- Third person subject: the speaker's wish for the third person

‘-ytun/-gtün(-ytui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün)’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- Second person: soft order, suggestion, wish for the listener

‘-yasai/-gesei(-sai/-sei)’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- Second person: speaker's request, demand
- Third person: speaker's wish for the third person subject (on things that are usually impossible)

It seems like the meaning of all three endings have been expanded with the expression of speaker's wish and hopes, but they are different in that there are restrictions in person.

#### 5) ‘-reo(rao, roo)’<sup>②③</sup> in Manchu and ‘-tuyai/-tügei’<sup>②③</sup> and ‘-yarai/-gerei(-rai/-rei)’<sup>②</sup> in Mongolian

‘-reo(rao, roo)’, ‘-tuyai/-tügei’ and ‘-yarai/-gerei(-rai/-rei)’ are similar in that they are used to lower the speaker himself/herself as well as expressing a polite request or a wish. The definitions according to the subject are listed below.



‘reo(rao, roo)’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- Second-/third-person: request and order to the listener.

‘-tuɣai/-tügei’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- Second person: order and prayer to the listener
- Third person: hopes for the third person / causation

‘-ɣarai/-gerei(-rai/-rei)’ expresses the following meaning according to the subject.

- Second person: soft demand, request

As shown, the meaning of the three endings have been expanded from the expression of speaker's wish. They are similar in that they express a sense of request to the second person listener. ‘-tuɣai/-tügei’ expresses a sense of prayer to the second person and causation to the third person, which makes it difficult to say that it has a one-to-one relationship. In the case of ‘-ɣarai/-gerei(-rai/-rei)’, it corresponds to ‘-reo(rao,roo)’ as it expresses a polite request to a second person, but the two are different in that the former only uses a second person has its subject.

6) ‘-rahū’ in Manchu and ‘-ɣujin/-güjin’<sup>②③</sup> in Mongolian

‘-rahū’ and ‘-ɣujin/-güjin’ shows apprehension and are similar in that both endings require second person or third person subject. In terms of definition, they both express worry and fear for situations that are against the speaker's wishes, which makes the relationship between the two a one-to-one correspondence.

### **Comparative use of optative ending in quotations and negative sentences**

#### *Use of optative endings in quotations*

The two languages are similar in that ‘se-’ in Manchu and adds ‘ge-/keme-’ in Mongolian add verbs after a sentence ending in optative ending to form a quotation. Quotations are simply used to quote writings or speech, but this study will also include use of quotation of optative endings in order to express the intention of the subject.

Let us first examine the use in quotation in Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) and Cheinghak saseo (清學四書).

- 1) a. sini ama eniye taci sembio? (清老 1:7b)/Did your parents tell you to learn?/  
b. teüneče alba tere kebteülsen kümün-iyer orɣosan niki bayiča geji (蒙老3:17b)  
/The government institution makes the guest find the runaway/

When looking at the above examples, it is clear that both (1.a) and (1.b) adds ‘se-’ and ‘ge-’ quotation verbs to the optative ending in verb stem to create a simple quotation.

- 2) a. je bi uncaki sembi.(清老5:2a)/That is correct. I wish to sell/  
b. ene mori-yi tere čöm abuyad šandung-du qudaldug-a eči-y-e genem. (蒙老5:10a)  
/These people want to buy all of the horses and bring them to Shandong to sell/

But example sentence (2) shows that both the Manchu sentence ending in ‘-ki’ and Mongolian sentence ending in ‘-y-e’ have ‘se-’ and ‘ge-’ added respectively



to express the speaker's intentions. (2.a) expresses the intention of the first person speaker to sell, and (2.b) expresses the intention of the third person wishing to go to Shandong to sell the horses.

The following is a summary of the quotations in Monghakh samseo (蒙學三書) and Cheonghakh saseo (清學四書), and their relationships.

Manchu	Mongolian	
1	-ø + se-	-ø + ge-/keme-
2	-ki + se-	-
	-	-y-a/-y-e + ge-/keme- -suṯai/-sügei(-su/-sü) + ge-/keme-
3	-kini + se-	-
	-	-tuṯai/-tügei + ge-/keme-
4	-rahū + se-	-
	-	-ṯujin/-güjin(-ujin/-jin) + ge-/keme-

<Table 1> Quotation relationships of Manchu and Mongolian

This table is only a summary on optative endings that were used in quotation, and similar endings were marked with the same number. When sentences ending in optative endings were quoted, both Manchu and Mongolian are similar in that there was no change in form of the optative ending whether it was a simple quotation or an intention quotation used to express the intention of the subject.

#### *Use of optative endings in negative sentences*

Let us then compare the use of optative endings in negative sentences. The negative sentence with optative endings are expressed in the following form in Manchu and Mongolian respectively: ‘ume + verb stem + ra/re/ro’; and ‘büü, bitegei + verb stem + some optative endings (-ø, -ṯasai/-gesei, -ṯun/-gtün (-ṯui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün))’.

- 1) a. uttu **ume** hendure (清老2:14a) /Don't say like that./
- b. engkiji **bitegei** kele (蒙老2:11a) /Don't say like that./

(1.a) and (1.b) are the same sentence taken from Mongo nogeoldae (蒙語老乞大) and Cheongo nogeoldae (清語老乞大) respectively, and (1.a) forms a negative sentence in optative using the form ‘ume + verb stem + re’, whereas (1.b) uses the form ‘bitegei + verb stem’ to do the same thing.

In Manchu, even though the sentence negates an optative, future tense ‘-ra/-re/-ro’ is used instead of an optative ending to form negative sentences. In Mongolian, ‘büü, bitegei + verb stem + -ø’ form is normally used, but ‘-ṯasai/-gesei, -ṯun/-gtün (-ṯui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün’ may appear depending on the optative ending being negated, which is different from Manchu. In Monghakh samseo (蒙學三書), there are negative sentences in the form of ‘büü, bitegei + verb stem + -na/-ne/-no, -qu/-kü’, which is grammatically incorrect. Here, the argument from 松岡雄太 (Macheuoka yuta) (2005:57), which says that “*parts of Cheophae mongo* (捷解蒙語) *have been shown*

*to be similar to the 17<sup>th</sup> /18<sup>th</sup> century Manhan hapbyeok (滿漢合璧) documents, Cheongmun gyemong (清文啓蒙) and Cheongseo jinam (清書指南). Therefore, there is a possibility that such Manchu documents were used in the compilation of Cheophae mongo (捷解蒙語), and based on this, various problems that weren't solved before can be solved.”* As Manchu documents were used during the compilation of Cheophae mongo (捷解蒙語), the Manchu form of negative sentences which uses future tense endings have also been reflected, resulting in grammatically incorrect sentences. Even though the formation of negative sentences in optative in Manchu and Mongolian are structurally different, it can be confirmed that the two are similar in that the negation word ‘ume’ and ‘büü, bitegei’ comes before the verb being negated in Manchu and Mongolian respectively.

### Conclusion

This study has used Cheonghak saseo (清學四書) and Monghak samseo (蒙學三書) Manchu and Mongolian textbooks of the 18<sup>th</sup> century respectively to analyze and compare optative forms in Mongolian and Manchu. Optative is defined as a form of language that expresses the ‘feeling of want and wishing’, and includes imperative, wish, suggestion and apprehension. When optative forms are classified according to the ending, Manchu has six - ‘-ki, -ø, -kini, -cina, -reo (rao,roo), -rahū’ and Mongolian has eight - : ‘-y-a/-y-e, -suyai/-sügei (-su/-sü), ø, -ytun/-gtün (-ytui/-gtüi, -tun/-tün) -yasai/-gesei (-sai/-sei), -yarai/-gerei (-rai/-rei), -tuyai/-tügei, -yujin/-güjin (-ujin/-jin)’. Based on their uses in the texts, this study confirmed their meanings and use according to subject tense and compared corresponding endings in the two languages. Then, the study examined the use of optative in quotations. The two languages were similar in that quotation verbs like ‘se-’ and ‘ge/keme-’ were used to create quotations and also in that quotations were made to simply quote and to express the intention of the subject. Lastly, the study examined the use of optative in negative sentences. The two languages were similar in that negation words like ‘ume’ and ‘büü, bitegei’ comes before the verb and connects the verb stems of the verbs being negated. However, they showed differences in that Manchu adds a future tense, ‘-ra/re/ro’ to the stem whereas Mongolian does not. This study has identified the form, specific characteristics and meaning of optative endings, which are used to express the wish, hopes and intention of the speaker. It also examined the use of such endings in quotations and negative sentences. However, this study was only limited to the use of optative forms; the comparative study in the use of tenses of Manchu and Mongolian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century shall need to be conducted in the future.

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## About phonetic-phonological rules of the vowels in Khorchin

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### Abbreviations and symbols

#### *Grammatical forms*

ABL	ablative case: /-Ul/
ACC	accusative case: /-ig/
AGENT	agentive suffix: /-š/
AGENT. VN	agentive verbal noun: /-gš/
CAUS	causative verbal suffix: /-U/ ~ /-gU/
COM	comitative case: /-tε/
HYP. VN	hypothetical verbal noun: /-x/
IMM. PAST. IND	immediate past indicative: /-lU/
INST	instrumental case: /-Ur/
NOMLZ	nominalizer derivational suffix: /-šU/, /-l/
PL	plural: /-Ud/ ~ /-šUd/
PLR	plural verbal suffix: /-dʒga/
PRES	present indicative: /-nU/
RFL	reflexive possessive: /-Un/ ~ /-n/
PAST. VN	past verbal noun: /-sn/
VBLZ	verbalizer derivational suffixes: /-l/, /-sgw/, /-dʒga/

#### *Other Abbreviation*

ATR	advanced tongue root
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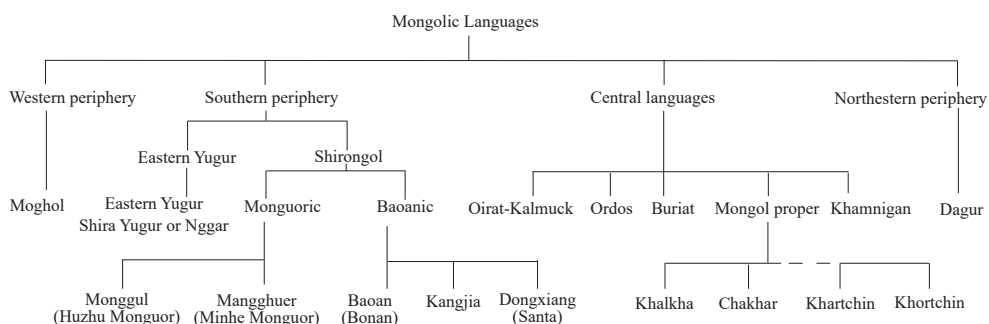
#### *Symbols*

·	syllable boundary
/.../	phonological representation
[...]	phonetic form
[:]	long (vowel length)

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Place of Khorchin in the Mongolic languages

Khorchin belongs to the Mongolic branch of the Altaic language family. Its situation in this family is shown in the table below. (Hans Nugteren 2011 p. 22)



## 1.2. Geographical location of the Khorchin domain

Khorchin is spoken in China, mainly in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. This region counts about 4,426,000 Mongols, in other words 74% of the Mongolian population of China.<sup>1</sup> However Mongolian represent only 17.1% of the total population of the autonomous region. Most Mongols are bilingual in Mongolian and Chinese, but in urban younger generations Mongolian language was disappearing, a trend that might be changing.

The Khorchins constitute the majority group among the Mongolian population of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. They number 2,080,000, that is to say 52% of the Mongolian speaking population.<sup>2</sup> They are particularly sinicized. The common official language of the Mongolians of China is not based on the Khorchin dialect, but on the Chakhar.

In Inner Mongolia, the Khorchins reside in Tongliao municipality (previously Zirem League), which includes the Darkhan banner, and also in the Khingan league, forming closed communities. Only in Tongliao there are 1,441,000 Khorchins.<sup>3</sup>

There are also Khorchins in China's Heilongjiang Province in Dörbed District (see 1 on map 1), and in Jilin Province's Gorlos District (see 2 on map 1). Moreover, Khorchins are numerous in the administration and are found all over Inner Mongolia as civil servants, teachers.

They live in a closed network and have a strong sense of identity through the preferential use of Khorchin over standard Mongolian.

Due to its particular political and geographical location, Khorchin has been in contact with the Manchu and Chinese languages, but also with Mongolian dialects;

<sup>1</sup> YANG Guoqing, "Zhongguo mengguzu renkou qianyi fenxi" [Analysis of the migration patterns of the Mongol of China], *Zhongguo Tongji*, 7, Beijing, Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 2013, p. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Sečinbaýatur (dir.), *Mongýul kelen-ü nutuý-un ajalýun-u sinzilel-ün uduridqal* [Introduction to the dialectology of the Mongolian language], Hohhot, Öbür mongýul-un arad-un keblel-ün qorij=a, 2005, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> YANG Guoqing, *Op. cit.*

thus, the Kharachin dialect, itself strongly influenced by Chinese,<sup>4</sup> has had a major influence on Khorchin.

Finally, the Khorchins, whether monolingual or bilingual Chinese-Khorchin, use a large number of Chinese loan words.



Map 1: The Khorchins of the Darkhan banner

### 1.3. Methodology

The Khorchin dialect is not uniform. I chose to study the variety of Khorchin dialect spoken in the city of Baokang and the neighboring villages (see Map 1). In order to obtain a representative sample, I interviewed bilingual Sino-Khorchin speakers of different ages and sexes, including some who had had little access to the standard Mongolian language. The recordings<sup>5</sup> of the interviews were made in several stages:

Step 1: I asked each speaker to read a lexical corpus aloud (3000 terms belonging to the basic vocabulary common to all Mongolian languages).

Step 2: From free interviews with the same speakers, I established a specific vocabulary of the Khorchin dialect from daily life.

Step 3: I asked the same speakers to repeat the selected terms.

This method aimed to see if the pronunciation of the terms was stable within the same geographical area.

<sup>4</sup> Currently, most Kharachins speak only Chinese.

<sup>5</sup> We used a TASCAM / DR-100 portable digital tape recorder to record language material.

To achieve my objective of giving a synchronic description of the Khorchin dialect of Baokang, I used Praat software. This made it possible to clarify certain phenomena that linguists who had previously worked on this subject had not been able to.

#### 1.4. Previous work on the phonology and phonetics of Khorchin

Most previous work has been carried out by Khorchin researchers, and mainly before 1990. The authors do not distinguish between phonology and phonetics, but their studies are more phonetic (Bajančoytu, 2002). On the other hand, they include in the phonological system of Khorchin phonemes that can only be found in borrowed words (Bajančoytu, 2002, Tulyayur and Sodu, 2008). Since these researchers do not distinguish between phonetics and phonology, the notion of epenthetic vowel escapes them: they speak of non-initial vowels that are reduced.

Bajančoytu (2002) gives the following table:

Vowels		
Short (11)	Long (9)	Diphthongs (11)
[ɑ], [ɛ̃], [i], [ɔ], [ʊ], [u], [ɛ], [œ], ([y]), [ə], [ə̃], [ər]	[ɑ:], [ə:], [i:], [ɔ:], [ʊ:], [u:], [ɛ:], [œ:], [y:]	[ʊɑ:], [ʊɛ:], [uɛ:], [ia:], [yɛ], [ui], [iɔ], [əi], [ai], [uə], [ʊai]

**Table 1: Presentation of Khorchin vowels according to Bajančoytu (2002)**

Note that the table includes phonemes only present in words borrowed from Chinese (the majority of borrowed words), Tibetan (few borrowed words) and European languages (few).

Tulyayur and Sodu (2008) give the following table:

Vowels	
Short (8)	Long (12)
[ɑ], [ɣ], [i], [ɔ], [ʊ], [u], [ɛ], [œ]	[ɑ:], [ə:], [i:], [ɔ:], [ʊ:], [u:], [ɛ:], [œ:], [y:], [ʊɑ:], [uə:], [uɛ:]

**Table 2: Presentation of Khorchin vowels according to Tulyayur and Sodu (2008)**

Chaghanhada (1996) noted ten phonological vowels: /ɑ/, /ə/, /i/, /ɔ/, /ʊ/, /u/, /y/, /ɛ/, /œ/, /ə̃/.

As for Norzin (1998), he lists nine short vowels for the Khorchin dialect: [A], [ə], [i], [ɔ], [öa], [u], [ʊ], [ɛ], [œ], but does not note the consonants.

N.B.: in my work, only Khorchin phonemes were taken into consideration.

## 2. The vowel system

In the first syllable (or initial syllable), According to our analysis Khorchin has eight pairs of vowels. They are distinct in their quantity which makes it possible to oppose them term by term:



- a series of short<sup>6</sup> vowels: /ʉ/, /i/, /u/, /ɑ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/, /œ/
- a series of long vowels: /ʉʉ/, /ii/, /uu/, /ɑɑ/, /ɛɛ/, /ɔɔ/, /œœ/.

Notes:

- the eight short vowels may, in some cases, have a reduced realization, noted as follows: [ũ], [ĩ], [ũ], [ã], [ẽ], [õ], [õ], [œ̃]
- the short / long distinctive opposition exists only in the first syllable.

In non-initial syllables, we find only the eight short vowels given above. Among them, only two have a reduced realization: [õ], [ĩ].

Cases of epenthetic vowels (studied below):

It should be noted that these vowels have no phonological value and will not be noted in our phonological transcription. They appear, for phonetic reasons, in the syllabification of a word. They correspond to the two reduced vowels (see below).

## 2.1. Short vowels

The eight short vowels (/ʉ/, /i/, /u/, /ɑ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/, /œ/) are differentiated by the feature/traits:

- ±ATR (advanced or retracted tongue root)
- ±front
- ±open
- ±rounded

Some are distinguished from each other by two or three features. Others are distinguished only by a single feature, which makes their auditory differentiation delicate for non-Khorchins.

The feature of ±ATR distinguishes the two vowel classes.

- +ATR, advanced tongue root: /i/, /ʉ/, /u/
- -ATR, retracted tongue root: /ɛ/, /œ/, /ɔ/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/

The feature of ±front distinguishes between

- front: /i/, /ɛ/, /œ/
- back: /ʉ/, /u/, /ɔ/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/

The feature of ±open distinguishes between

- close: /i/, /ʉ/, /u/, /ɔ/
- open: /ɛ/, /œ/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/

The feature of ±rounded depends on the shape formed by the lips and distinguishes

- unrounded: /i/, /ʉ/, /ɔ/, /ɛ/, /ɑ/
- rounded: /œ/, /u/, /ɔ/

1) The +ATR vowels, namely /i/, /ʉ/, /u/, are the most closed. In their acoustic realization, the first formant of the sound spectrum, F1, has a low frequency. On the

<sup>6</sup> Say also full vowels, cf. Svanteson, Tsendina, Karlson and Franzén 2008:3.

other hand, the vowels /u/ and /u/ are realized in the posterior part of the oral cavity, the vowel [u] being realized more or less centrally according to the speakers.

The first formants (F1) of the realizations of the vowels -ATR, namely /a/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /œ/, /ʊ/, have higher frequencies than those of the vowels +ATR. Phonetically, the vowels /ɛ/ and /œ/ are realized in the anterior part of the oral cavity and the vowels /a/, /ɔ/, /ʊ/ are realized in the central or posterior part of the oral cavity.

2) The vowel /ʊ/ is, phonologically, unrounded, although realized with relatively rounded lips.

		Front		Back	
		Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	+ATR	i		u	u
	-ATR			ʊ	
Open	+ATR				
	-ATR	ɛ	œ	a	ɔ

**Table 3 Phonological vowels of Khorchin**

The opposition between the different vowels is manifested in series of minimal pairs:

- /suur-/ "wake up"
- /sur/ "majesty"
- /sar/ "month"
- /sʊr-/ "study"
- /sœr-/ "absorb"
  
- /xir/ "dirty"
- /xar/ "black"
- /xɛr/ "foreigner"
- /xʊr/ "rain"
- /xɔr/ "poison"
- /xœr/ "twenty"

I noticed that there are very few minimal pairs opposing the vowels /ɛ/ and /œ/.

### 2.2. Long vowels

All the short vowels of the Khorchin have corresponding long vowels. These long vowels occur only in a first syllable. I note them by doubling the sign for the corresponding short vowel:

/uuu/, /ii/, /uu/, /aa/, /ɛɛ/, /ʊʊ/, /ɔɔ/, /œœ/.

Their phonetic realizations will be noted by the IPA symbol of the corresponding short vowel followed by the symbol: Note that their duration is generally twice as long as that of the corresponding short first syllable.

There is a length opposition between vowels, as illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

/duur/	"above"	≠	/dur/	"pillow"
/biir/	"brush"	≠	/bir/	"stepchild"
/uud/	"door"	≠	/ud/	"feather"
/aab/	"father"	≠	/ab/	"take (it)!"
/xεer/	"love"	≠	/xer/	"foreign"
/ool/	"mountain"	≠	/ol/	"sole of the foot"
/tɔs/	"dust"	≠	/ts/	"oil"
/œær/	"close"	≠	/ær/	"debt"

### 2.3. Epenthetic vowels

Among studies of the non-initial short vowels of the Mongolian language, there are two theories. According to the first one, as illustrated by Marie-Lise Beffa and Roberte Hamayon, in Khalkha, "short vowels keep their timbre in a first syllable. In the following syllables, they lose timbre and length. For example: /baatar/: [bāt̪r] 'hero', and when some suffixes are added non-initial short vowels can be lost (Beffa and Hamayon, 1975, p.44). On the other hand, according to Annie Rialland and Redouane Djamouri's (1984) presentation of vowel harmony in the Khalkha dialect, "the derivational suffixes can only be consonantal; epenthetic vowels are inserted between the consonants so as to form syllables [...]. Epenthetic vowels do not appear at the phonological level. Only vowels and phonological consonants are present (Rialland and Djamouri 1984 p. 338).

As mentioned above, my analysis of Khorchin vowels distinguishes two types of non-initial syllables: those with reduced realization and those with short but unreduced realization.

Note: Remember that there are no long vowels in non-initial syllables.

Reduced vowels are often in a closed syllable. They are unstable and they are lost when suffixes starting with a vowel are added:

[ɑ · rǎḍ] "people" + ABL → [ɑr · das]

Exception: this phenomenon does not occur when the syllable is closed by the velar consonant [ŋ] or a bi-consonantal cluster:

[sɔ · lǎŋ] "rainbow" + ABL → [sɔ · lǎŋ · ɡɔs]

[ɑ · sǎḡ] "what takes the action of burning" + ABL → [ɑ · sǎḡ · ʃas]

These vowels with reduced realization are actually epenthetic vowels (unstable, non-distinctive, purely phonetic), which intervene only for syllabification (see below). There are two in Khorchin: [ǎ], [ī]. Examples:

[tu · rǎḡ], realization of /tuurg/

[ʃu · lǎḡ], realization of /ʃulg/

[ɑ · rǎḍ], realization of /ard/

[sɔ · lǎŋ], realization of /sɔlŋ/

[ʊ · rǎḡ], realization of /org/

[ɛ · dǎl], realization of /ɛdl/

[gɑ · dʒɪr], realization of /gadʒr/

Note that after a palatal consonant, epenthetic is always [ɪ].

Note the two following points:

— It is important to underline that these epenthetic vowels are always found in non-initial syllables. However short vowels with reduced realization can be found in an initial syllable.

— In the following examples – which, for those indicated by a), illustrate this distinction and, for those indicated by a b), explain the operation of epenthetics –, I have noted epenthetic vowels in bold and the fact that they do not appear with the symbol ↓.

1.a) On the root /mud-/ "know", the opposition:

/mud-l/ [mu · dǎl] "knowledge" vs /mud-ul-/ [mũ · dul] "let [sb.] know!"

1.b) And adding the ablative suffix /-ʊs/ to the base /mud-l/:

/mud-l/ [mu · dǎl] + /-ʊs/ → /mud-l-ʊs/ [mũ↓ · lus]

The epenthetic [ǎ] no longer appears, and the vowel /u/ of the root is realized [ũ] (as followed by an unreduced vowel syllable [lus]).

2.a) /ibl-/ [i · bǎl] "gives (us) a lot of milk!" vs /ibuul/ [ĩ · buul] "protection"

2.b) /ibl-/ [i · bǎl] + /-x/ HYP. VN → /ibl-x/ [ib↓ · lǎx]

3.a) /uxr/ [u · xǎr] "cow" vs /uxur/ [ũ · xur] "corpse"

3.b) /uxr/ [u · xǎr] + /-ʊs/ ABL → /uxr-ʊs/ [ũx↓ · rus]

4.a) /duus (n)/ [du: · sǎn] "rope" + /-ʊn/ RFL → /duus (n) -ʊn/ [du: · sun] "(his) own rope"

The epenthetic [ǎ] and unstable *n* no longer appear.

4.b) /duus (n)/ [du: · sǎn] + /-ʊs/ ABL → /duus (n) -ʊs/ [du:s · nus]

The epenthetic [ǎ] no longer appears and the unstable *n* does not fall.

5.a) Compare:

/as/ [as] "burn, consume yourself!" + /-gš/ AGE → /as-gš/ [a · sǎgʃ] "what is burned, what is consumed"

/as-A-/ [ǎ · sa] "burn! fire!" (With /-ʊ/ CAUS) + /-gš/ → /as-A-gš/ [ǎ · sagʃ] "what makes the action of burning, what is burning"

The opposition /as-gš/ [a · sǎgʃ] vs /as-A-gš/ [ǎ · sagʃ]

5.b) /as-gš/ [a · sǎgʃ] + /-ʊs/ ABL → /as-gš-ʊs/ [ǎ · sǎgʃ · ʃas],

The epenthetic does not fall.

Remarks

1) There are also reduced vowels in loanwords.

E.g. the word "chair", *sandali* in Uyghur-Mongolian script, a term of Persian origin borrowed via the Turkic languages. In Khorchin, the second vowel of this term

is reduced and the final vowel falls; it is realized [san · dǎl] ~ [sɛn · dǎl]. This second vowel falls when we add suffixes beginning with a vowel: [sand · las] ~ [sɛnd · las] (ablative) and remains when the suffix begins with a consonant: [san · dǎl · tǎ] ~ [Sɛn · dǎl · tɛ] (in the comitative).

2) Speakers do not always pronounce epenthetic vowels, e.g. /umd/ "trousers", pronounced [u · mǎḍ] or [umḍ]; /xagd/ "half", pronounced [xa · gǎḍ] or [xagḍ]; /ard/ "people", pronounced [a · rǎḍ] or [arḍ].

#### 2.4. Phonetic length of vowels according to their position

According to my observations, the vowels are realized with different lengths according to their position. There are three types of realization: short, reduced, long (example: [a], [ǎ], [a:]). In initial syllables, I found all three types. In non-initial syllables, I found only the short type and the two reduced vowels [ĩ] and [ǎ]; I found no long vowels in non-initial syllables.<sup>7</sup>

Analysis of the duration of the vowels in initial syllables (in bold), according to whether they are short, reduced or long:

Short vowels [u], [i], [u], [a], [ɛ], [o], [ɔ], [œ]

	Terms	Duration 1st V	Duration 2nd V
/u/	/ur/ [ur] "male"	<b>0.077 s.</b>	
/u/	/gur/ [gur] "house"	<b>0.069 s.</b>	
/i/	/id/ [id] "eat!"	<b>0.080 s.</b>	
/i/	/xil/ [xil] "border"	<b>0.059 s.</b>	
/u/	/us/ [us] "hair"	<b>0.072 s.</b>	
/u/	/nux/ [nux] "hole"	<b>0.061 s.</b>	
/a/	/ab/ [ab] "take it!"	<b>0.080 s.</b>	
/a/	/dal/ [dal] "seventy"	<b>0.075 s.</b>	
/a/	/baga/ [ba · 'ga] "small"	<b>0.074 s.</b>	0.086 s.
/ɛ/	/lebš/ [lɛbʃ] "leaf"	<b>0.070 s.</b>	
/ɛ/	/ɛm/ [ɛm] "life"	<b>0.104 s.</b>	
/ɛ/	/nɛrn/ [nɛrn] "narrow"	<b>0.090 s.</b>	
/o/	/os/ [os] "water"	<b>0.089 s.</b>	
/o/	/dʒon/ [dʒon] "summer"	<b>0.090 s.</b>	
/ɔ/	/ɔr/ [ɔr] "bed"	<b>0.091 s.</b>	
/ɔ/	/tɔs/ [tʰɔs] "oil"	<b>0.069 s.</b>	
/œ/	/xœb/ [xœb] "destiny"	<b>0.082 s.</b>	
/œ/	/œx/ [œx] "(the) best"	<b>0.082 s.</b>	

#### *Duration of short vowels*

<sup>7</sup> This is also the case in Oirat.

The average lengths of the short vowels are shown below:

Vowels	u	i	u	a	ε	o	ɔ	œ
Duration	0.075	0.066	0.067	0.076	0.088	0.076	0.080	0.085

In Khorchin, a short initial vowel of one syllable measures on average 0.076 s, approximately the same length as in Khalkha, where it lasts on average 0.066 s. (Svantesson J.-O., Tsendina A., Karlsson A., Franzén V., 2005, 3).

Reduced vowels: [ũ], [ĩ], [ũ], [ǎ], [ɛ], [õ], [ǰ], [œ]

	Terms	Duration 1st V	Duration 2nd V
/u/	/tumu/ [t <sup>h</sup> ũ · 'mu] "camel"	<b>0.039 s.</b>	0.081 s.
/u/	/buulu/ [bũ · 'lu] "lukewarm"	<b>0.034 s.</b>	0.096 s.
/i/	/bilu/ [bĩ · 'lu] "whetstone"	<b>0.059 s.</b>	0.087 s.
/i/	/dimi/ [dĩ · 'mi] "futile"	<b>0.030 s.</b>	0.077 s.
/u/	/xudu/ [xũ · 'du] "campaign"	<b>0.044 s.</b>	0.111 s.
/u/	/šulu/ [šũ · 'lu] "free"	<b>0.043 s.</b>	0.084 s.
/a/	/adu/ [ǎ · 'du] "horses"	<b>0.042 s.</b>	0.083 s.
/a/	/dara/ [dǎ · 'ra] "after"	<b>0.045 s.</b>	0.091 s.
/ε/	/bedu/ [bɛ̃ · 'du] "poor"	<b>0.043 s.</b>	0.081 s.
/ε/	/tere/ [t <sup>h</sup> ɛ̃ · 're] "wheat"	<b>0.045 s.</b>	0.087 s.
/ε/	/jere/ [jɛ̃ · 're] "word"	<b>0.053 s.</b>	0.083 s.
/o/	/dolan/ [dõ · 'lan] "warm"	<b>0.043 s.</b>	0.082 s.
/o/	/džorga/ [džõr · 'ga] "six"	<b>0.054 s.</b>	0.069 s.
/o/	/ota/ [õ · 'ta] "smoke"	<b>0.045 s.</b>	0.074 s.
/o/	/buga/ [bö · 'ga] "wrist"	<b>0.049 s.</b>	0.076 s.
/ɔ/	/rɔ-x/ [ɔ̃ · 'rɔχ] "wrap"	<b>0.064 s.</b>	0.087 s.
/ɔ/	/ɔd-ud/ [ɔ̃ · 'duɔ̃] "stars"	<b>0.039 s.</b>	0.061 s.
/œ/	/cœrœ/ [œ̃ · 'rœ] "night"	<b>0.042 s.</b>	0.083 s.
/œ/	/dœrœ/ [dœ̃ · 'rœ] "weak"	<b>0.041 s.</b>	0.086 s.

*Duration of reduced vowels*

Examples of vowel duration in trisyllabic roots. Compare:

/a/	/armdza/ [ǎ · rǎm · 'dza] "rope"	0.043 s.	0.043 s.	0.097 s.
/a/	/balbrxa/ [bal · bǎr · 'χa] "fragment"	0.070 s.	0.033 s.	0.087 s.

The average durations of reduced vowels are presented below:

Vowels	ũ	ĩ	ũ	ǎ	ɛ̃	õ	ǰ	œ̃
Duration	0.037	0.048	0.044	0.049	0.043	0.052	0.055	0.056

A reduced vowel averages 0.048 seconds.

Long vowels: [u:], [i:], [u:], [a:], [ɛ:], [o:] [ɔ:], [œ:]

	Terms	Duration 1st V	Duration 2nd V
/uu/	/uuux/ [u:x] "fat"	0.218 s	
/uu/	/duuus/ [du:s] "rope"	0.159 s.	
/ii/	/iim/ [i:m] "so"	0.211 s.	
/ii/	/biil/ [bi:l] "gums"	0.130 s.	
/uu/	/uud/ [u:d] "door"	0.165 s.	
/uu/	/uul/ [u:l] "cloud"	0.169 s.	
/aa/	/aaš/ [a:f] "character"	0.158 s.	
/aa/	/saad/ [sa:d] "obstacle"	0.217 s.	
/aa/	/baatr/ [ba: · tʰər] "hero"	0.181 s.	0.048 s.
/εε/	/xεεš/ [xε:f] "scissors"	0.133 s.	
/εε/	/gεεl/ [gε:l] "tax"	0.159 s.	
/εε/	/εεmg/ [ε: · mǝŋ] "tribe; division"	0.153 s.	0.052 s.
/oo/	/oot/ [o:tʰ] "bag"	0.179 s.	
/oo/	/xoošn/ [χo: · ʃɪn] "old"	0.133 s.	0.064 s.
/oo/	/dʒoo/ [dʒo:s] "coins, money"	0.182 s.	
/oo/	/toos/ [tʰo:s] "dust"	0.188 s.	
/œœ/	/œœ/ [œ:] "forest"	0.212 s.	
/œœ/	/xœœn/ [xœ:n] "behind"	0.158 s.	

### *Duration of long vowels*

The average lengths of long vowels are shown below:

Vowels	u:	i:	u:	a:	ε:	o:	o:	œ:
Duration	0.172	0.170	0.167	0.185	0.153	0.161	0.185	0.185

A long vowel lasts an average of 0.147 seconds.

2) In the first syllable, a short vowel is usually reduced when it is followed by another short vowel, which will itself not be reduced.

Note that the duration of reduced vowels in initial syllables is about half the duration of the following short vowel:

/gar/ "main" + /-lls/ ABL	→	/gar-lls/
[gar]	→	[gǎ · ras]
[a] = 0.080 s.		[ǎ] = 0.059 s.; [a] = 0.117 s.

Note:

In disyllabic words,

– the two vowels can be reduced if the second syllable is closed:

/murgn/	[mǎr · gǎn]	"smart"
/xœl-x/	[xǎ · lǎχ]	"mix"

– none of the vowels is reduced if the two syllables are open:

/baga/	[ba · ga]	"small" <sup>8</sup>
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<sup>8</sup> Note that in Oirat, Chakhar and Khalkha, the term "small" is realized in one syllable: [bay].

/sala/	[sa · la]	"branch"
/sana/	[sa · na]	"thought"

3) A long vowel remains about the same duration in any syllabic context (monosyllabic or plurisyllabic word):

/duuur/ "up" + /-ʊs/ ABL	→	/duuur-ʊs/
[du:r]	→	[du: · ruus]
[u:] = 0.183 s.		[u:] = 0.167 s.; [ʊ] = 0.105 s.

Note that the duration of a short vowel [ʊ] in a non-initial syllable (0.105 s.) is a little longer than its average duration in an initial syllable (0.075 s.), Cf. supra.

### 3. Vowel Harmony

Researchers interested in vowel harmony in the Mongolian languages (Mongolian languages) divide the vowels into two series differing by a type of distinctive trait. This trait differs according to the authors:

± anterior (Vladimirtsov, 1988 [1929]), ± open (Hattori, 1975), ± "strong" (Tömörtogoo, 2017 [2002]), ±ATR (Čenggeltei, 1959, Djamouri, 1984)

According to our analysis of the Baochang khorchin dialect, the vowel harmony in this dialect is based on the trait ±ATR, that is, on the position of the root of the tongue (advanced +ATR or retracted - ATR), and therefore oppose the following two sets of vowels:

+ ATR	- ATR
/ʊ/ /i/ /u/	/ɑ/ /ɛ/ /ɔ/ /ɔ̃/ /œ/

1) Within a root, non-initial vowels are always of the same series as the initial vowel, so we will talk about root +ATR or root - ATR.

Notes:

1) The respective frequencies of the vowels are very different.

Non frequent vowels: ε, œ

+ATR vowels: i rare in 2nd syllable; i followed by i very rare

- ATR vowels: no mixing between rounded + rounded vowels in a single root

— -arrondies: a and ɔ frequent, ε rare

— no co-occurrence of a and ε in the same root. Exception: /ɛlba/ "all"

— examples of ε followed by ɔ: very rare



		1 <sup>st</sup> syllable	2 <sup>nd</sup> syllable	Example	Translation
Root		u	u	/tumu/	"Camel"
			i	/tu/i/	"belt"
			u	/xurul/	"dispute"
+ATR		i	u	/inu-/	"to laugh"
			i	/dʒili-/	"disappear"
			u	/ilu/	"more"
		u	u	/unu/	"cow"
			i	/duli/	"deaf"
			u	/xudʒu/	"neck"
- ATR	Root	a	a	/ara/	"molar"
			ε	X	
			o	/adu/	"horse"
	- arrondi	ε	a	/εlba/*	"all, all"
			ε	/dεlε/	"sea"
			o	/εdʒgɔr/	"root"
	o	a	/ɔdan/	"slow"	
		ε	/ɔgε/*	"no"	
		o	/ɔdʒɔ/	"large"	
+ arrondi	Root	o	o	/ɔdɔ/	"now"
			œ	/œrœ/	"evening, night"

Note: these rules of appearance of vowels do not apply to borrowed words (mainly Chinese). Example: /banʃu/, from Chinese *ban<sup>1</sup> che<sup>1</sup>* "bus" (/a/ -ATR followed by /u/ +ATR)

## 2) Addition of suffixes

Khorchin is an agglutinating language. The nature +ATR or -ATR of the root determines the nature of the vowels of the suffixes.

Two types of suffixes: invariable and variable

### 3.1. Invariable Suffixes

They have only one form whatever the root they join. They are very few.

Examples:

— /-sgu/ semelfactive VBLZ (deverbative, aspect) indicating the immediacy of the action

/udʒ-/ "watch, see"	+ /-sgu/	→ [u · dʒə̄s · 'gu]
/tat-/ "to pull"	+ /-sgu/	→ [tʰətʰs · 'gu]
/bəd-/ "to think"	+ /-sgu/	→ [bəd̥s · 'gu]
— /-dʒga/ plurality VBLZ (deverbative, voice) indicating the plurality of actants		
/ir-/ "to come"	+ /- dʒga/	→ [irɖʒ · 'ga]
/jɛb-/ "to go"	+ /- dʒga/	→ [jɛ̄bdʒ · 'ga]
— /-tɛ/ COM (comitative case)		
/guɾ/ "house"	+ /-tɛ/	→ [gũɾ · 'tɛ]
/gar/ "main"	+ /-tɛ/	→ [gār · 'tɛ]
/œrœ/ "night"	+ /-tɛ/	→ [œ̄ · rœ · 'tɛ]

### 3.2. Variable suffixes

There are two subtypes: two allomorphs and three allomorphs

Suffixes with two allomorphs (archiphoneme noted /U/)

+ATR: the vowel will be [u]

-ATR: the vowel will be [ʊ]

Examples

— /-šUd/ PL ( plural or collective suffix applying to human beings)

/bux/ "wrestler"	+ /-šUd/	→ [bũx · 'ʃud] "wrestlers"
/duli/ "deaf"	+ /-šUd/	→ [dũ · li · 'ʃud] "the deaf"
/baga/ "small"	+ /-šUd/	→ [baga · 'ʃod] "children"
/mɔŋl/ "mongol"	+ /-šUd/	→ [mɔŋl · 'ʃod] ~ [mɔŋ · əl · 'ʃod] "the Mongols"

— /-UI/ CAUS (verbal suffix)

/ir-/ "come"	+ /-UI/	→ [ĩ · 'rul] "let/make come"
/jɛb-/ "go"	+ /-UI/	→ [jɛ̄ · 'bʊl] "send"
/bəd-/ "think"	+ /-UI/	→ [bɔ̄ · 'dʊl] "let/make think"
/xœl-/ "mix"	+ /-UI/	→ [xœ̄ · 'lʊl] "let/make mix"

Suffixes with three allomorphs (archiphoneme noted /U/)

+ATR: the vowel will be [u]

-ATR: the vowel will be [ɑ] in context -rounded

[ɔ] in context +rounded

Examples

— /-UUs/ ABL (ablative case)

/guɾ/ "house"	+ /-UUs/	→ [gũ · 'ruus]
/gar/ "hand"	+ /-UUs/	→ [gā · 'ras]
/ɔr/ "bed"	+ /-UUs/	→ [ɔ̄ · 'rɔs]

— /-nʷ/ PRES (grammatical verbal suffix)		
/udʒ-/ "look"	+ /-nʷ/	→ [ʉdʒ · 'nu]
/tat-/ "shoot"	+ /-nʷ/	→ [tʰätʰ · 'na]
/böd-/ "reflect"	+ /-nʷ/	→ [böd · 'nə]
— /-ʷn/ RFL (grammatical nominal suffix)		
/ur/ "offspring"	+ /-ʷn/	→ [ʉ · 'ruən]
/elšur/ "tea towel"	+ /-ʷn/	→ [əl · ʃʉ · 'ran]
/xɔɔ/ "meal"	+ /-ʷn/	→ [xɔɔ · 'lən]

### 3.3. Suffix combination

— If all the suffixes are suffixes with allomorphs, the nature +ATR or -ATR of the root determines the choice of the allomorph.

— Root +ATR: the allomorph will be [u] for the archiphoneme /U/ suffixes and will be [ʉ] for the archiphoneme /ʷ/ suffixes, regardless of the order of appearance of the suffixes.

Examples:

/buu/ "shaman" + /-šUd/ PL + /-ʷn/ RFL → [bu: · ʃu · duən] "his own group of shamans"

/id-/ "eat" + /-U/ CAUS + /-sn/ PAST. VN + /-ʷs/ ABL + /-ʷn/ RFL → [ĩ · duls · nu · suən] "[a part] of what we ourselves made him eat"

— Root -ATR: two cases occur depending on whether the vowels of the root are rounded or not.

• -rounded: the allomorph will be [ʉ] for the archiphoneme /U/ suffixes and will be [a] for the archiphoneme /ʷ/ suffixes, regardless of the order of appearance of the suffixes.

Examples:

/elšur/ "tea towel" + /-Ud/ PL + /-ʷr/ INST → [əl · ʃʉ · ru · dar] «by means of tea towels»

/as-/ "burn out" + /-ʷ/ CAUS + /-sn/ PAST. VN + /-Ud/ PL + /-ʷs/ ABL → [ä · sas · nu · das] "[a part] of what we burned "

• +rounded: the allomorph will be [ʉ] for the archiphoneme /U/ suffixes. For the archiphoneme suffixes /ʷ/, it will be [ɔ] as long as no suffix with archiphoneme /U/ appears and [a] at least one suffix with archiphoneme /U/ has appeared.

Examples:

/tɔɔ/ "number" + /-šʷ/ NOMLZ + /-l/ V + /-sn/ PAST. VN + /-Ud/ nominal PL + /-ʷs/ ABL → [tʰɔ: · ʃɔls · nu · das] "[some] of the things we counted"

— If there is an invariable suffix among the suffixes, the nature of the suffixes that follow will depend on the nature of the vowel of this invariable suffix and not on the nature of the root:

— Vowel of the invariable suffix other than /i/:

• vowel +ATR: /u/ and /u/. The vowel of the following suffixes will be +ATR, i.e. [u] for /ʊ/ and [u] for /U/.

Examples:

/suir-/ + /-ʊ/ CAUS + /-sgu/ semelfactive VBLZ + /-lʊ/ IMM. PAST. IND → [sũ · ruus · gu · lu] "awake him lightly"

/as-/ + /-ʊ/ CAUS + /-sgu/ semelfactive VBLZ + /-U/ CAUS + /-lʊ/ → [ã · sas · gu · gul · lu] "[we] just gave the order to set [it] on fire IMM. PAST. IND → [bõs · gõs · gu · lu] "we just put [it] upright rapidly"

• vowel -ATR: /a/ and /e/. The vowel of the following suffixes will be -ATR, i.e. [a] for /ʊ/ and [o] for /U/.

Examples:

/suir-/ + /-ʊ/ CAUS + /-dʒga/ PLR+ /-lʊ/ IMM. PAST. IND → [sũ · ruɔʒ · ga · la] "[I] just woke them up"

/as-/ + /-ʊ/ CAUS + /-dʒga/ PLR + /-lʊ/ IMM. PAST. IND → [ã · sadʒ · ga · la] "[I] just woke them up"/bõs-/ + /-gʊ/ CAUS + /-dʒga/ PLR + /-lʊ/ IMM. PAST. IND → [bõs · gɔʒ · ga · la] "[I] just put them upright"

— Vowel of the invariable suffix /i/. The vowel of the following suffixes will not be +ATR but will depend on the nature of the root.

Example:

/mœr/ "horse" + /-Ud/ PL + /-ig/ ACC + /-ʊn/ RFL → [mœ · ru · di · gan]

**As a conclusion: discussion of the vowels /e/ and /œ/**

A comparative study of Khorchin with other Mongol dialects in China may clarify the status of the Khorchin vowels /e/ and /œ/.

**Vowel /e/**

According to Inner Mongolian linguists, notably Čoizingzab (1982) and Norzin (1998) for Chakhar, and Bayančoytu (2002) for Khorchin, /e/ does not exist in dialects other than Khorchin. However, there exist in these dialects vowels that are quite close in their phonetic realization (/æ/ for Oirat and Chakhar, /a/ for Ordos and Barga-Buryat), which come from the vowel noted *a* in Uyghur-Mongolian.

We propose to compare the Khorchin vowel /e/ with its equivalents in these other dialects.

1) Take for example the term "life", written *ami* in Uyghur-Mongolian:

Khorchin:	/em/ [ɛm]
Oirat:	/æm/ [æm]
Chakhar:	/æm/ [æm] <sup>9</sup>
Ordos:	/ami/ [ami] <sup>10</sup>
Barga-Buryat:	/am <sup>i</sup> / [am <sup>i</sup> ]

<sup>9</sup> Būrintegūs, 2005, p.14

<sup>10</sup> Mostaert, 2009 [1941], p. 20.

or the verb "to blink" in the imperative mood 2p. sg., written *ani* in Uyghur-Mongolian:

Khorchin:	/ɛn/ [ɛn]
Oirat:	/æn/ [æn]
Chakhar:	/æni/ [æni] <sup>11</sup>
Ordos:	/ani/ [anī] <sup>12</sup>
Barga-Buryat:	/an <sup>i</sup> / [an <sup>i</sup> ]

The table below highlights the following possible evolution:

Uyghur-Mongolian script	Ordos	Barga-Buryat	Chakhar	Oirat	Khorchin
ami	[ami]	[am <sup>i</sup> ]	[æm]	[æm]	[ɛm]
ani	[ani]	[an <sup>i</sup> ]	[æni]	[æn]	[ɛn]

An interpretation could be that the sound [ɛ] is not a phoneme in Khorchin either. [ɛ] would simply be the "anteriorized" realization of /a/ in Khorchin (corresponding to the initial *a* of the word in Uyghur-Mongolian writing) under the effect of the non-initial *i*. We would be dealing with a case of regressive assimilation. Examples in Khorchin:

bariqu	[bɛ · rǎχ] ~ [b <sup>i</sup> ɛ · rǎχ]	"to take (HYP. VN)"
garudi	[gɛrɟ] ~ [g <sup>i</sup> ɛrɟ]	"phoenix" (borrowed from Sanskrit <i>garuda</i> )
cabciqu	[ʃɛb · ʃɪχ]	"to slaughter (HYP. VN)"

Thus, the phonological form underlying [bɛ · rǎχ] ~ [b<sup>i</sup>ɛ · rǎχ] would be /bari-x/ and not /ber-x/. In the phonetic realization, there is a fall of /i/ – with possible palatalization of /b/ –and appearance of an epenthetic vowel: [ǎ]<sup>13</sup>. This is a case of regressive assimilation, analogous to what has occurred for Chakhar and Oirat according to the above-mentioned researchers.

Note:

The table above traces the evolution that took place in the different dialects. Ordos seems the most conservative, preserving in particular the disyllabic form. In Barga-Buryat, the *i* has fallen with palatalization of the consonant that preceded it. In Chakhar, Oirat and Khorchin, the term has only one syllable, with anterior realization of *a* ([æ], [ɛ]) without palatalization of the consonant for Chakhar and Oirat, with possible palatalization in Khorchin. Note that regressive assimilation has caused a decrease in the number of syllables.

2) There are other cases of regressive assimilation in Khorchin, for example when adding a suffix. So:

/dʒar-/ "use" + /-ʃ/ AGENT → [dʒɛrʃ] "servant"

Here, the vowel /a/ is anteriorized [ɛ] under the influence of the palatal fricative consonant /ʃ/.

<sup>11</sup> Būrintegüs, 2005, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Mostaert, 2009 [1941], p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> The phonological form /bari-x/ with /i/ makes it possible to explain that one can have [bɛ · rǎχ] or [b<sup>i</sup>ɛ · rǎχ] as phonetic realizations.

This example shows that the vowel /i/ is not the only phoneme to have influence on the vowel /a/.

3) Other arguments reinforce our point of view questioning the phonological status of /ε/ in Khorchin.

— Thus, a comparison between Mongolian dialects shows that there is in Khorchin a "contamination" by the palatal fricative consonant /š/ within the same syllable. Example for the term *sir-a* "yellow":

Uyghur-Mongolian script	Ordos	Barga-Buryat	Chakhar	Oirat	Khorchin
sir-a	/šar/	/šar/	/šar/	/šar/	[ʃɛr]

This time we are dealing with a progressive assimilation. The phonological Khorchin form would be /šar/.

— Let's take another example with the term *jabu* "walk!":

Uyghur-Mongolian script	Ordos	Barga-Buryat	Chakhar	Oirat	Khorchin
jabu	/jabu/ <sup>1</sup>	/jaw/	/jab(ah)/ <sup>2</sup>	/job/	[jɛb]

It is still a progressive assimilation, this time due to the palatal approximant /j/. The phonological Khorchin form would be /jab/.

In conclusion, we question the existence of a phonological vowel /ε/ in Khorchin.

### Vowel /œ/

The phonological status of this vowel seems to us as debatable as that of /ε/.

In our opinion, /œ/ would not have any phonological existence and the sound [œ] would be only the phonetic realization of /ɔ/ by assimilation.

1) Let us examine the evolution according to the different dialects of the terms *toli* "mirror" and *oroï* "evening, night":

Uyghur-Mongolian script	Ordos	Barga-Buryat	Chakhar	Oirat	Khorchin
<i>toli</i>	[t'oli] <sup>3</sup>	[toli]	[tœl] <sup>4</sup>	[toli]	[t <sup>h</sup> œl] ~ [t <sup>h</sup> ɛl] <sup>5</sup>
<i>oroï</i>	[orō] <sup>6</sup>	[oroi]	[ɔroi] <sup>7</sup>	[ora]	[œ·'rœ] ~ [ɛ·'rɛ]

We propose that in Khorchin the underlying phonological form is /toli/ for "mirror" and /ɔroi/ for "evening; night". The observed realizations would again be examples of regressive assimilation with a more or less strong anticipation of /ɔ/ in [œ] or [ɛ] and, in the first example, possible palatalization of the consonant preceding the vowel, as well as a decrease in the number of syllables.

2) Note that, contrary to what happens for /a/, the vowel /ɔ/ does not undergo progressive assimilation in the presence of the palatal fricative consonant /š/ or palatal approximant /j/. Example with "custom", noted *josu* in Uyghur-Mongolian:

Uyghur-Mongolian script	Ordos	Barga-Buryat	Chakhar	Oirat	Khorchin
josu	/jos/	/jos/	/jos/	/jos/	/jɔs/ [jɔs]

**General remark:**

If our above assumption that  $\varepsilon$  and  $\text{œ}$  are not phonological in Khorchin is valid, then it would be necessary to reconsider the existence in Khorchin of the phonological diphthongs /ɔi/ or /ai/. This will be the subject of a further research.

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## **Military Integration in Mongol Warfare: The development of Combined Arms Warfare in the Mongol Empire<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** Armies of the Mongol Empire are typically imagined as vast armies of nomadic horse archers. While this is true and horse archers always remained the core component of the Mongol military in any part of the empire, the Mongol military used a variety of different units based on the operational theater and the availability of different units. Early in the Mongol conquests, the Mongols adopted siege warfare and developed a corps of engineers and artillery. Additionally, large units of infantry were used not only in China but also in other regions. The conquest of the Song Empire necessitated the development of a navy. Despite the disasters during the invasions of Japan, the Mongols actually became quite adept at naval warfare, particularly riverine warfare, not only using local methods, but also adopting tactics from steppe warfare to riverine combat. Finally, special units developed. Some of which were elite units, but other emerged for different types of warfare while still others, such as shamans, were embedded with armies but were only used when necessary. This discussion will examine the incorporation of sedentary troops into a nomadic military as well as how the Mongol military commanders learned to use them together.

**Key words:** horse archers; naval warfare; navy; shamans; engineers; artillery; cavalry

Combined arms warfare is the cooperation and combination of different military units (such as infantry, artillery, and cavalry) in a military operation. Today this can be even more complex with the development of mechanized infantry and air power. The basic idea behind combined arms warfare is “that different arms and weapons systems must be used in concert to maximize the survival and combat effectiveness of each other. The strengths of one system must be used to compensate for the weaknesses of others”.<sup>2</sup>

In conquering an empire that stretched from the Sea of Japan to the Mediterranean Sea, the typical image of the Mongols is a literal horde of leather-clad warriors sweeping across the steppes bringing death and destruction. The sources from the period of the Mongol army describe their conquests with an apocalyptic anxiety. For

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<sup>1</sup> This paper originated out of a lecture given at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (September 18, 2018) and then the American Center for Mongolian Studies (April 10, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Captain Jonathan M. House, *Towards Combined Arms Warfare: A Survey of 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Tactics, Doctrine, and Organization*. Combat Studies Institute. Research Survey, No. 2. (Fort Leavenworth, KS: U. S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1985), 2.

instance, we have Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote his chronicle from the safety of Mosul in northern Iraq. According to him,

For several years I continued to avoid mention of this disaster as it horrified me and I was unwilling to recount it. I was taking one step towards it and then another back. Who is there who would find it easy to write the obituary of Islam and the Muslims? For whom would it be a trifling matter to give an account of this? Oh, would that my mother had not given me birth! Oh, would that I had died before it occurred and had been a thing forgotten, quite forgotten!....If anyone were to say that since God (glory and power be His) created Adam until this present time mankind has not had a comparable affliction, he would be speaking the truth. History books do not contain anything similar or anything that comes close to it.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn al-Athīr had a flair for the dramatic, but he was not finished.

As for the Antichrist, he will spare those who follow him and destroy those who oppose him, but these did not spare anyone. On the contrary, they slew women, men and children. They split open the bellies of pregnant women and killed the fetuses....In about a year these men conquered most of the known earth, its fairest part and the most civilized and populated and of its inhabitants the most equitable in manners and conduct. In the lands they did not reach there was nobody who was not in fearful expectation of them, watching for their arrival.<sup>4</sup>

The sense of fear and dread in his writings is palpable. The Mongols were unknown, little understood, and viewed more as a supernatural power or force of nature rather than as men.

Twentieth century popular writers did little to dissipate the aura of shock and awe that accompanied the Mongol armies. Indeed, the Mongols armies are referred to as the Storm from the East, the Hurricane from Mongolia, and so forth.<sup>5</sup> These comparisons that transform the Mongols into a force of nature are based on the destruction left in their wake.

Yet, for all the hyperbole, the ability or destruction of the Mongol military machine should not be diminished. There has never been an army so feared nor one that has

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta' rīkh*, Part 3, trans. Richards, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 17 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 202; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-ta' rīkh*, vol. 12 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1979), 358. Henceforth Ibn al-Athīr/Richard and Ibn al-Athīr respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Athīr/Richards, 203; Ibn al-Athīr, 359.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Marshall, *Storm from the East* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), *passim*.; Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Evolution of Weapons and Warfare* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1980), *passim*.

lived up to its reputation. Certainly, other steppe or “barbarian” armies existed. The Huns are still referenced as a byword for bad behavior, the Vandals became a word for intentional destruction, and the Avars became the root for unmitigated greed. Yet, none had the same military impact. The Mongols established an empire that never truly fell, but faded away largely due to internal conflict. Their armies of horse-archers proved to be the dominant military force on the battlefield well into the fifteenth century. Only with the advent of cannon did the horse archer recede in importance.

While all of these motifs are fitting for the Mongols, it should not be forgotten that the Mongol military was a multifaceted organization. While units of horse-archers remained the core component of the Mongols, from the very start, the Mongol military quickly developed other units ranging from heavy cavalry, a corps of engineers, artilleryists, and even infantry. Initially many of these were simply auxiliary units, but gradually the Mongols developed what should be considered a doctrine of combined arms warfare.

The development of artillery is not surprising as it was something that everyone needed in siege warfare. Early Mongol efforts at siege warfare proved somewhat desultory and clearly demonstrated the need for more effective siege weapons. At the siege of Zhongxing in Xi Xia (1209-1210), the Mongols diverted a river to flood the city. It was successful, but in the process, the Mongols also almost drowned themselves.<sup>6</sup> I suspect the city surrendered not only because of the damage from the flood, but also because they determined that the Mongols proved sufficiently unpredictable that peace was preferable.

Yet, from encounters in the Jin Empire, the Mongols gained their own artilleryists to build and direct the operation of trebuchets and other siege weapons. These were acquired not only through prisoners, but also through active recruitment. During the war with the Jin Empire, many joined out of disaffection with the Jin Empire as well as believing that Chinggis Khan was a better leader.<sup>7</sup> As the Mongols siege ability expanded, so did the possibilities. Field artillery was a rare circumstance in the medieval period. Trebuchets, mangonels, and ballistae were bulky and needed to be assembled—something that swift moving Mongols columns did not allow. Certainly,

<sup>6</sup> Song Lian, “The History of the Yuan, Chapter 1”, tr. Christopher P. Atwood, *Mongolian Studies* 39 (2017): 24-25; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmī’ al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karīmī (Tehran: Iqbal, 1983), 427; Rashiddun Fazlullah, *Jami’u’t-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, tr. W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998), 289-290; H. D. Martin, *The Rise of Chinggis Khan* (New York: Octagon Books, 1981), 118-19. The Rashīd al-Dīn will be henceforth RD/Karīmī; RD/Thackston 1998 respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Song Lian, *Yuan Shih* 98, tr. Ch’i-ch’ing Hsiao, in Ch’i-ch’ing Hsiao, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 74; Song Lian, *Yuan Ulsin Sudar* 98, vol. 9., tr. G. Akim, M. Bayarsaikhan (Ulaanbaatar: Soyombo Printing, 2016), 560-98; Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016), 30, 38-39; Thomas Th. Allsen, “The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire”, in *Warfare in Inner Asian History, 500-1800*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 269.

a siege train followed the Mongols, but camels move slower than horses.<sup>8</sup> Still, there were occasional set piece battles where the Mongols had time to assemble their trebuchets. At the battle of Mohi in Hungary (1241), the Mongols seized a bridge across the Sajo River by using a rolling barrage from their trebuchets.<sup>9</sup>

Elsewhere, other forms of combined arms warfare took place. As the Mongols campaigned against the Jin Empire in northern China, they acquired new units such as heavy cavalry, infantry, and the *paojun* or catapult artillerymen.<sup>10</sup> The infantry was primarily used in siege warfare, but they also saw combat in field engagements. It is often cited that the Mongols had an army of 60% light cavalry and 40% heavy and their units of 100 and 1000 reflected these proportions. This is inaccurate and based on description of the army of the Liao (907-1125) and Jin Dynasties (1125-1234).<sup>11</sup> The Liao were Khitans and related to the Mongols. The description from the Liao Shih has often been applied to the Mongols, particularly in terms of equipment, but it is not based on contemporary sources.<sup>12</sup> The Mongols did not try to fit non-nomadic units into their existing structure. Rather, they allowed them to remain their own discrete units and continue to fight in the same mode as before. For Chinggis Khan, there was no sense in trying to fit square pegs into round holes. Those that could fit in the Mongol, or rather nomadic, style could do so, but for those who could not, they remained in their standard units, but decimally organized. The key to success, however, was learning how to apply them effectively on the battlefield.

This came quickly. The core of the Mongol military remained the nomadic horse-archer, but medium and heavy cavalry increased with acquisition of Khitans and Jurchens. Additionally, the recruitment and creation of armies of Han Chinese infantry became increasingly useful as the Mongols pushed into the mountainous terrain of south China in the 1250s. Yet, this was not the only region that the Mongols used mixed forces.

After the conquest of Armenia and Georgia, the Mongols began using Georgian and Armenian troops. The Georgians quickly became a favorite unit of the Mongols in the west. They participated in various campaigns against Muslim powers such as the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. If we trust the sources, Baiju's deployment of the

<sup>8</sup> Bat-Ochir Bold, *Mongolian Nomadic Society: A Reconstruction of the 'Medieval' History of Mongolia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 38.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas of Spalato, *Istoriye Arxiyepiskov Saloni i Splita*, tr. A. I. Solopov, ed. O. A. Akumovoi (Moscow: Indrik, 1997), 106-110; 292-95; Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*, ed. and tran. Damir Karbic, Mirjana Matijevic Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (New York: Central European University Press, 2006), 262-263.

<sup>10</sup> Allsen, "Circulation of Military Technology", 276-278; Song Lian, *Yuan Shih* 98, 74.

<sup>11</sup> Martin, *Chingis Khan and the Conquest of North China*, 33-34;

<sup>12</sup> See H. D. Martin, *Chingis Khan and the Conquest of North China*, Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1949), 531-36; 559-60.

Georgians was crucial to the Mongol victory.<sup>13</sup> These were also deployed at the siege of Baghdad, as were Muslim troops, and then again with the invasion of Syria in 1260.<sup>14</sup> It was not unusual for the Mongols to take advantage of rivalries and past grievances among their enemies, thus the use of Christian soldiers against Muslims (and vice-versa) made sense on many levels.

Yet, the Mongols did not have to depend on religious rivalries alone. In the events leading up to the siege of Baghdad and the resulting destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258, Caliph Muṭʿasim warned Hülegü that all of Islam would rise up against the Mongols and rush to his aid. Imagine his surprise when the armies of numerous Muslim potentates from across Iran joined the Mongols.<sup>15</sup> These armies brought not only more cavalry, both medium and light, but also infantry and their own siege artillery including counter-weight trebuchets, far superior to the traction trebuchets the Mongols had previously used. It can be certain that counter-weight trebuchets were used as Shīrāzī informs us that these *Borj-i 'Ajamī* (Persian Towers) launched missiles weighing up to 100 *mann* (1 *mann* = 3 kg = 6.6 pounds), exceeding what normal traction trebuchet could launch at the Aleppo Gate and Triumphant Gate.<sup>16</sup>

Before the fall of Baghdad, however, the Mongols also dealt with the branch of Shi'ism known as the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, more popularly known as the Assassins.<sup>17</sup> No field battles were fought in this campaign. The Ismāʿīlīs had long learned in their dealings with the Seljuks and then the Khwarazmians that they lacked the ability and numbers to win on the battlefield, hence why they turned so frequently to the assassination of leaders to extend their influence. While the Nizārīs had been Mongols

<sup>13</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj*, tr. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Amsterdam: APA-Philo-Press, 1932), 407-409; Minhāj Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, vol. 1, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Kābul: Anjuman-i Tārikh-i Afghānistān, 1964-65), 313; Minhāj Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī* (*A general history of the Muḥammadan dynasties of Asia*), tr. Major H. G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp, 1970), 162; Grigor of Akanc, "The History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc," translated by R. P. and Frye Blake, R. N, *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 12 (1949): 307-309; Marie Félicité Brosset and David Iessevich Chubinov, *Histoire de la Géorgie. Jusqu'au Xixe Siècle*, Tr. Brosset. 2 Pt. [in 4 Vols.] (St.-Petersbourg, 1849), 518.

<sup>14</sup> Grigor, 337; Hayton, "La Flor des Estoires de la Terre D'Orient", *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Armeniens, Tome Second*. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), 170; Bar Hebraeus, 435; Ahmad Ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizī, *Histoire des Sultan Mamlouks de L'Egypte*, vol. 1, tr. Etienne Quatremere (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1837, 1845), 88; RD/Karimī, 719-20; RD/Thackston 1999, vol. 2, 502-3; Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. S'aid 'Ashūr (Cairo: al-Hayāt al-Misriyyat al-'āmmat lil-kitāb, 1975), 389-390

<sup>15</sup> Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Akhbār-i Mughūlān dar Anbāneh-ye Quṭb*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Qom: Library of Ayatollah Mar'ashī, 2010), 30, 71; Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, "Akhbār-i Mughūlān" tr. George Lane, in *The Mongols in Iran: Qutb Al-Dīn Shīrāzī's Akhbār-i Moghūlān*, ed. George Lane (London: Routledge, 2018), 53. Hence forth Shīrāzī refers to the Persian text and Shīrāzī/Lane refers to the translation.

<sup>16</sup> Shīrāzī, 32; Shīrāzī/Lane, 54. Also see George Lane, "Mongol News: *Akhbār-i Mughūlān dar Anbāneh-ye Quṭb* by Qub al-Dīn Mamūd ibn Mas'ūd Shīrāzī", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 22 (2012): 550.

<sup>17</sup> For a description of their faith, see Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 301-400.

allies in the 1230s, relations turned sour after 1240.<sup>18</sup> After an alleged attempt on the life of the fourth Mongol Khaghan, Möngke, the Mongols determined they could no longer tolerate the Nizārīs' presence.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Möngke dispatched his brother Hülegü to deal with them, as well as with any other recalcitrant group. The Nizārīs however, had maintained their autonomy if not independence through a series of fortresses in the mountains of northern and central Iran, where cavalry were less effective. To counter this, Hülegü brought 1000 Chinese artilleryists or *ustādān-i manjanīq* (mangonels or catapult experts), *Khitāi manjanīqi* (catapult crews from Khitai) and *naft andāzān* (naphtha throwers).<sup>20</sup> Although some scholars have interpreted this to mean that Hülegü brought experts in gunpowder weapons, there is no evidence to support this.<sup>21</sup> It did mean, however, that he brought a few new weapons with him. While the primary siege weapon, as I indicated, had been the traction trebuchet, access to counter-weight trebuchets from the Middle East increasingly rendered the traction trebuchets as obsolete. The Chinese, however, did have ballistae, known as the *kamān-i gav* (ox bow in Persian) that was far superior to what was used in the west. With its triple bow design, it could launch a missile at a greater range (2500 paces).<sup>22</sup>

Additionally, Hülegü brought some specialists known as *qayachi* for mountain warfare in the Middle East. In the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, they were used specifically to deal with Kurdish rebels and bandits. Ethnically known as Bakrin or Makrin, they originated from the Tianshan Mountains in Uyghurstan. Their exact identity, however, remains vague, but it is certain they neither Mongols nor Uyghurs. In the Middle East, they remained a distinct unit into the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, stationed around Irbil in Iraq.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Timothy May, "A Mongol-Isma'īlī Alliance?: Thoughts on the Mongols and Assassins", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14, no. 3 (2004): 231-239.

<sup>19</sup> Guillemus de Rubruc, "Itinerarium Willelmi di Rubruc", in *Sinica Franciscana: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. P. Anastasius Van Den Wyngaert (Firenze: Apud Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929), 287; Rubruck, William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke*, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009), 222; William of Rubruck, "The Journey of William of Rubruck", tr. A Nun of Stanbrook Abbey, in *Mission to Asia*, ed. Christopher Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 184

<sup>20</sup> 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, tr. J. A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 608; 'Ala' al-Dīn 'Aṭa Malik ibn Muḥammad Juwaynī, *Ta'riḫ-i Jahān-Gusha*, vol. 3, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī (Leiden: Brill, 1937), 93. Henceforth Juvaini/Boyle and Juwaynī/Qazvīnī respectively.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas T. Allsen, "The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire", in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500-1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 278-283; Joseph Needham, et al., *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol. 5. *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*. Pt. 7. *Military Technology: The Gunpowder Epic*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 325, note F; Stephen G. Haw, "Cathayan Arrows and Meteors: the Origins of Chinese Rocketry", *Journal of Chinese Military History* 2 (2013): 35-38; Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Gunpowder and Firearms: Warfare in Medieval India* (New York: Oxford University Press), 3.

<sup>22</sup> Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, 128-129; Juwaynī/Boyle, 631; Shīrāzī, 22-3; Shīrāzī/Lane, 48-50.

<sup>23</sup> Pier Giorgio Borbone, "Hülegü's rock-climbers: a short-lived Turkic word in 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century Syriac historical writing", in *Studies in Turkic Philology: Festschrift in honour of the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of Professor Geng Shimin*, ed. Zhang Dinjing and Abdurishid Yakup (Beijing: Minzu University Press, 2009), 286-88.



Another type of specialist was the *jadachi* or weather shaman. While shamans' duties included divination for determining dates for campaigns and even battles, the Mongols also deployed shamans tactically. One such use of shamanism was the employment of *jadachin* or specialists who could use *jada* stones (*bezoars*) to raise storms of rain and presumably lightning, hail, or snow. These storms were directed against the enemy with variable results. Perhaps the most notable occasion was when Tolui, the fourth son of Chinggis Khan, used rain stones against the Jin during July in 1231.<sup>24</sup> The sources do not indicate that Tolui himself used them, but rather that the *jada* stones were employed in warfare by a specialist. Thus, Tolui was accompanied by *Jadachi*, which the Islamic sources do not explicitly mention as a shaman. The *jadachi* in this instance was a Qangli Turk, a point that will have significance later.<sup>25</sup>

In this particular instance, a superior Jin army forced Tolui to retreat. Tolui planned it to be a feigned retreat, but the Jin followed his army too closely and constantly harassed the rearguard commanded by Toluqu Cherbi, preventing the Mongols from setting a proper ambush.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that he risked being encircled as well.<sup>27</sup> Tolui's employment of the *jadachi* was a tactic to cover his retreat. Through the *jadachi*'s weather magic, it rained for three days behind him and even snowed on the fourth day while an icy wind blew. Although the resulting weather occurred primarily behind his retreating troops, it also affected his army. Tolui, however, was able to retreat to shelter and take refuge before the blizzard hit in the middle of summer.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Tolui's men had been equipped with raincoats and felt coats to combat the cold.<sup>29</sup> After the blizzard ceased, Tolui then advanced upon the bewildered and weakened Jin army and destroyed them.

This event is significant, yet *jadachin* were present in other battles such as when Temüjin and Toghril Ong-Qan fought the Gur-khanid confederation of Jamuqa. Gur-khanid *jadachin*, Buyirūq Qan of the Naiman and Quduqa Beki of the Oirat, attempted to raise a storm but it backfired, and actually knocked the Naiman into the ravines.<sup>30</sup> Apparently, the storm did sufficient damage to the Gur-khanid forces

<sup>24</sup> Khwandamir, *Habibu's-Siyar: The History of the Mongols and Genghis Khan*, tr. Wheeler M. Thackston (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012): 27; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 37; Rashiduddin, 314-315; Juvaini/Boyle, 192-194; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, 152; Bar Hebraeus, 397. Bar Hebraeus states that Ögödei used them. Most likely, this is not a separate instance, but rather the instance where Tolui used it as the other details are the same. Henceforth, the Boyle translation of Rashīd al-Dīn will be RD/Boyle.

<sup>25</sup> J. A. Boyle, "Turkish and Mongolian Shamanism in the Middle Ages", *Folklore* 83 (1972), 190. Also see Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, 152; Juvaini/Boyle 193; RD/Boyle, 36-37.

<sup>26</sup> Rashiduddin, 314-315; RD/Karīmī, 457-58.

<sup>27</sup> JuJuvaini/Boyle, 192-194.

<sup>28</sup> RD/Boyle, 37; Rashiduddin, 315; RD/Karīmī, 458.

<sup>29</sup> RD/Boyle, 36; Rashiduddin, 1998, 315; RD/Karīmī, 458.

<sup>30</sup> *Secret History of the Mongols*, tr. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), §143. As there are numerous translations and editions, citations will follow the section number so that any may be consulted. Henceforth, SHM.

and their position that the Naiman and the Oirat then scattered and did not take any further part in the battle of Köyiten.<sup>31</sup>

The Mongol use of shamans was not new, as *jadachi* were known to have existed in steppe warfare during the Ruruan period (fifth century) and perhaps earlier. The Uighurs also used the *jada* stones against the Tibetans in 765.<sup>32</sup> It was not, however, a Mongol practice. The Mongols do not appear to have actually used it until they had defeated a number of Turkic tribes, most importantly, the Naiman in 1204. Thus, it appears that the Mongols adopted the use of this form of supernatural and meteorological warfare from the Turks as evinced by the presence of a Qangli Turk with Tolui's army.

The *jadachin* were also used in Mongol armies across the empire and even after the end of the empire. The use of the *jadachin* continued long after the Mongols ceased to be primarily shamanistic in faith. Boyle notes that a son of the last Mongol Yuan emperor, Toghon-Temur (1335-1370), used them against the Ming. The stones were also used in the Battle of the Mire (1365) in which Amir Timūr was defeated by the Chaghatayids of Moghulistan. The Timurid Abu Sa'id also deployed *Jadachin* in 1451, not in battle put to produce rain in a desolate area.<sup>33</sup> Other evidence suggests that the use of the *jada* became prevalent throughout Central Eurasia after the Mongol Empire, demonstrating once again the cross-cultural importance of the Mongol Empire. We also see an increase in references to uses of the *jada* stones during the Mongol Empire period compared to previous periods, suggesting an increased use.

How effective were these *jadachin*? Much like modern meteorologists, accuracy varied. Many of the accounts indicate that the storm back-fired and affected the summoning army more so than the intended target. We must keep in mind however, that many of the accounts are written by Muslims and Confucians who had little tolerance for any aspect of shamanism. For the Muslims, when the stones malfunctioned it was demonstration of God's will against pagan activities. Yet, the question is if these were unpredictable, then why did the Mongols and their successors continue to use them? Indeed, nomadic armies only seem to have ceased to use them was after 1528 when the Safavids crushed the Uzbeks in the battle of Jām in Khurāsān. This also happens to be when Shah Ṭahmāsp effectively used his cannons against the Uzbek horse-archers, perhaps demonstrating the superiority of gunpowder over storm stones, which failed in this battle.<sup>34</sup>

The Mongol campaigns in the east, however is where we find a greater emphasis on combined arms warfare. This terrain and weather played a major role in this

<sup>31</sup> *SHM* §143.

<sup>32</sup> Adam Molnar, *Weather Magic in Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1994), 1, 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> Boyle, "Turkic and Mongolian Shamanism", 191; Molnar, 51-52.

<sup>34</sup> Molnar, *Weather Magic*, 53.



change. In the steppes, cavalry of all sorts could be used, but the standard Mongol horse archer remained supreme. In the west, Köse Dagh in 1243 was the last major field battle the Mongols fought until 'Ayn Jalut in 1260. Afterward the dissolution of the Mongol Empire, the battles between the Ilkhanate and the Jochids (more popularly known as the Golden Horde) continued to be dominated by the horse archers.

In China, as mentioned previously, the Mongols assembled large armies of Chinese infantry. Additionally, they used Khitans and Jurchen as heavy cavalry. As the Mongols penetrated further south, infantry played an increasing role. The mountainous terrain, terraced fields, rice paddies, and the hot and humid weather of south China all limited the effectiveness of the Mongol cavalry. Not only did the terrain limit the Mongols ability to effectively deploy armies of horse archers, and thus constrain their mobility, the weather did not agree with their horses. Furthermore, the humidity wreaked havoc with the Mongols' bows. While they still functioned, the humidity penetrated the materials of the composite bow, hindering its effectiveness.<sup>35</sup>

Thus other types of troops were necessary. With the manpower of China, infantry was a natural choice. Yet, another obstacle were the many rivers of the Song Empire. Without a naval component the Mongols would be hard pressed to conquer the Song. During sieges, the Song continued to supply and reinforce strongholds and cities by water. Although the Mongols advanced it was slow as they failed to prevent the river supply route. This only changed when the renegade Song general Liu Zheng advised the Mongols on developing a riverine navy.<sup>36</sup>

While a former Song general advised the Mongols, a Mongol general implemented the riverine navy with great effect. Aju Noyan, the famed grandson of Sübedei, implemented the navy in raids and blockades, as well as the occasional naval battle. Aju's tactics were instrumental at the sieges of Xiangyang and Fancheng. He also developed earth works along the Han River from which his forces could attack the Song navy. From these bases, he captured additional ships and augmented his own fleet, thus allowing Aju to then then engage the Song navy. He also used his ships to transport troops up and down the river, often using paddle wheel ships. Also at the siege of Xiangyang and Fancheng, Aju's navy broke the floating bridge, which not only blocked river but also allowed the troops from one city to come to the aid of the other. With the destruction of the bridge, Fancheng fell shortly thereafter.<sup>37</sup>

At the battle of Yangluo Fort at the mouth of the Han River in 1275, Aju's brilliance was amply demonstrated. Keeping half of his ships ready to defend against

<sup>35</sup> Molnar, *Weather Magic*, 142; Charles R. Bowlus, "Tactical and strategic weaknesses of horse archers on the eve of the First Crusade", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 161.

<sup>36</sup> Morris Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan", in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368*, eds. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 431.

<sup>37</sup> Song Lian, *Yuan Shi*, 128, "Aju", (Beijing: Zhong Hua Book Co., 1976). Translated by Paul D. Buell.

the Song navy, he used the other ships as landing craft, allowing his infantry to establish a beachhead. His cavalry then landed and cleared the battlefield. With the Song navy and their efforts to hold the riverbank defeated, the Song fortress could now be surrounded. The Song commander Xia Gui retreated, abandoning Yangluo. Aju's armies then quickly sailed upstream to attack cities they had previously bypassed, while also destroying the Song's naval capacity.<sup>38</sup>

Other examples of Aju's ingenuity exist as well, such as the naval battle near Jiao Mountain in 1274 where he encountered the Song navy in floating fortress formations. This formation consisted of ten ships chained together. While it limited the Song's mobility, it also was intended to prevent the Mongols from having room to maneuver. The Song commanders Zhang Shijie and Sun Huchen had determined this strategy as an act of desperation in an effort to stop the Mongols. Unfortunately for the Song, it also prevented the Song ships from fleeing. When Aju observed the Song strategy from a vantage point on Shigong Mountain, he quickly assessed the situation and developed his strategy, saying "we can burn them and go".<sup>39</sup> Combining Mongol steppe tactics with naval warfare, he deployed his naval in three large units, a center with two wings. He placed units of archers in well-fortified ships on the wings. While his ships advanced up the middle, the archers on the wings shot fire arrows on the stationary Song ships. Rather than attempting to breakthrough, the Mongols simply set the floating fortress on fire, and then continued through to pursue any ships that did manage to break free of their units.<sup>40</sup> This was essentially steppe strategy applied to water as the Mongols frequently bypassed fortresses to attack field armies.

From riverine warfare, the Mongols advanced to oceanic adventures. The most notable was the invasion of Japan. Their initial attack in 1274 was limited and primarily focused on destruction of the port of Hakata, which did significant trade with the Song Empire. Although the Mongols largely succeeded in this task, their fleet suffered significant damage from an untimely typhoon. Ships that survived were then vulnerable to Japanese counter attack. While this was a combined arms venture, the second invasion in 1281 is a better example.

Although the Mongols ultimately failed in their endeavors to conquer Japan, it is an excellent demonstration of the potential of Mongol combined arms warfare. In this endeavor, the Mongol armies consisted not only of Mongols, including cavalry, but also Chinese infantry, Korean and Chinese naval ships and marines. If the sources are to be believed, the Mongols sailed with 4400 ships—an effort only surpassed by D-Day in World War II. Additionally, the Mongols utilized gunpowder bombs launched by trebuchets. Although the invasion of 1281 was stymied not only by a typhoon, but

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<sup>38</sup> *Yuan Shi*, 128.

<sup>39</sup> *Yuan Shi*, 128.

<sup>40</sup> *Yuan Shi*, 128.

also a well-coordinated Japanese defense, the invasion demonstrated the advances in combined arms warfare by the Mongols.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, we should examine Mongol efforts in Vietnam. In 1282 and 1283, the Mongol general Sögetü received orders from Khubilai Khan to invade Champa, or southern Vietnam. He allegedly sailed with a 1000 ships. Vietnam at this time consisted of two kingdoms, Dai Viet in the north and Champa in the south. Sögetü's invasion thus bypassed Dai Viet, thus the Mongols intentionally chose to utilize their fleet for an invasion instead of taking a land route. Sögetü successfully landed and defeated opposing forces in a handful of battles. In 1284 and 1285, he then joined in a pincer attack on Dai Viet. This invasion, however, ultimately failed. Not only did the Vietnamese put up stiff resistance, but the invasion seems to have been called off mid-way. The northern army withdrew, leaving Sögetü in a lurch. He died in battle. Nonetheless, we see again an impressive use of naval forces that delivered a combined arms force of Mongol cavalry and infantry into a hostile environment - hostile not only in terms of invading but also in terms of terrain (jungle and mountains) as well climate. Nonetheless, the Mongols persevered and successfully conquered Champa and made inroads into Dai Viet.<sup>42</sup> Their hold was ephemeral. The Vietnamese would use the same tactics in the twentieth century to against Japanese, French, and American encroachment.

Although the image of the Mongols remains fixed in the popular mind as the leather clad horse-archer, the Mongols art of war advanced considerably as their empire expanded. After the dissolution of the empire in 1260, territorial conquest became rare, but nonetheless, the Mongol military continued to evolve to meet changing conditions and enemies. Although the victories were less frequent, the innovation on the part of the Mongol military remained impressive and sufficiently destructive that many neighbors preferred to pay tribute rather than to risk engagement.

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<sup>41</sup> See Thomas D. Conlan, *In Little Need of Divine Intervention* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2001); James P. Delgado, *Khubilai Khan's Lost Fleet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Randall J. Sasaki, *The Origins of the Lost Fleet of the Mongol Empire* (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 2015) for in depth discussion of these events.

<sup>42</sup> Song Lian, *Yuan Shi*, 129, tr. Paul D. Buell; Paul D. Buell, "Indochina, Vietnamese Nationalism and the Mongols", in *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture, and History*, ed. Volker Rybatzki, Alessandra Pozzi, Peter W. Geier, and John R. Krueger (Bloomington: The Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 2009), 21-30.



## Comparative approach of two historic vestiges within prescriptive purposes in Korea and Mongolia<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** From the text of a prescriptive stele located at the Koguryo tomb complex, the author proposes to compare it with a Mongolian order panel having the same function. It appears that all riders, regardless of their status in society, should follow the same rule to approach the mansion of their sovereign, on a large area in East Asia.

My whole approach here presents results from a thought, during a short stay in Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in May 2011. There it was possible to visit the tombs of Koguryo complex including the famous mausoleum of King Tongmyong (-298 / -259 BC)<sup>2</sup>, founder of the kingdom, which is located in the district of the Ryokp'o in Pyongyang. This complex covering a 233 hectares area includes many graves (about thirty), the Jongrung temple and the remains of the Koguryo Kingdom. This exceptional site has been listed among the national treasures of the DPRK as No. 36, and has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site in July 2004, at the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee.

The current location has enjoyed a remarkable redevelopment whose inauguration took place on May 14 in the year Juche 82 (1993). A stele was erected on the site, with this engraved text: "In order to eternally transmit the effort and the care that President Kim Il Sung consented for its redevelopment, our people erected here the Stele for the redevelopment of the tomb of King Tongmyong".

Koguryo kingdom is considered by scholars as a period spreading on almost thousand years (-277 to 668), occupying a large part of eastern Asia and it was the most powerful state in the history of Korea. When the Koguryo Kingdom decided to transfer his capital, which originally was in Jilin Province, near the capital of Koguryo Hwanin, to Pyongyang in 427, the tombs of the founder king and other kings and principal dignitaries were also moved on the current site.

After this visit, I still amazed by the unique quality of this treasure of humanity, returned with my guide, to the parking area, located a few hundred meters from the entrance. And when I was near the car, my eye was suddenly caught by a stele, a little

<sup>1</sup> This text is the result of a paper delivered at a symposium organized by Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang on the occasion of its 70th anniversary in 2016. This is a revised version.

<sup>2</sup> Other authors report different dates: -58/-19 before JC (Il-yeon (1206-1289): *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, translated by Tae-Hung Ha and Grafton K. Mintz. Book I, pages 30-32. *Silk Pagoda* (2006).

over a meter in height, standing at the entrance of the site. This stele, a monolithic stone erected on a squared stand with carved ornamentations, is engraved on its south face by ancient Chinese characters (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Monolithic stele engraved at the entrance of mausoleum of King Tongmyong's site. (Photo A. Desjacques, 2011)

Behind the stele, there is a bush delimiting the parking area and the site entrance and a no parking sign after the bush. Noting the characters one by one, we get :


	大	<b>da</b>	<b>high</b>
	小	<b>xiao</b>	<b>small</b>
	人	<b>ren</b>	<b>people</b>
	民	<b>min</b>	<b>(variant of 员 yuan)</b>
			<b>rénmín = people</b>
	皆	<b>jie</b>	<b>all</b>
	下	<b>xia</b>	<b>ride down</b>
	马	<b>ma</b>	<b>horse</b>

Figure 2. Detail of the text, followed by its modern version (pinyin) and translation of characters<sup>3</sup>. (Photo A. Desjacques, 2011)

<sup>3</sup> I warmly thank my colleague F. Y. Damon, Department of Chinese Studies at the University of Lille to have clarified it for me.

The meaning of the text would be:

« Everyone, important [or] small people dismount [from] horse».

The stele is not dated, but it is certainly very old. Knowing its dating would be very helpful to know if it is really from the time of site creation and to allude to the possibly question on the use of Chinese characters as a written language, in the same period. Also, according to sinologists, it is not uncommon to find this type of stone in China, near the temple's enclosure in particular.

Thus, there is a stele bearing an order addressed to all members of society ("high" or "small") to the entrance of a high place of governance. So everyone had to be on an equal footing, in some way, in front of the highest personality inhabiting these places, usually the sovereign. It is also the expression of a form of respect that each subject, whatever its function and its place in society, had towards his sovereign. Transgress this order was probably severely punished so much so that nobody has a mind to do so.

When I was in front of this monument, I was reminded of a similar prescriptive panel in Mongolia. This panel no longer exists but was photographed by Stephane Passet in Mongolia between July 6 and 25, 1913<sup>4</sup>.



Figure 3. Order panel near the ceremonial door of the palace of Bogd Khan in Urga.  
(Photo S. Passet, 1913)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The author, commissioned by the banker Albert Kahn to take pictures in Mongolia, as part of an extensive program of Archive Images, uses autochromes. The autochrome was the first color photographic process invented by the Lumière brothers in 1906, who commercialized it in 1907.

<sup>5</sup> I warmly thank the Albert Kahn Museum to allowing me to use this image for my communication.



I first tried to locate this panel (*sambar* in Mongolian) in the ancient city of Urga,<sup>6</sup> with a painting of a city map from the beginning of twentieth century, so that's the period of Stephane Passet's photography. The eastern part of the town is reproduced below, in black and white.



Figure 4. City map of Urga at the beginning of the century, called Niislel Khuree (1911-1924). Part of a painting from Zanabazar Museum, Ulan Bator, Mongolia.

After thoroughly scrutinized the details of the plan, chronologically identified the course of the photographer through his shots and spotted the buildings behind the panel, I finally managed to locate the panel:



Figure 5. Detail of the previous plan (Fig. 4) locating the position of the prescriptive panel.

<sup>6</sup> Urga is the former name of the Mongolian capital, which after several name changes, ultimately called Ulaanbaatar, "Red Hero" since 1924.



The prescriptive panel is on the left side of the ceremonial south gate of a complex of temples and yurts, delimited by a perimeter of defensive logs against animal approach, called *šörög mod*, which we can see a segment on photography. On the map, appears a Mongolian term *urdu* meaning "south". The place is well identified as the temple of Dechingalav and the Palace of Bogd Khan. It is the place of the central government. According to the Mongolian historian Idchinnorov I met about it<sup>7</sup>, to the north was a temple with a statue of the Maidar deity, height of twenty meters, built by Buriats Mongols. This place is located near the nowadays Children Artistic Creations Center (*Hüühdiin urlan büteeh töv*).

Enlarging the photo, the text written in classical Mongolian (known as Mongolian-Uighur or ancient writing system) became intelligible:

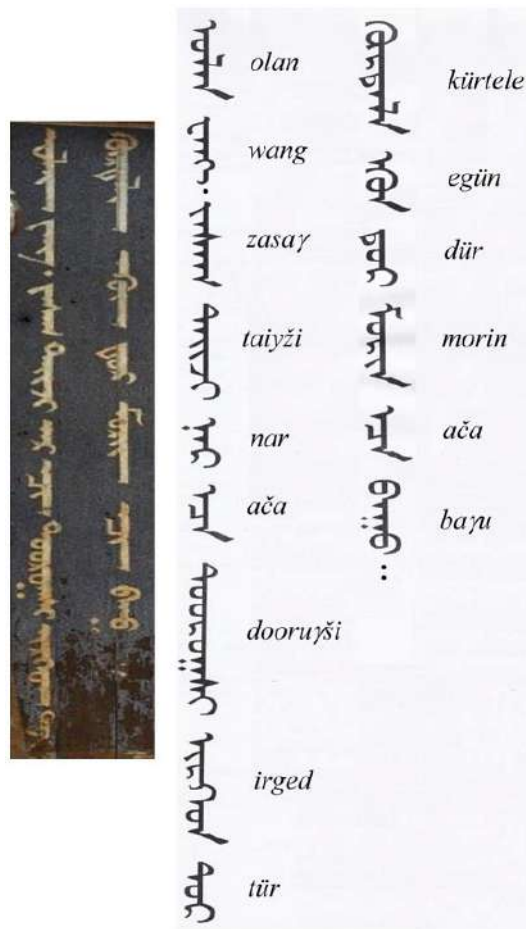


Figure 6. Detail of the panel text and its standard classical Mongolian transposition and transcript.

<sup>7</sup> Interviewed on April the 16<sup>th</sup>, 2003.

Horizontally, with translated vocabulary:

*olan wang, zasay taiyži nar ača dooruysi irged tür*  
 mass prince authorities knight [plural [ablative to the bottom citizen [dative-  
 many, great lords noblemen suffix] of origin] locative]

*kürtele egün dür morin ača bayu.*  
 To, until, even [demonstrative [dative horse [ablative ride down  
 [fixed form of pronoun] locative] of origin] [categorical  
 Terminal converb imperative]

*hüreh* (« to reach »)

So, in Cyrillic Mongolian:

« Олон ван, засаг тайж нараас доорогш иргэдэд хүртэл энд мориос  
 буу. »

In English translation:

«All, princes, lords, nobles down to ordinary citizens, dismount here. »

This translation is made possible by the expression of the original ablative case *ača* followed by the fixed form of the terminal converb *kürtele* : « from..... to (until) ..... »

The meaning of this text is the same as on the Korean monument, despite several centuries' interval. That said, here is the formula detailed in the list of upper class, while other social categories are merged into "ordinary citizens" *dooruysi irged* (literally « the citizens to the bottom»). Then there is the question of the meaning of this listing. Was it to be clear that there was no possible exception to this order regardless of its title in the high social position? Or, *a contrario*, this list had to mark an exception? like : « apart from ..., excluding ..., except, ...» to the benefit of these higher classes? In this case, it must be accepted that the postponed original ablative may have this shade of exclusion. So the ablative case *ača* does not work with the form *kürtele* but with *dooruysi* indicating a downward movement from an origin point <sup>8</sup>: » ; which gives the following translation:

«Except princes, lords and nobles, all the ordinary ("who are down")  
 citizens, dismount here».

If this order had to be well understood in its second version, there would be two separate places to dismount, the first closed of this panel, the other near the palace where probably was marked the place to dismount. So, who had to execute this order? One of the possible ways to try to answer this question is to examine historical sources through travel accounts left by some travelers in Mongolia, which can be traced back at least to the Mongolian Middle Ages.

<sup>8</sup> That just shows the example given by Ya. Ceval in his dictionary, cited in bibliography, about *dooruysi*: [Mongolian Cyrillic] *xödölmörjн бүтээмžиж үүнээс дорogш оруулж болоxгүј.* "We can't put the work's result down from there (" this level ")"; or into the affirmative structure : "can be estimated that from this level there is a result of work".

Thus, Giovanni di Plano Carpini, a Franciscan monk sent by Pope Innocent IV, wrote a "History of the Mongols" after his trip during two years in 1245-1247. He gave a description of Guyuk camp when was his election to the supreme title of Khan<sup>9</sup>:

«When we arrived, was already mounted a large purple canvas tent which, in our view, was large enough to accommodate more than two thousand people. All around there was a wooden fence painted in various figures. [ ...]. In the fence, there were two large doors; by one the Emperor alone could enter and there was no guard, although it was open, because no one dared to enter or go out by this way; by the other one came all who were admitted and there, there were guards with swords, bows and arrows. And if anyone approached the tent beyond the limits, he was struck if he was closed or they pulled on him if he ran away, but the arrow's head wasn't in iron. The horses' place was aloof from two arrows' shot around ».<sup>10</sup>

Another passage:

« No stranger to his house [Batu Khan's] dares to approach his tent, unless called, whatever its importance and power, unless to know what he wants»<sup>11</sup>

These two passages show us that the horses were kept at a far enough distance from the imperial house or tent, and there was no free pass to approach the Khan, whatever his social position.

Some years later, another account is reported by the Franciscan friar William of Rubrouck sent by Saint Louis (Louis IX) in Mongolia, during 1253-1255. He went to the court of the great Mongol Mangu Khan (Möngke Khan) and reports:

« For those going to the court, dismount away from Chan's [Khan] home, aloof from a bow-shot: there we leave the horses and servants who guard them».<sup>12</sup>

Again no doubt about it : The horses were kept aloof and any authorized person had to walk to the ruler's house. This rule should probably be spread in Asia, China, seeing as found in Korea. Anyway, it seems to be arrived before the Buddhist theocracy in Mongolia, and thus the regulation of access to the temples. So this Mongolian order panel probably erected in the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries, by the will of the sovereign theocratic in this time, the Eighth Jebtsundamba-khutukhtu who bore the title of Bogd Gegeen ("Living Buddha"). It transmits in its own way a type of regulation that goes further back in time in the Mongolian space; which

<sup>9</sup> Guyuk is the son of Ogodei, third son of Genghis Khan. His election is held at a quriltay in the summer of 1246, to the source of the Orkhon.

<sup>10</sup> §29 et 30 from chapter IX, page 117.

<sup>11</sup> §17 from chapter IX, page 111.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bibliography. The mentioned passage is taken from chapter XXVIII, p. 144.

could legitimate the first version of our translation. Having said that, however, it is not impossible that could be an evolution in this custom to a relaxing towards important persons close to the power; which would legitimate the second version. More commonly, and even today among the people of breeders in the steppe, the horses are kept out of the yurt. About twenty meters a place arranged for this purpose, called *moriny uyaa* "tie to horses," consists of two poles connected by a rope in their peak, around which the riders hang the lead rein. Then everyone heads for the yurt. That shows that this ancient rule is still strongly fixed in contemporary Mongolian popular culture.



Figure 7. Horses place near residential yurts, Khovd Region, Mongolia. Photo A. Desjacques, 1991.

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## Some further notes on Marco Polo's Tatar Gods

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Marco Polo's travelogue, *Devisement dou monde* 'the description of the world'<sup>1</sup> is a very important source for understanding the marvels and misteries of the - at that time - still rather unknown Orient, especially with regard to the Ta(r)tars i.e. the Mongols.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the spiritual world of the Ta(r)tars, besides a high and celestial God, known from other sources as *tenggeri*,<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo offers a detailed description of another deity.

The relevant passages are reported below from Ramusio's 1559 version:<sup>4</sup>

*Of the celestial and terrestrial deities of the Tartars, and of their modes of worship, of their dress, arms, courage in battle, patience under privations, and obedience to their leaders.*

The doctrine and faith of the Tartars are these. They believe in a deity whose nature is sublime and heavenly. To him they burn incense in censers, and offer up prayers for the enjoyment of intellectual and bodily health. They worship another likewise, named *Natigay*, whose image, covered with felt or other cloth, every individual preserves in his house. To this deity they associate a wife and children, placing the former on his left side, and the latter before him, in a posture of reverential salutation. Him they consider as the divinity who presides over their terrestrial concerns, protects their children, and guards their cattle and their grain. They shew him great respect, and at their meals they never omit to take a fat morsel of the flesh, and with it to grease the mouth of the idol, and at the same time the mouths of its wife and children. They then throw out of the door some of the

<sup>1</sup> Further names in use to designate Marco Polo's travelogue are: *The travels of Marco Polo*, *The Book of the marvels of the World and*, in Italian, *Milione*.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview on the Marco Polo manuscript tradition, see: [http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/main/intro\\_02.html](http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/main/intro_02.html) and Simion (2017). Editions include (alphabetically): Benedetto (1928), Charignon (1924-1928), Eusebi & Burgio (2018), Kappler (2004), Marsden (1818), Ménard (2001-2009), Milanese (1980), Moule & Pelliot (1938), Pauthier (1865), Simion (2019), Yule & Cordier (1929); in Mongolian Dorj et al. (1987), and Bat-Uchral & Ragagnin & Simion (2019); further see [http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/main/biblio\\_02\\_ediz.html](http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/main/biblio_02_ediz.html).

<sup>3</sup> The etymology of *tenggeri*, corresponding to Old Turkic *teŋri* – documented in the Orkhon inscriptions (VIII c.) – is still debated; see Georg (2001) for a possible paleosiberian origin.

<sup>4</sup> On the importance of Ramusio's version, see Ragagnin & Simion (in print).

liquor in which the meat has been dressed, as an offering to the other spirits. This being done, they consider that their deity and his family have had their proper share, and proceed to eat and drink with out further ceremony.<sup>5</sup>

(Marsden 1818: 209-210)

Natigay also occurs in R II 26 1-2. This chapter is attested only in R and, partially, in Z 45 10-13.

*Of the religion if the Tartars, of the opinions they hold respecting the soul; and of some of their customs.*

As has already been observed, these People are idolaters, and for deities, each person has a tablet fixed up against a high part of the wall of his chamber, upon which is written a name, that serves to denote the high, celestial, and sublime God; and to this they pay daily adoration, with incense burning. Lifting up their hands and then striking their faces against the floor three times, they implore from him the blessings of sound intellect and health of body; without any further petition. Below this, on the floor, they have a statue which they name *Natigai*, which they consider as the God of all terrestrial things, or, whatever is produced from the earth. They give him a wife and children, and worship him in a similar manner, burning incense, raising their hands, and bending to the floor. To him they pray for seasonable weather, abundant crops, increase of family, and the like.<sup>6</sup>

(Marsden 1818: 381)

<sup>5</sup> Original Ramusio's passage in Italian: *La legge et fede de' Tartari è tale: dicono esservi il Dio alto, sublime et celeste, al qual ogni giorno col torribolo et incenso non dimandano altro se non buon intelletto et sanità; ne hanno poi un altro che chiamano Natigay, ch'è a modo di una statua coperta di feltre o vero di altro, et ciascheduno ne tiene uno in casa sua. Fanno a questo dio la moglie et figliuoli, et pongongli la moglie dalla parte sinistra et li figliuoli avanti di lui, quali pare che li facciano riverenza. Questo dio lo chiamano dio delle cose terrene, il quale custodisce et guarda i loro figliuoli et conserva le bestie et le biade, al quale fanno grande riverenza et honore; et sempre quando mangiano tolgono della parte delle carni grasse, et con quelle ungono la bocca del dio, della moglie et de' figliuoli; dappoi gettano del brodo delle carni fuor della porta agli altri spiriti. Fatto questo, dicono che'l loro dio con la sua famiglia ha havuto la parte sua, et poscia mangiano et bevono a lor piacere.* (R I 46 1-4)

<sup>6</sup> Original Ramusio's passage in Italian: *Et come habbiamo detto di sopra, questi popoli sono idolatri, et per suoi dei tutti hanno una tavola posta alta nel pariete della sua camera, sopra la qual è scritto un nome che rappresenta Dio alto, celeste et sublime: et quivi ogni giorno con il thuribulo dell'incenso lo adorano in questo modo, che, levate le mani in alto, sbattono tre volte i denti, pregandolo che li dia buon intelletto et sanità, et altro non li dimandano. Dappoi, giuso in terra, hanno una statua che si chiama Natigai, qual è dio delle cose terrene che nascono sopra tutta la terra, et li fanno una moglie et figliuoli, et l'adorano nell'istesso modo, con il thuribulo et sbattendo i denti et alzando le mani, et a questo li dimandano temperie dell'aere et frutti della terra, figliuoli et simil cose.* (R II 26 1-2)



Further variants of the theonym *Natigai* attested in other Polian versions are respectively: *Nacygai* (F); *Nacigay* (Fr); *Versigay* (K); *Nacigay* (L); *Nacigai* (P); *Natigai* (TB); *Nagani* (V); *Nacigai* (VA); *Natagai* (VB), e *Naçagay* (Z).

As already pointed out by Mostaert (1957) the most correct Polian form is *Načigai* attested in (F) and (P). Formally, it corresponds to *Načigai eke* ‘Mother Earth’ documented in a buddhist fragment from 1312 belonging to the Turfan collection of Mongolic documents preserved in Berlin; see Haenisch (1954). The Polian forms displaying *-ti-* clearly are paleographic errors, where *t* was misspelled for *c*; therefor see Cardona (1975: 678) and Barbieri (2004: 225). Furthermore, it should be pointed out that there are no etymological relations among *Načigai*, Turkic *Ötüken*<sup>7</sup>, Mongolic *Etügen*<sup>8</sup>, and the teonym *Itoga*, documented in Giovanni da Pian del Carpine’s *Historia Mongalorum* in the section dedicated to the religious practices, sins, divinations, purification and death ceremonies of the Mongols (III 10).<sup>9</sup>

The problem that remains to be solved concerns the fact that Marco Polo’s *Načigai* is described as a male God, whereas Mongolic *Načigai* is unmistakably a goddess.

His masculinity and the fact that *Načigai* has a wife and children would seem to be the result of confusion on the part of the Venetian traveler. Marco Polo probably had confused memories of various forms of *ongyon* he had seen among the Mongols.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, he may also had received further information on similar animistic customs and beliefs of populations neighboring the Mongols who, perhaps, may have worshipped an earthly male divinity.

In this regard it should be mentioned that in the Siberian pantheon there are male deities whose description corresponds to a *Tellus Pater* i.e. “Father Earth” (cf. Harva 1938: 243, 247). For instance, the Turkic Altai people of southern Siberia believe in *Ülgän* or *Bai Ülgän*, a God of good, antagonist of *Erlık*, the God of the underworld. Eliade (1964: 198) pointed out that *Ülgän*, although endowed with celestial attributes, is not exactly a supreme uranic divinity. He is distinct from *Tengere Kairakan* the Altai supreme Uranian God corresponding to *Tenggri* ‘Heaven God’, the supreme Uranian God of the Turkic and Mongol peoples. *Ülgän* rather has the characteristics of a God of the atmosphere and fertility, and has a consort and numerous offsprings. Its function is to protect the fertility of the flocks and the abundance of crops.

<sup>7</sup> The toponym *Ötüken* occurs in various passages of the Old Turkic Orkhon inscriptions, without precise geographical indications. In Mahmūd al-Kāšyarī’s encyclopedic work *Dīvān Luḡāt at-Turk* (Compendium of the Turkic dialects) the *Ötüken* is the name of a place in the deserts of the Tatār near Uighur (Dankoff & Kelly 1982: 159). Also cf. de Rachewiltz (2004: 1004).

<sup>8</sup> On *Etügen*, see Lot-Falck (1956).

<sup>9</sup> As for the etymological trajectory of *Itoga*, most likely it originated from Turkic *ıduq* ‘holy’, a deverbal nominal formation from *ıd-* ‘to send’. Although the literally meaning of *ıduq* is ‘sent’, already in Old Turkic sources it meant ‘dedicated to God’ and ‘holy’ (Clauson 1972: 46). Thus, the adjective *ıduq* both signifies ‘holy’ and ‘holy thing/something holy’. Worth noticing in this respect is that the Mongolic term *udayan* ‘shamaness’ seems to be connected with the same Turkic form. Therefore cf. Janhunen (1986: 101). Further also see Ragagnin (2018).

<sup>10</sup> In this respect, also see Yule (1921: 258).

### Abbreviations

F = XIV c. Franco-Italian version, handed down by the manuscript fr. 1116 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and by a fragment, signed f, in a private collection

L = XIII c. Latin summary handed down by 6 manuscripts

LT = XIV c. Latin version resulting from the contamination of TA and P, handed down only by the manuscript lat. 3195 held in the Bibliothèque de France in Paris

P = Francesco Pipino OP' early XIV c. Latin translation of VA; it is handed down by around 60 versions

TA = early XIII c. Tuscanian version, handed down by 5 manuscripts

V = late XIV c. Venetian version handed down only by the manuscript Hamilton 424 held in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin

VA = Medieval northern vernacular Italian version, handed down by five manuscripts

VB = XV c. Venetian humanistic rehash handed down by two codices and one fragment

Z = Latin version handed down by the Zelada ms. 49.20 (second half of XV c.) preserved in the Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares of Toledo

LT = contaminated version which uses TA and P simultaneously. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (ms. Lat. 3195)

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**Социализмын/аар бүтээсэн үндэсний баатар-Чингис хаан**  
*БНМАУ дахь Чингис хааны тухай дискурс ба Монголын үндсэрхэг үзэл*  
*бүрэлдэх үйл явц талаарх нэгэн гипотез (1941-1966 он)*<sup>1</sup>

Шимаамүра Иппэй  
(National Museum of Ethnology)

Эхлэл

- I. ЗХУ-ын удирдлага дор үндэсний түүх бичгээ эмхэтгэх явцад монголын сэхээтнүүдийн хэрэгжүүлсэн тактик (1954-1966 он)
- II. Чингис хааны мэндэлсний 800 жилийн ойг тэмдэглэсэн явдал болон (1962 он), түүний сөрөг үр дагавар (1962 оноос хойш)

Төгсгөл

Эхлэл

1989 оны 12 дугаар сард эхэлсэн Монголын ардчилсан хөдөлгөөнийг тухайн үеийн монголчууд ЗХУ-ын хүлээснээс ангижрах нэг төрлийн “үндэстний сэргэлтийн хөдөлгөөн” хэмээн ойлгож байв. Ялангуяа ЗХУ-ын үед нэрийг нь ч дуудахаас ч эмээдэг байсан Чингис хаан энэ хөдөлгөөний чухал бэлгэ тэмдэг болсныг хэн ч мэдэх буй за. Жишээлбэл тухайн үед “Хонх” хамтлаг Чингис хааны тухай

*“Дуурсах алдрыг тань дуулах нь бүү хэл  
Дуудах нэрийг тань хэлэхээс эмээж явсан  
Хөх Монголын үр сад хөөрхий биднийгээ өршөө”*

хэмээн дуулж, ард олны халуун дэмжлэгийг олжээ. Энэ дуу тэр үеийн Монголын ард иргэдийн сэтгэлийн илрэл байсан нь дамжиггүй.

Үндсэрхэг үзлийн шинжтэй иймэрхүү хөдөлгөөн ардчиллаас хойш ч зогсоогүй. Ялангуяа Чингис Их Монгол улсын хаанд өргөмжлөгдсөний 800 жилийн ой тохиох 2006 онд 70 гаруй тэмдэглэлт арга хэмжээг төр засгийн байгууллагуудаас хийхээр төлөвлөсөн<sup>2</sup> ба энэ үеэр улам бүр хүчээ авчээ. Монгол Улсын нийслэл Улаанбаатар хотын засгийн газрын ордны өмнө талд болон Төв аймгийн Эрдэнэ суманд аварга том Чингисийн хөшөө сүндэрлэлээ. Мөн нисэх онгоцны буудлын нэрийг “Чингис хаан” болгож өөрчлөв.

<sup>1</sup> Орчуулсан Д.Уламцэнгэл (Шига мужийн их сургуулийн докторант)

<sup>2</sup> *Чингис хааныг соёлын нөөц болгон ашигласан нь - Монгол, Япон, Орос, Хятад улсын харьцуулалтаас.* “Хүмүүн соёл” сэтгүүл, Шига мужийн их сургуулийн Хүмүүн соёлын факультетийн судалгааны тайлан, дугаар 24, 2008 он, тал 7-34.  
(Bunka shigen toshite riyosareru Chingisu hân-mongoru, nihon, roshia, chyugoku no hikaku kara, Ningen buka Shiga kenritsu daigaku ningen bunka gakubu kenkyu hókoku 24-go, (2008), p. 7-34.)

Ардчилал эхлэхтэй зэрэгцээд эрдэм шинжилгээний салбарт ч Чингисийн үйл хэрэгт дахин үнэлэлт дүгнэлт өгч, дэлгүүрүүдэд түүнтэй холбоотой тоо томшгүй олон ном зарагдаж эхлэв. Тэр дотор Чингис хааны удирдан зохион байгуулах чадварын тухай, сайн дипломатч хэмээн магтан сайшаасан бүтээлээс эхлээд соёлын баатарт тооцох хандлага ч гарч эхэлжээ.

Монголд 1990-ээд оны эхээр социализм нурж, ардчилал эхлэхэд Чингис хааныг үндсэрхэг үзлийн баялаг болгон ашиглаж эхэлсэн гэж үздэг. Түүнчлэн социализмын жилүүдэд (1924-1992 он) ЗХУ-ын Коммунист намыг аялдан дагалдагч МАХН-аас үндэсний баатрын нэрийг хэлэхийг хүртэл хориглож, мартагдсан гэж тайлбарласаар иржээ. Үнэндээ Монголын сэхээтнүүд ч Чингисийн нэрийг хэлэх цээртэй байсан,<sup>3</sup> түүний талаар бичих зохиох ч хориотой байлаа<sup>4</sup> зэргээр ярьж байв.

Энэ талаар Америкийн монгол судлаач Алисиа Кампи, монголчууд ардчиллаас хойш Чингисийн талаарх үзлээ өөрчилж чадсан<sup>5</sup> нь даяаршил болон Америк зэрэг барууны орнуудын ачаар болсон хэрэг гэж үзжээ.

Гэвч Чингис хааныг магтан ярьж дурсах зэрэг монголчуудын үндсэрхэг үзэл нь ЗХУ-ын хүлээснээс ангижирснаар хүчээ авсан гэж хялбарханаар тайлбарлачихаж үл болох юм. Хэрэв социализмын үед нэр нь хүртэл мартагдсан байсан гэж үзвэл, ардчилалтай зэрэгцээд гэнэтхэн л үндсэрхэг үзлийн бэлгэ тэмдэг болж гарч ирэхгүй байсан нь лавтай. Харин аль дээр социализмын үед Чингис хаан хэдийнээ (нууцаар ч гэлээ) үндсэрхэг үзлийн бэлгэ тэмдэг болчихсон байсан гэж үзэх нь зүйд нийцнэ.

Бенедикт Андерсон, орчин үежлийн явцад ном, сонин сэтгүүл, хэвлэлийн арга технологи сайжирсаар, алслагдмал нутагт амьдарч буй үл таних хүмүүс бие биенээ нэг гаралтай үндэстэн хэмээн төсөөлж эхэлснээр үндсэрхэг үзэл бий болдог хэмээн үзжээ. Андерсон үүнийг “хэвлэлийн капитализм” (printing capitalism) гэж нэрлэсэн.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> XX зууны сүүдрийг гэрэлтүүлсэн зохиолч Монгол улсын ардын уран зохиолч Дэндэвийн Пүрэвдоржийн яриа Конагая Юки (ред) “XX зууны монголчууд – Социализмын үеийн хүмүүсийн яриа” Японы угсаатны зүйн төв музейн тайлан-41, 2003 он, тал 210.  
(20 seiki no kage ni hikari wo ateru bungakusha – Mongoru koku no jinmin sakka Dendeihin Purebudoruji ha kataru, Konagaya Yuki hen, *Mongoru ni okeru 20 seiki- Shakaishugi wo ikita hitobito no shyogen* -, Kokuritsu Minzoku hakubutsukan chyosa hookoku 41 (2003), p.210.)

<sup>4</sup> Ш.Нацагдорж, *Чингис хааны цадиг*. Улаанбаатар, 1991 он, тал 5.

<sup>5</sup> Alicia J.Campi, Globalization's Impact on Mongolian Identity Issues and the Image of Chinggis Khan in Henry G.Schwarz (ed.), *Mongolian Culture and Society in the Age Globalization*. Studies on East Asia, Vol.26, pp.67-99. Гэвч Кампигийн тайлбараас эсрэгээр, Америкийн цуврал кино, уран сайхны кинонд Монгол болон Чингис хааныг сөргөөр дүрсэлсээр ирсэн билээ. Зохиогчийн “Чингис хааныг соёлын нөөц болгон ашигласан нь” номын эхний хэсгээс дэлгэрэнгүй харна уу.

<sup>6</sup> Бенедикт Андерсон, Шираиши Такаши, Шираиши Саяака (орч), *Төсөөллийн хүй нийгэм-үндсэрхэг үзлийн үүсэл ба дэлгэрэлт*, Шёсэки кообоо хаяама: 2007 (1983) он.  
(Benedict Anderson (Shiraishi Takashi, Shiraishi Sayaka (yaku), Teihon Soozoo no kyodootai-nashonarizumu no kigen to ryukoo-Shoseki kooboo hayama, 2007 (1983)).



Харин Монгол социализмын үед (1924-1992 он) иргэншиж, орчин үежиж тэр байтугай хэвлэлийн технологи өргөн дэлгэрснээрээ ихээхэн онцлогтой. 1945 онд ЗХУ-ын нөлөөн дор уламжлалт уйгуржин монгол бичгээ кирилл үсгээр сольж, орчин үеийн боловсролын тогтолцоо тавигдаж, бичиг үсэгтэй хүмүүсийн тоо нэмэгдсэн<sup>7</sup> нь ч энэ үед болсон хэрэг. Тийм учраас Чингисийн нэр, намтар түүхийн талаар энгийн иргэд мэдсэн үе нь үнэндээ социализмын үе, нэн ялангуяа кирилл үсгээр боловсрол олгож эхэлсэн 1940-өөд оны сүүлийн хагас гэж үзэхэд буруудахгүй болов уу. Гэвч тэр үеийн бүхий л ном сонинд үндсэндээ ЗХУ-ын коммунист нам, түүнийг аялдан дагагч МАХН-ын үзэл санаа туссан гэхэд хилсдэхгүй.

Тэгсэн хэдий боловч монголын сэхээтнүүд ЗХУ-аар дамжуулан Чингисийн талаар мэдэхийн зэрэгцээ тухайн мэдээллээ шууд утгаар нь бус, эсрэгээр нь ойлгосноор үндсэрхэг үзлийг бий болгосон гэлтэй. Энэхүү ЗХУ-ын социализмын нөлөөн дор бүрэлдсэн дээрх үндсэрхэг үзлийг “хэвлэлийн социализм” (printing socialism) хэмээн нэрлэе. Энэ өгүүлэлд социализмын үеийн Монголд Чингис хааныг хэрхэн дүрсэлж байсныг, түүнийг дүрсэлсэн гол бүтээл “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийн агуулга, түүнийг хэрхэн эмхэтгэсэн тухай үйл явцыг судалснаар “хэвлэлийн социализм”-аар үндсэрхэг үзэл хэрхэн бий болсон талаар авч үзэцгээе.<sup>8</sup>

Харин антропологич Кристофер Каплонский нь Монгол улсад социализмын жилүүдэд түүхийн судалгааны номууд болон сурах бичгүүдэд Чингис хааны тухай үргэлж бичигдсээр ирсэн боловч монголчууд ардчиллаас хойш Чингис хааныг тэр үед “мартагдсан байсан, “түүний тухай ярихыг хүртэл хориглож байсан” хэмээн ярьдаг болсон зөрчлийг онцолсон юм. Улмаар дээрх зөрчилтэй хоёр дискурсийг “бичигдсэн түүх (documented past)”, “эргэн дурсагдсан түүх (recalled past)” гэж нэрлэн, хоёр зөрчилтэй өнгөрсөн цагийн (past) ойлголт хэрхэн бий болсон учрыг тайлах гэж хичээсэн юм.<sup>9</sup> Каплонский энэхүү зөрчлийн учрыг монголчууд ардчиллын дараа үндэсний ижилслээ (national identity) бүтээхийн тулд социализмын үеийг буруутгах хэрэгтэй байсан гэж үзжээ. Өөрөөр хэлбэл ардчилалын ачаар Чингисийн тухай эергээр бичиж илэрхийлдэг болсон гэдгээ зөвтгөхийн төлөө социализмын үед үүний эсрэгээр Чингисийг үгүйсгэгдэж байсан гэх мэтийн дурсамжийг зохиох хэрэгтэй байсан гэжээ. Улмаар Каплонский Чингисийн илэрхийлэлт (representation) талаар

<sup>7</sup> Монголчуудын бичиг үсэгт тайлагдсан хүмүүсийн тоо 1926 онд 10.000 (нийт хүн ам 684.000) байснаас 1940 онд 127.000 (нийт хүн ам 739.000) болж өсчээ. Гэтэл кирилл үсэг хэрэглэж эхэлснээс хойш 7 дээш настай бичиг үсэгтэй хүн 42.3%, 1956 онд 72%, 1963 онд 90%-аас дээш огцом өссөн байна. Доорх материалаас дэлгэрэнгүй харна уу. Монголын ШУА (ред), *Монголын түүх* 2, 1988 он, тал 218-220.

<sup>8</sup> Зохиогч уг судалгаагаа доорх номонд тулгуурлан бичсэн. *Чингис хаан хэний баатар вэ? Монгол, Япон, Хятад, Евро-Америк, Оросын харьцуулалтаас*. Улаанбаатар: Эдмон, 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Kaplonski “The Case of the Disappearing Chinggis Khaan: Dismembering the Remembering”, *Ab Imperio* 4 (2005), pp.147-173.

“төсөөллийн (imagined) дарамт”, “мартагдсан” гэх мэтийн дискурсийг “домгийн чанартай түүх (mythico-history)” хэмээн нэрлэсэн аж.

Гэвч Каплонский социализмын үед Чингисийг тэмдэглэж байсан эсэхийг хэт анхаарч, дотоод агуулгыг нь хангалттай судлаагүй юм. Ялангуяа социализмын үеийн албан ёсны Монголын түүх болох “Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын түүх” (3 удаа эмхэтгэгдсэн)-ийн талаар ерөөс судлаагүй шинжтэй. Тийм учраас эл өгүүлэлдээ миний бие Каплонскийн нэрлэж буй “домгийн чанартай түүх”-ийг үнэхээр домог байсан эсэхийг шалгахын төлөө, түүний судлалгүй орхисон “Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын түүх”-ийн<sup>10</sup> доторх агуулгыг судлахаас гадна эл номыг эмхэтгэх үйл явц, ялангуяа Монгол, Зөвлөлт хоёр орны эрдэмтэд хамтарч албан ёсны Монгол улсын түүхийг бичихийн тулд хийсэн хэлэлцүүлэгт анхаарлаа хандуулан түүний бодит байдлыг тодруулахыг зорьсон болно.

Английн түүхч Орландо Файжес, ерөнхийдөө ихэнх оросууд ЗХУ байгуулагдахаас өмнө нь ч, дараа нь ч ялгаагүй, XIX зуунд зохиогдсон “арьс өнгө” (race) хэмээх ухагдахуун бий болсны нөлөөгөөр хоцрогдмол, бүдүүлэг, царай муутай, тэнэг мулгуу зэрэг хэв шинжийг монголиод (шар арьстан) эсвэл монгол шинжид (mongolness) хамаатуулах европчуудын сэтгэхүйг нэвтрүүлснээр, өөрийгөө европчуудаас дутуу хэмээх комплекс (inferior complex) бий болгож эхэлсэн гэж үздэг.<sup>11</sup> Өөрөөр хэлбэл, Оросын сэхээтнүүдийн дунд “евроазийц” (20-р зууны эхээр Оросыг Европ биш харин Евроазийн соёл иргэншлийн орон гэж үздэг байсан хүмүүс) үзэлтэй хүмүүсийг эс тооцвол, Чингис хааныг шууд, хүн биш, зэрлэг бүдүүлэг, харгис хэрцгий, үзэшгүй муухайтай холбон үзсээр ирсэн гэж хэлж болно. Нэг үгээр хэлбэл, адилхан социалист улс хэрнээ ЗХУ ба Монголын сэхээтнүүдийн хооронд Чингис хааны талаарх ойлголт зөрүүтэй байсан нь гайхмаар хэрэг биш юм. Тийм ч учраас “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийг эмхэтгэх явцад ЗХУ-Монголын хооронд болсон хэлэлцээрийн үйл явцыг дахин нягтлах шаардлага тулгарч байгаа юм.

Социализмын үед “БНМАУ-ын түүх” ном нь 1954 онд орос хэлээр анх хэвлэгдэж<sup>12</sup> (монгол хэлээр 1955 онд орчуулагдан хэвлэгдсэн),<sup>13</sup> хоёр дахь

<sup>10</sup> Чингисийн талаарх судалгааг социализмын үед ч үргэлжлүүлэн хийсээр ирсний нотолгоо нь “Монголын түүх”-ийн сайжруулсан хэвлэлд 3-хан мөр тэмдэглэл байсан хэдий ч түүний агуулгыг сайтар судлаагүй юм. Мөн тэнд., тал 160-161.

<sup>11</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia*, London: Penguin Books, 2003 (2002), pp.358-429.

<sup>12</sup> Б.Д.Греков, С. А.Козин, А.А. Губер, Е.М.Зуков, С.В.Кисерёв (ред.), *История Монгольской Народной Республики*, Москва, Академи Наук СССР, 1954.

<sup>13</sup> Б.Д.Греков, С. А.Козин, Б.Ширэндэв, Ц. Дамдинсүрэн ба бусад (ред.), *Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын Түүх*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын хэвлэл, 1955.



хэвлэл (1966 он),<sup>14</sup> гурав дахь хэвлэл (1984 он)<sup>15</sup> буюу гурван удаа эмхэтгэгдэн хэвлэгджээ. Хоёр дахь хэвлэл, гурав дахь хэвлэл нь орос, монгол хэлээр нэгэн зэрэг хэвлэгдсэн байна. “БНМАУ-ын түүхийн анхдугаар хэвлэлд, Чингисийг нүүдэлчин иргэдийг мөлжигч, харийн улсуудын хувьд цуст түрэмгийлэгч, эвдлэн сүйтгэгч хэмээн дүрсэлсэн бол, хоёр дахь хэвлэлд тодорхой хэмжээнд засвар хийж, тусгаар улсыг үндэслэгч хэмээн үнэлсэн байна. Гурав дахь хэвлэлд харин Чингисийг анхны хэвлэлтэй бараг адил агуулгаар дүрсэлжээ.

Үнэн хэрэгтээ БНМАУ-ын түүхийн эмхэтгэл, 1962 онд тохиосон Чингис хааны мэндэлсний 800 жилийн ой нь Монголд үндсэрхэг үзлийн суурь бүрэлдэхэд томоохон нөлөө үзүүлсэн гэж хэлж болно. Түүнчлэн ШУА-ийн Түүх, археологийн хүрээлэнгийн архивт хадгалагдах “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийг эмхэтгэхэд Монгол-ЗХУ-Хятад улсуудын хооронд илгээсэн албан бичиг, 1962 онд болсон Чингис хааны мэндэлсэн 800 жилийн ойн баяртай холбоотой түүхийн сурвалж бичгийг олж үзэх завшаан зохиогчид тохиосон юм. Ийнхүү тус өгүүлэлдээ “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийн анхны хэвлэл, хоёр дахь хэвлэлийг эмхэтгэх үйл явц, Чингисийг хэрхэн дүрсэлж байсан талаарх номын агуулга, 800 жилийн ойн баярыг тэмдэглэх үе шат зэрэг үйл явдлыг багтаан 1954-1966 оныг судалгааны гол хугацаа болгон үзсэн билээ.

### **ЗХУ-ын удирдлага дор үндэсний түүх бичгээ эмхэтгэх явцад Монголын сэхээтнүүдийн хэрэгжүүлсэн тактик (1954-1966 он)**

Гол асуудалд шилжихийн өмнө ХХ зууны эхэн хагаст Чингисийг хэрхэн дүрсэлж байсан талаар товч өгүүлье.

Орчин үежлээс өмнө монголчууд Чингисийг буддын шашны бурхан сахиус,<sup>16</sup> эртний домогт гардаг баатар хэмээн үздэг байв. Гэтэл Манж Чин улс нуран унаж, орчин үежил явагдаж эхлэхэд, Чингис хаан, Монголын эзэнт улстай холбоотой ЗХУ болон Өрнөдийн эрдэм шинжилгээ, судалгааны өгүүллүүд болон Марко Пологийн “*Дорнодод зорчсон тэмдэглэл*” зэрэг сонгодог бүтээлүүд монгол хэлнээ орчуулагдсанаар, сэхээтнүүд аажмаар орчин үеийн газар зүй болон түүхийн шинжлэх ухааны үүднээс мэдлэг мэдээлэл олж авах болов.<sup>17</sup> Ялангуяа,

<sup>14</sup> Ш.Нацагдорж (ред.), *Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын түүх Тэргүүн боть: Нэн эртнээс XVII зуун*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын хэвлэлийн хэрэг эрхлэх хороо, 1966.

<sup>15</sup> Ш.Бира, Ш.Нацагдорж, Х.Пэрлээ, А.П. Окладников, С.Д.Дылыков, И.Ш.Казакевич (ред.), *Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын Түүх нэмж засварласан гурав дахь хэвлэл*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын хэвлэлийн газар, 1984.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert Franke, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yuan Dynasty (1978)*, In *China Under Mongol Rule*, Aldershot, Hampshire, UK; Brookfield, Vt., USA: Variorum, 1994, pp. 64-69.

<sup>17</sup> Ц.Цэрэн “Онход Жамбяан Дэлүүн Болдогийг хайсан нь”, *Утга Зохиол Сонин*, No.34 (1990); Б.Энхтүвшин, А.Очир, С.Чулуун (ред.), *Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Академи*, Улаанбаатар: Admon, 2011, тал 29.

Монголын Нууц Товчоог уран зохиолын бүтээл төдийгүй түүхийн сурвалж хэмээн үзсэн ЗХУ-ын монгол судлаач Борис Владимирцовын “Чингис хан”,<sup>18</sup> “Монголын нийгмийн тогтолцооны түүх” зэрэг ном монгол хэлнээ орчуулагдаад зогсохгүй монголын сэхээтнүүдийн Чингисийг үнэлэхдээ эш татдаг гол сурвалж болов. Америкийн түүхч Кристофер Этвүүдийн хэлсэнчлэн орчин үежлийн үйл явц нь монголчууд аливаа асуудлыг шашин шүтлэгээс ангид, мөн Европын түүхийн шинжлэх ухааны аргаар Чингисийг үзэх ухамсар суусан (secularization and Europeanization of Mongolian historical consciousness)<sup>19</sup> гэж хэлж болох юм. Түүнчлэн Монголд анх удаа орчин үеийн шинжлэх ухааны аргаар түүх бичиг туурвигдсан (А.Амар “Монголын товч түүх” 1934 он).<sup>20</sup> Зохиогч ерөнхий сайд асан А.Амарыг харин үндсэрхэг үзэлтэн хэмээн Москвад цаазаар авч<sup>21</sup> уг номыг нь хоригложээ.

1940-1950-иад оны эхэн хүртэл Оросын эрдэмтэд, зохиолчдын бүтээлийг орчуулснаар Чингисийн дүрийг бүтээх нэгэн үндсэн хэлбэр тогтсон байна. 1941 онд Позднеевийн “Монголын эзэнт гүрэн ба Чингис хааны үе”<sup>22</sup> номыг Ц.Дамдинсүрэн худам монгол бичигт хөрвүүлэн, хэвлүүлжээ. Гэтэл 1945 оноос бүхий л ном хэвлэлийг кирилл үсгээр хэвлэх болж Монголын ард түмний бичиг үсэг мэдэх чадварыг (literacy) дахин тогтоохоос (reset) өөр аргагүй болжээ.

Дэлхийн II дайнаас хойш ЗХУ-ын нэгэн адил Монголд ч үндсэрхэг үзлийг хавчих үзэгдэл эхлэв. 1948 оны сүүлээр Монголын анхны сурах бичиг болох “Ардын унших бичиг”<sup>23</sup> хэвлэгдсэн боловч ирэх жил нь буюу 1949 оны 3 дугаар сард Намын Төв Хорооны нарийн бичгийн дарга Ю.Цэдэнбал (тухайн үед 35 настай) тус сурах бичгийг “Чингис хааны дээрмийн аян дайн”<sup>24</sup>-ыг магтан дуулсан”, “найрсаг бус үндсэрхэг үзэл”<sup>25</sup> хэмээн хурцаар шүүмжилж, энэ номын эмхэтгэлд оролцсон хүмүүсийг ажлаас нь чөлөөлөхийн зэрэгцээ тус номыг хориглон устгажээ. Түүний дараа зохиолч Ц.Дамдинсүрэн “Монголын нууц товчоо”-ны өмнөтгөлд социализмын үзэл суртлыг магтан дуулсан үг нэмж бичсэнээр<sup>26</sup> кирилл үсгээр хэвлэгдсэн байна.

<sup>18</sup> Монголын ШУА-ын Түүх, Археологийн хүрээлэнгийн Баримтын төв, Ф-3, Д-1, хн-1114.

<sup>19</sup> Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, New York: Facts on File, 2004, p.101.

<sup>20</sup> А.Амар, *Монголын товч түүх*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын хэвлэлийн газар, 1989 (1934), Анандын Амар, *Монголын эх түүх I Монголын товч түүх*, Улаанбаатар: Соёмбо принтинг, 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Ж. Болдбаатар, *Амар сайд: нэмж засварласан хоёр дахь хэвлэл*, Улаанбаатар: Соёмбо Принтинг, 2016, тал 89-95.

<sup>22</sup> Н.Н.Позднеев, Ц. Дамдин-Сурун (орч), *Chinggis Qaghanu üi-e-yin Monggol güren*, Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn khewlel, 1941.

<sup>23</sup> Ж.Жамсранжав, *Ардын унших бичиг*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын Хэвлэл, 1948.

<sup>24</sup> Орос хэлний “грабительские походы (Чингис-хана)” үгийн орчуулга. Орос хэлний “грабительские” тэмдэг нэр нь тонуулч, дээрэмчдийн гэсэн утгатай бөгөөд монгол хэлнээ “дээрэм” хэмээн орчуулсан билээ.

<sup>25</sup> УТА УТНОНББАХ-4, Д-16, хн-5, тал 13.

<sup>26</sup> Ц.Дамдинсүрэн, “Удиртгал”, Ц.Дамдинсүрэн (орч), Монголын Нууц Товчоо, Улсын Хэвлэлийн Газар, 1990 (1947), тал 9-11.

Түүнчлэн 1950, 1951 онд тус бүр ЗХУ-ын зохиолч Василий Яны туурвисан роман “Чингис хаан”<sup>27</sup> (анх 1939 онд хэвлэгдсэн), “Бат хаан” (анх 1941 онд хэвлэгдсэн) номууд орчуулагдав. “Чингис хаан” зохиол ЗХУ-д ихээхэн алдарт хүрч, Герман-Оросын дайн дэгдсэн 1942 онд Сталины шагналыг хүртсэн юм. Энэ зохиолыг хохирогчийн өнцгөөс харж бичсэн бөгөөд, Чингис хааныг харгис хэрцгий, бүдүүлэг, үзэшгүй муухай шуналтай этгээд, Монголын цэргүүд ч өлсгөлөн дүртэй, танхай балмад хүмүүс болгон дүрсэлсэн байна. Гэхдээ тухайн үед нийт 758.000 хүн амтай байсан (1950 он<sup>28</sup>) Монголд тус ном 10 мянган хувь хэвлэгдэж, олны хүртээл болжээ.

1952 онд удирдагч Х.Чойбалсан Москвад зуурдаар нас нөгчиж, дараа жил нь Сталин ч насан өөд болов. Энэ үеэр албан ёсны түүх болох “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийг эмхэтгэх ажил эхэлсэн билээ. Нэрэн дээрээ Монголын ШУА, ЗХУ-ын ШУА-ийн хамтарсан ажил гэсэн авч үнэн хэрэгтээ ЗХУ нь БНМАУ-ын дотоодын түүхийн асуудалд хөндлөнгөөс оролцсон хэрэг байв. Ялангуяа анхны хэвлэлд (орос хэлээр 1954 онд, монгол хэлээр 1955 онд хэвлэгдсэн) Чингисийг “нүүдэлчдийг дарлан мөлжигч, харийн улсуудын хувьд цуст түрэмгийлэгч, эвдлэн сүйтгэгч” хэмээн дүрсэлсэн байна. Яны зохиол болон “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийн анхны хэвлэлд түүнийг социалист үзэл суртлаар тайлбарлах боломжгүй, нэг төрлийн мангас болгож (demonize) бичсэн гэж хэлж болно.

1954, 1955 оны анхны хэвлэлийн арын хуудсыг харахад, Москвад 1954 оны 10 сарын 26-нд орос хэлээр хэвлэгдэж, тухайн жилийн 9 сарын 22-ны өдөр монгол хэлээр эх бэлтгэлд өгч, 1955 оны 4 сард Улаанбаатар хотноо хэвлэгдсэн болохыг харж болно. Үнэндээ саяхныг хүртэл маш нууцын зэрэглэлтэй байсан Улсын төв архив дахь түүхийн материалыг үзсэн Д.Өлзийбаатарын хэлснээр, тус номын анхдугаар эмхэтгэлийн хурал “Ардын сурах бичиг”-ийг шүүмжилсэнтэй бараг зэрэг буюу 1948 оны 12 сард зохион байгуулагдаж, дээрх хурлаар орчин үеийн түүхээс бусад, ихэнх хэсгийг ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтэд бичихийг шийдвэрлэсэн гэжээ. Чингисийн амьдарч асан дундад зууны түүхийг ч ЗХУ-ын Козин, Якубовский нар бичсэнийг орчуулан эмхэтгэжээ.<sup>29</sup> Мөн орос хэлээр 10.000 хувь, монгол хэлээр 25.000 хувь хэвлэгдсэн байна (1955 онд Монгол 827.000 хүн амтай байсан<sup>30</sup>).

<sup>27</sup> В.Ян, Дамдинсүрэн (орч.), Нацагдорж (орч), Ринчин (орч) ба бусад, И.Ринчин (ред), *Чингис Хаан*, Улаанбаатар: Сүхбаатар нэрэмжит улсын хэвлэх үйлдвэр, 1950.

<sup>28</sup> National Statistical Office of Mongolia, *Mongolian Population in XX Century*, Ulaanbaatar: National Statistical Office of Mongolia. 2003, p.78.

<sup>29</sup> Д.Өлзийбаатар, “Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ардын Түүх” Нэгэн боть социализмд тохируулсан Монголын түүхийн ном мэндэлсэн нь, Д.Чулуунжав, Д. Батмөнх, Ц.Жаргал (ред.), *Монголын түүх судлал: Философи, шинэ хандлага, тулгамдсан асуудалд: симпозиум илтгэлийн хураангуй*, Улаанбаатар: ШУА-ын Философи, Социологи, Эрхийн хүрээлэн, МУИС-ын Түүхийн тэнхим, Монгол Уламжлалт Академи, 2014, тал 26-51.

<sup>30</sup> National Statistical Office of Mongolia, *op.cit.*, p.78.

Тус номын монгол хэлээрх хэвлэл нийт 539 хуудастай, Тэмүүжин-Чингис хаан ба Их монгол улстай холбоотой тэмдэглэл 31-хэн хуудас байна. Чингис Монголын олон овог аймгийг нэгтгэсэн талаар бичихдээ эцэг Есүхэйн үхлээр эхэлж, Жамуха, Ван хааныг унагааж, 1206 онд хаан ширээнд суух хүртэл ердөө хоёрхон хуудас бичигдсэн байна. “Монголын нууц товчоо”-нд дүрсэлсэн бага насандаа туулсан зовлон зүдгүүрт он жилүүдийн талаар огт дурдаагүй. Түүний дараа Чингис хааны гадаад аян дайны талаар 4 хуудас, түүний залгамжлагчдын гадагшаа хийсэн аян дайны талаар ч нийтдээ 12 хуудас л бичсэн байна.

Агуулгаас үзэхэд, юуны өмнө Тэмүжиний нөхөр<sup>31</sup> байсан шадар туслах жанжинуудаа цуглуулсан талаар “*нөхөр гэдэг бол ноёдын нөхөр хамсаа, шадар зарц*”, “*нөхрийн алба нь феодалын мөлжлөг ба боолчлолыг эсэргүүцсэн жирийн нүүдэлчний эсэргүүцлийг дарах байсан*” хэмээн дүгнэжээ. Үүний нотолгоо болгож, нөхрүүд “олон дайн тулаанд явж, үзэсгэлэнт эмс охидыг булаан, хүлэг морьдыг нь бариад өргөн барья” хэмээх “Монголын нууц товчоо”-ны хэсгийг эш татсан байна.<sup>32</sup> Мөн Чингис хааны гадаад аян дайныг “Дээрмийн аян дайн” хэмээх тусгай зохиогдсон үгээр тайлбарлажээ. Ялангуяа Хорезмын нийслэл Самарканд хот эзлэгдсэн талаар бичихдээ, хэтрүүлэг ихтэй тус хотын иргэдийг өмгөөлөн бичсэн бараг л тэднийг төлөөлөн хэлсэн үг мэт.

*(Самарканд) хотын иргэд төрж өссөн энэ хотоо чин зүрхнээсээ хайрладаг болохыг эзлэн түрэмгийлэгчдэд харуулсан. Улмаар тэвчээртэйгээр, баатарлагаар Самаркандыг хамгаалсан юм. Чингис хааны арми хэдэн мянган хүнийг алж, 4-5 сарын турш бүсэлж байж энэхүү Хорезм хотыг эзэлсэн. Тэд үзэн ядалтаар амьдарч, амьтай голтой бүхнийг хороож байв.*<sup>33</sup>

Энэ тэмдэглэлийг ямар сурвалж бичигт тулгуурлан бичсэн талаар тус номд ч, орос хэлээрх эх хувилбарт ч байхгүй.<sup>34</sup> Мөн Чингис хааны гавьяаг ийнхүү дүгнэжээ.

*(Чингис нь) бүх монгол үндэстний хүчийг Ази, Европ, түүнээс бусад ард түмнийг боолчлох дээрмийн аян дайндаа чиглүүлсэн байв. Чингисийн эзэнт улс нийтийн эдийн засгийн суурингүй, эзлэн түрэмгийлэхийн төлөөх армитайгаараа онцлогтой бөгөөд Монголын дарлал захиргаанд орсон олон үндэстэн ястныг цуглуулан нэгтгэснээс хэтрэхгүй.*<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Ташрамд дурдахад, энэ үгийг социализмын үед “анд нөхөр” гэдэг утгаар хэрэглэж байжээ. Өнөөгийн Монгол улсад “нөхөр”, Өвөрмонголд “асран хамгаалагч” гэсэн утгыг ч илэрхийлдэг.

<sup>32</sup> Б.Д.Греков, С. А.Козин, Б.Ширэндэв, Ц. Дамдинсүрэн бусад (ред.), *Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын түүх*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын хэвлэл, 1955, тал 102-103.

<sup>33</sup> Мөн тэнд, 113-р тал.

<sup>34</sup> Б.Д.Греков, С. А.Козин, А.А. Губер, Е.М.Зуков, С.В.Кисерёв (ред.), *История Монгольской Народной Республики*, Москва, Академи Наук СССР, 1954. ст.92.

<sup>35</sup> Мөн тэнд 114-р тал.

Харин ЗХУ-ын ШУА-ын Дорно дахины судалгааны хүрээлэн 1954 оны 7 сараас БНМАУ-ын түүхийг 3 боть болгон дахин эмхэтгэх шуурхай төлөвлөгөө боловсруулсан тухайгаа 1955 оны 6 сарын 8-ны өдөр мэдэгдэж, юутай ч гэсэн Монголын талаас хамтран ажиллахыг санал болгов.<sup>36</sup> Улмаар ЗХУ-ын тал “1956 оны 1 сард номоо бичиж, 1959 оны 12 сард дуусган, 1960 онд хэвлэх” төлөвлөгөө боловсруулж, А.А.Губер, С.В.Киселев, Л.П.Дүман зэрэг редакторуудыг томилсон байна.<sup>37</sup> Харин Монголын ШУА нь юуны өмнө ЗХУ-д чин сэтгэлээсээ талархснаа илэрхийлээд, Монголын эрдэмтэд эмхэтгэлийн ажилд оролцох хүслээ телеграфаар явуулжээ. Харин Монголын эрдэмтэд “1959 он хүртэл тус номыг эмхэтгэн гаргаж амжихгүй учир, 1965 он гэхэд эмхэтгэлийг ажлыг дуусгая” гэсэн санал дэвшүүлсэн байна. Хамгийн сонирхолтой нь, Монголын талаас ЗХУ-д “тус номоо бичихэд Хятадын эх сурвалжуудыг үзэх нь зайлшгүй хэрэгтэй бөгөөд түүнийг монгол хэл рүү хөрвүүлэх ажилд Хятадаас тусламж авах шаардлагатай”<sup>38</sup> хэмээн 3 ботийг эмхэтгэх ажилд Хятадын Шинжлэх Ухааны Академийг оролцуулахыг санал болгожээ. Нэг ёсондоо монгол эрдэмтэд ЗХУ-ын заавраар хийгдэж байгаа ажилд Хятад улсыг татан оролцуулснаар ЗХУ-ыг сатааруулах санаатай байсан гэж хэлж болох юм.

Эл саналын хариуд ЗХУ 1956 оны 8 сарын 17-ны 1316 дугаар захидалд “Хятадын эх сурвалж чухал шаардлагатай байгааг ойлгож, Хятадын эрдэмтдийг эмхэтгэлийн ажилд оролцуулахтай санал нэгдэв” хэмээн хариу илгээсэн байна.<sup>39</sup>

Үүний дараа түүхийн сурвалж бичгээс үзэхэд, 1956 оны 11 сарын 13-19-ний өдөр ЗХУ, Монгол, Хятад 3 улсын түүхчид цугларч, энэ 3 ботийн эмхэтгэлийн хурал зохион байгуулжээ.<sup>40</sup> Улмаар 1957 оны 12 сарын 9-18-ны хооронд Москва дахь ЗХУ-ын ШУА-ийн Дорно дахины судалгааны хүрээлэнд ЗХУ, Монгол, Хятад улс дахь Монголын түүхийн судлаач, эрдэмтэд цугларч, Монгол улсын түүхийн 3 улсын хамтарсан хэлэлцүүлэг өрнүүлсэн байна. Энэ хэлэлцүүлэгт ЗХУ-аас 35 судлаач, Хятадаас 3 судлаач 1 орчуулагч буюу 4 хүн, Монголоос 6 хүн (Ширэндэв, Дамдинсүрэн, Нацагдорж, Пэрлээ, Гончигдорж, Сэр-Оджав), нийт 45 хүний бүрэлдэхүүнтэй зохион байгуулагдав.<sup>41</sup> Хурлаар хоёр дахь хэвлэлийн дотоод бүтцийн талаар ярилцсан бөгөөд анхны хэвлэлд дурдаагүй Тэмүжиний бага насны зовлон зүдгүүр, өсвөр насны тулаан, Нэгдсэн Монгол улс (Единое Монгольское государство) гэсэн бүлгийг нэмж оруулахаар болсон байна.<sup>42</sup>

Гэтэл 1958 оны 2 дугаар сарын 5-нд Хятадын Соёлын яамны дэд сайд Монголын Соёлын Яамны Сосорбарам сайдтай Бээжинд уулзаж, Монголын

<sup>36</sup> Ф-6, Д-1, Хн-7, тал 196-199.

<sup>37</sup> Мөн тэнд, 198-199-р тал.

<sup>38</sup> Мөн тэнд, 201-р тал.

<sup>39</sup> Мөн тэнд, 210-р тал.

<sup>40</sup> Мөн тэнд, 252-264-р тал.

<sup>41</sup> Мөн тэнд, 149-р тал. Гэвч ЗХУ-ын 35 судлаачийн хоёрынх нь нэр бичигдээгүй.

<sup>42</sup> Мөн тэнд, 22-23-р тал.

түүхийн эмхэтгэлийн ажилд Хятадын тал цаашдаа оролцохоос татгалзах санаа илэрхийлжээ. Учир нь Хятадын талын бичсэнээр “Түүхийн эмхэтгэлийг хамтран хийх нь ашиг тустай боловч, Хятадад ч феодализм болон капитализм хэзээ байгуулагдсан талаар нэгдсэн үзэл санааг гаргаж чадаагүй, тэр ч байтугай бид өөрийн улсын түүхээ хүртэл бүрэн бичиж дуусгаагүй” хэмээн ярьжээ.<sup>43</sup> Цаашлаад, Монгол талын тэмдэглэлээс үзэхэд Жоу Эн Лай ерөнхий сайд ингэж бичжээ.

*Монголын түүхийг 3 улсын хамтарсан хэлбэрээр эмхэтгэн бичихэд манай улс оролцох нь тохиромжгүй. Гэсэн хэдий ч шаардлагатай гэж үзвэл бид өөрт байгаа холбогдолтой сурвалж материалаа бүгдийг үзүүлэхэд бэлэн байна. Нэг улсын түүхийг өөр улсын түүхч бичнэ гэвэл тухайн улсын түүхийн дарааллыг бүрэн төгс хийгээд үнэн зөвөөр үнэлэн дүгнэх боломжгүй болох биз ээ. Мөн түүнд үндэслэн ард иргэдийн дунд буруу, алдаатай түүхийг ойлгох явдал гарах аюултай. Монголын түүхийг бичихэд интернационализм болон монголын үндэсний онцлогийн аль алинд анхаарлаа хандуулах шаардлагатай.*<sup>44</sup>

Үүнээс харахад, ЗХУ-ын заавраар түүх бичгийг эмхэтгэх ажлыг хятадууд шууд бус утгаар шүүмжилсэн болох нь илэрхий байна. Тухайн үед Хятад Оросын сөргөлдөөн (1956 он) дөнгөж эхэлж байсан цаг. Интернационализм нэрийн дор ЗХУ, БНМАУ нь “Хятадын түүх”-ийг ч хамтран эмхэтгэж болох юм хэмээн хятадууд болгоомжилсон байж магадгүй. Юутай ч гэсэн БНМАУ интернационализмаар халхавч хийн, ЗХУ-ын түрэмгийллээс амжилттайгаар мултарсан бол, Хятад улс интернационализмаар далимдуулан өөрсдийнх нь түүх рүү өнгийх вий хэмээн болгоомжилж үүнээс ухарсан. Дашрамд хэлэхэд 1930-аад оноос хятадууд Чингисийг өөрийн соёлын нөөц болгохын төлөө нилээд ажиллаж байсан. Жишээлбэл Мао Зэ Дун өөрийгөө Чингисээс илүү агуу хүн хэмээн магтан дуулсан “Тэнгэрийн хөвгүүн” (1936) бадаг шүлэг бичсэн. Мөн Өвөрмонголын Ордост байдаг Чингисийн онгоныг тухайн үед Хятадын коммунист намын төв байсан Яньань хот руу нүүлгэж тахисан зэрэг<sup>45</sup> Чингис хааныг Хятадын олон үндэстний нэг буюу Хятадын үндсэрхэг үзэл бүрдүүлэх соёлын нөөц болгон ашиглаж эхэлсэн<sup>46</sup> болохыг анхаарах нь зүйтэй.

<sup>43</sup> Мөн тэнд, 157-160-р тал.

<sup>44</sup> Мөн тэнд, 159-р тал.

<sup>45</sup> Японд ажилладаг Өвөрмонголын антропологич Ян Кай Ин (Оонос Цогт) “Чингис хааны тахилга-туришлтаар түүхэн антропологиог дахин бүтээх нь” Фүкёошя, 2004 он, тал 301-303. Пао Мүпин “Монгол дахь хот барилгын түүхэн судалгаа-нүүдлийн ба суурин соёл давхацсан хот-Хөх хот” Тоохоо шётэн, 2005 он, тал 267. (Yan Hai Ing, “Chingis haan saishi- kokoromi toshite no rekishi jinnruigakuteki saikoosei, Fukuyosha, 2004, pp 301-303. Pao mupin, “Mongoru ni okeru toshi kennsetsushi kenkyu-yuboku to teijyu no jyusoo toshi Huhuhoto”, Toohoo shoten, 2005, pp 267)

<sup>46</sup> Мөн тэнд, 304-р тал.



Ийнхүү явсаар хэвлэгдэн гарсан “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийн хоёр дахь хэвлэлийн 3 боть ном 1966 оны 4 сард 10.000 хувь хэвлэгдсэн ба уг номонд Чингис хаантай холбоотой тэмдэглэл анхны хэвлэлээс тэс ондоо болсон байна. Юуны өмнө, Чингис ба Их Монгол улсын талаарх түүхийг 1-р ботид багтаажээ. 1-р боть нь тэргүүн, дэд хоёр хэсэгтэй, 6 бүлэг, 24 дэд хэсэгтэй, Тэргүүн хэсэгт эртний түүхийг номын гуравны хоёрт бичиж, дэд хэсэгт Их Монгол улсын түүхийг оруулжээ (167-470 хуудас). Мөн гарчгийн хувьд, дэд хэсгийн 1-р ангийг “Монголын феодалын нэгдсэн улс” хэмээн нэрлэж, Чингис хааны гадаад аян дайныг ч 3-р бүлэгт “Чингисийн байлдан дагуулал-Монгол гүрэн” зэргээр өмнөх хэвлэлд байсан “дээрмийн аян дайн” гэх мэтийн сөрөг нэр томъёог хассан байна. Мөн анхны хэвлэлд, Чингисийн эзэнт гүрнийг “улс төрийн бүтэцгүй, энд тэндээс цугларсан дээрмийн бүлэг” хэмээн үзсэн бол 1966 оны хоёр дахь хэвлэлд, 2-р бүлгийн 4-т “Монгол Улсын улс төрийн байгууламж” хэмээх гарчигтайгаар 13 хуудаст тайлбарласан байна.

Түүнчлэн, Тэмүүжиний мэндэлсэн, түүний бага насны талаар анхны хэвлэлд огт дурдаагүй бол хоёр дахь хэвлэлд “Монголын нууц товчоо”-нд үндэслэн, нийт 43 хуудсанд багтаан дэлгэрэнгүй танилцуулжээ.

Агуулгын хувьд, эхлээд Чингис хааны төрсөн жилийг Мин улсын үед (1368-1644 үе) бичигдсэн “Юань улсын судар”-д үндэслэн “1162 оны зун” хэмээн, төрсөн газрыг “Монголын нууц товчоо”-ны дагуу “Хэнтий аймгийн Онон голын Дэлүүн болдог гэдэг газарт Есүхэй баатрын гэргий Өүлүн эхийн хүү болон мэндэлсэн”<sup>47</sup> хэмээн тэмдэглэжээ.<sup>48</sup>

Харин энэхүү хоёр дахь хэвлэлийн чухал шинэчлэл нь анхны хэвлэлд бичигдээгүй түүний төрсөн газрыг өнөөгийн Монгол улсын нутаг дэвсгэрт оруулж, эцэг эхийн нэрийг нь тэмдэглэсэн<sup>49</sup> гэдэгт оршино. Ялангуяа хоёр дахь хэвлэл нь “Монголын нууц товчоо”-д бичигдсэнээр, 9 настайд нь эцэг нь Татаарын дайснуудад хорлогдсоноор, овог аймгууд таран бутарч, ахуй амьдрал ч хүндхэн болсон талаар дүрсэлсэн байна. Тухайлбал, Өүлүн хатан, Тэмүүжин нар язгууртнуудын үлдээсэн есөн адуутай үлдэж, тарвага зурам агнаж, загас барьж, хоол хүнсээ залгуулдаг байсан талаарх яриаг дурджээ. Ингэснээр “Монголын нууц товчооны түүх нэг талаараа домог ярианы шинжтэй хэдий ч

<sup>47</sup> Ш.Нацагдорж (ред.), *Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын түүх тэргүүн боть Нэн эртнээс XVII зуун*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын хэвлэлийн хэрэг эрхлэх хороо, 1966.

<sup>48</sup> Мөн тэнд, 203-р тал. Гэвч энэ номын тайлбарт “Судрын чуулган”-ыг 1155 онд, “Монголын Нууц Товчоо”-г 1262 онд (1162 оны хэвлэлийн алдаа юу), 1167 оны тайлбар зэргийг дурьдаж болно.

<sup>49</sup> Чингисийн мэндэлсэн газрын талаар, өнөөгийн ОХУ-ын Забайкаль нутаг (хуучин Чита муж) зэрэг олон маргаан байдаг ч Судар бичгийн хүрээлэнгийн Жамъян ноён 1928 оны Дэлүүн болдог-Дадал тайлбар (Монгол улс дахь тайлбар)-ыг онцолсон. Энэхүү өгүүллээ дээрх тайлбарт тулгуурлан бичсэн билээ. О.Жамъян, *Дэлүүн Болдогийг сурвалжилсан нь*. Улаанбаатар: Шинжлэх Ухаан Дээд Боловсролын Хүрээлэн, 1958 (1928).

*Есүхэй баатрын гэр бүл ядуу зүдүү амьдарч байсан нь үнэн байжээ*<sup>50</sup> хэмээн дүгнэжээ. Өөрөөр хэлбэл анхны хэвлэлд Тэмүүжинийг хөрөнгөтөн феодалын хүүхэд гэснээс өөрөөр бичээгүй байсан бол, хоёр дахь хэвлэлд харин ч ядуу зүдүү амьдралаас амжилтад хүрсэн хэмээн онцлон тэмдэглэсэн байна.

Мөн түүнээс гадна, *“Өүлэн хатан хэдий ядуу зүдүү амьдарч байсан ч, үр хүүхдээ жинхэнэ язгууртан ёсоор өсгөн хүмүүжүүлсэн”* хэмээн өндрөөр үнэлэхийн зэрэгцээ *“Тэдний дотроос Тэмүүжин бусдаасаа илүү их эзэнлэг догшин болж өсөж торнин.....”* хэмээн, шалтгааныг нь дүүгээ хөнөөсөн домгоор тайлбарлажээ. Нөгөө талаар *“зориг самбаатай учраас Тэмүүжин ард олны дунд алдар хүнийг олсон”*<sup>51</sup> гэхчлэн Чингисийн сайн, муу талыг эн тэнцүү тэмдэглэн бичсэн байна.

Түүнчлэн анхны хэвлэлд огт дурдаагүй анд нөхөр Жамухтай танилцан, нөхөрлөж, тангараг тасарсан талаарх явдал, Тоорил вантай нэгдсэн зэрэг Монголыг нэгтгэх хүртэлх түүхийг хоёр дахь хэвлэлд *“Монголын нууц товчоо”*-ноос эш татан бичжээ.

Бас нэг сонирхолтой зүйл нь, нөхөр буюу шадар туслахын талаар анхны хэвлэл дэх *“шадар туслах буюу нөхрийн үүрэг нь феодалын мөлжлөг, анги давхаргыг эсэргүүцсэн нүүдэлчдийг дарах байсан”* зэрэг сөрөг утгатай тэмдэглэлийг хасжээ. Үүний оронд Тэмүүжин 1189-1206 он хүртэлх 20 жилийн хугацаанд Монголын олон ханлиг аймгийг нэгтгэж чадсан шалтгаан нь нөхөр, анд нарын дэмжлэгтэй холбоотой хэмээн үзсэн байна. Улмаар тэрхүү нөхөр, андын талаар *“хөрөнгө ихтэй, баян чинээлэг хэсэг бүлэг нүүдэлчин”* бөгөөд *“тэдний дэмжлэг тусламж монгол үндэстнийг нэгтгэхэд маш чухал үүрэг гүйцэтгэсэн”*<sup>52</sup> хэмээн эергээр үнэлсэн байна.

Мөн, Чингисийн гадаад аян дайн, ялангуяа Самаркандыг эзэлсэн талаар ч, Монголын армийн харгис хэрцгий байдал төдийгүй Чингис тухайн хотыг түрэмгийлэн эзэлсэн шалтгааныг бодитоор тайлбарлажээ.

*Тэр үед Самарканд хотыг 110 000 шилдэг цэрэг хамгаалж байжээ. (товчлов). Хот хамгаалах ажлыг Мухамед шахын эх Туракина хатны дүү Тугай хан гэгч удирдаж байжээ. Самарканд хотын иргэд хотоо хамгаалан тэмцсэн боловч Тугай хан хотыг хамгаалах талаар олигтой ажил хийж чадахгүй байсан ба хотын доторх цэрэг урваж Чингисийн талд оржээ. Монгол цэрэг хотыг бүслэн довтолсон өдрөөс эхлэн хотын ихэс лам нар<sup>53</sup> том сайд түшмэд, баячууд мөн л Чингист бууж өгөхөөр төлөөлөгчдөө хотын ард түмнээс нууцаар удаа дараа сэм*

<sup>50</sup> Мөн тэнд, тал 203.

<sup>51</sup> Мөн тэнд.

<sup>52</sup> Мөн тэнд, 212-р тал.

<sup>53</sup> Энд “ulama” буюу ислаам шашны эрдэмтнийг хэлсэн байна.



*илгээж байсан байна. Монгол цэрэг таван өдөр ширүүн дайн хийсний дараагаар Самаркандыг эзлэн авч, эд баялгийг тонон дээрэмдэж, гурван түм орчим уран дархчуудыг олзлон авчээ. Хотын бусад иргэдийг хядахыг нь хядаж боол болгохыг нь болгожээ. Хятад газраас Чингис хааны урьсан ёсоор уулзахаар Самарканд хотыг дайран гарсан Чан Чуны тэмдэглэлд тэр үед “Самарканд хотод амьд үлдсэн хүн ам түрүүчийн бүх хүн амын 4-ний 1 хувь байсан” гэж бичсэн байна.<sup>54</sup>*

Самаркандыг эзэлсэн энэхүү дайны талаар анхны хэвлэлд сурвалж бичгийн баримтыг үл тоон, хотын иргэдийн *“тэвчээртэй баатарлагаар тулалдаж хотоо аварсан”*, *“хотдоо чин зүрхнээсээ хайртай болохыг эзлэн түрэмгийлэгчдэд харуулсан”* учраас монголчууд *“хэтэрхий үзэн ядсандаа амьтай голтой бүхнийг алж устгасан”* зэргээр орос эрдэмтэд хэт хийрхий бичсэн байсан. Гэтэл хоёр дахь хэвлэлд үнэн хэрэгтээ Самарканд цайз дотор урвагч байсан талаар, бүх хүнийг хороосон бус уран дархчуудыг олзлон авч үнэндээ 3/4-ыг нь хороосон талаар *“Судрын чуулган”*, *“Чан Чун бумбын баруун газар зорчсон тэмдэглэл”*-ээс эш татан, бодитоор тэмдэглэн бичжээ. Ийнхүү ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтдийн эш үндэслэлгүй тайлбарыг засахын тулд эмхэтгэлийн ажлын явцад Хятадын талаас өгсөн түүхэн сурвалж бичиг (Чан Чун бумбын баруун газар зорчсон тэмдэглэл) ихээхэн тус болсон нь дамжиггүй.

Харин хамгийн сүүлд Чингис хааны гавьяа зүтгэлийг *“Чингис хүч чадлаа язгууртан ангийн төлөө зориулсан”*, *“феодализмыг тогтоон, ард иргэдийг хавчин, дарлан захирч байсан”*<sup>55</sup> хэмээн социалист үзэл суртлаар дүгнэжээ. Гадаад аян дайны талаар ч урьдын адил сөргөөр дүгнэн бичсэн байна.

*Чингис нь монголын олон тархай бутархай аймаг улсуудыг нэгтгэж нэгэн улсын хүрээнд оруулан, монголын үндэсний төр бүрэлдэн тогтоход түүнийг анх үүсгэн байгуулагчийн хувьд зохих үүргийг гүйцэтгэсэн боловч 1211 оноос эхлэн бусдын газар орныг булаан дээрэмдэх дайныг өргөн хэмжээгээр явуулсан бөгөөд чухамхүү энэ үеэс эхлэн Чингисийн үйл ажиллагаа нь эрс харгис шинж чанартай болсон юм. Чингис тэргүүтэй монголын байлдан дагуулагчдын дээрмийн аян дайн нь Ази, Европын ард түмэнд цаглашгүй их үхэл гамшиг, эвдрэл сүйрлийг учруулж, түүхийн үнэлж баршгүй хосгүй нандин зүйлийг сүйтгэн, тэдгээр орны хөгжлийг асар ихээр хойш татсан юм. (товчлов).*

<sup>54</sup> Мөн тэнд, 234-р тал.

<sup>55</sup> Мөн тэнд, 240-р тал.

*Чингисийн явуулсан булаан эзлэх дээрмийн дайны шинж чанарыг К.Маркс “Тэд (монголын байлдан дагуулагчид) явсан газар бүхнээ ээрэм цөл болгож, өн үржилт нутаг, хүн суусан тосгон сууриныг үнсэн товрог болгож хувиргасан”*

гэж заажээ.<sup>56</sup>

Гэхдээ 1966 оны хоёр дахь хэвлэл ийнхүү бичсэний дараа ЗХУ-ын түүхч А.П.Петрушевскийн “алан хядах зохион байгуулалттай системийг дээрээс Чингисийн шууд зарлигаар явуулжээ. Энэхүү систем нь монголын ба тэдэнтэй нийлсэн түрэг нүүдэлчин аймгуудын язгууртан нарын сэтгэл санаанд нийлжээ” хэмээх санааг шүүмжлэн бичсэн байдаг. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, тус ном нь “Чингисийн үр хүүхдүүдийн дунд ч харгис аллагыг эсэргүүцсэн хүн байсан”, “Өгөөдэй хааны жилүүдэд дээрх аллага эрс цөөрсөн” зэрэг эерэг жишээг иш татан, Петрушевскийн үзлийг шүүмжилсэн байна.<sup>57</sup> Хамгийн сүүлд ийнхүү дүгнэж бичжээ.

*Энэ харгис хэрцгий явдлыг XIX зууны үеийн өрнөд европын зарим эрдэмтэд монголын ард түмний “арьсны чанар” мэтээр тайлбарласанчлан монголын ард түмэнд харгис хэрцгий явдлын гэм бурууг ноогдуулах ямар нэгэн үндэс бидэнд бүр ч үгүй юм.*<sup>58</sup>

“Өрнөд европын зарим эрдэмтэд” хэмээх үгийг оруулснаар ЗХУ-ыг шүүмжлээгүй гэдгээ дурдахын зэрэгцээ, Европ ба ЗХУ далдуур Чингис хаан ба Монголын эзэнт гүрнийг мангасын орон мэт харагдуулж байгааг тухайн үеийн Монголын эрдэмтэд эсэргүүцэж байсан санаа нь цухас харагдаж байгаа юм.<sup>59</sup>

Юутай ч, ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтдийн бичсэн анхны хэвлэлтэй харьцуулахад харин ч Нацагдорж ахлагчтай Монголын эрдэмтдийн бичсэн хоёр дахь хэвлэл нь хэдийгээр ЗХУ, Хятадын хамтран бичсэн түүхийн тэмдэглэл гэж байгаа ч түүхийн эх сурвалжид тулгуурлан Чингисийг эерэг утгаар нь тэмдэглэн үлдээсэн болох нь ойлгомжтой. Харин Чингисийн гавьяа зүтгэлийн талаар дүгнэхдээ үнэлэлт ба шүүмжлэл нь хэт нэг тал руу давамгайлалгүй эн тэнцүү орсон байгаа нь ЗХУ ба Монголын эрдэмтдийн дунд өрнөсөн хүнд хэлэлцээрийн үр дүн болов уу хэмээн таамаглаж байна.

Эцэст нь нэмж хэлэхэд, анхны хэвлэлд голдуу орос хэл дээрх сурвалжаас эш татаж, хятад хэлээрх сурвалжийг орос хэл дээрх хувилбараар дамжуулан

<sup>56</sup> Мөн тэнд, 241-р тал.

<sup>57</sup> Мөн тэнд, 241-242-р тал.

<sup>58</sup> Мөн тэнд, 242-р тал.

<sup>59</sup> Монголын сэхээтнүүд “Шар арьстны аюул (yellow peril)”, Японы “Ёшицүнэ Чингис хаан байсан” зэрэг тайлбарыг XX зууны эхээр аль хэдийнээ мэдэж байсан бололтой. В.К.Фон Нохарагийн бичсэн “Шар арьстны онол” (von W.K.Nohara, Die “Gelbe Gefahr”: Japan und die Erhebung der farbigen Völker, Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1936. Такахаши Тэрүёши (орч), “Шар арьстны аюул-Япон, Хятад сэрсэн нь, Кокүшё канкоокай, 2012) –ийн нэг хэсэг (Чингис хаантай холбоотой хэсэг) нь герман хэлнээс орчуулагдсан. Гэвч яг хэдэн онд орчуулагдсан нь тодорхойгүй. Ф-4, Д-1, хн-97.

ашигласан бол, хоёр дахь хэвлэлд өрнөдийн англи, герман хэл дээрх сурвалжаас гадна хятад хэлээрх түүхийн сурвалж, бүр япон хэл дээрх эрдэм шинжилгээний өгүүллээс хүртэл (тухайлбал Озава Шигэо, Мураками Масацүгү зэрэг хүмүүсийн өгүүллийг нэрлэж болно) нягтлан үзсэн байна. Гэхдээ 1966 онд 10.000 ширхэг хэвлэгдсэн хоёр дахь “БНМАУ-ын түүх” номыг хэдэн хүн чухам уншсан нь тодорхойгүй. Зохиогч хээрийн судалгааныхаа үеэр сэхээтнүүдийг эс тооцвол, социализмын үед дээрх 3 ботгийг энгийн монголчууд уншсан тухай ярихыг сонсоогүй юм. Шалтгаан нь энэ ном хэвлэгдэхээс 4 жилийн өмнө Чингисийн талаарх яриа дарагдах маш том хэрэг гарсантай холбоотой гэж үзэж байна.

### **Чингис хаан мэндэлсэн 800 жилийн ойн баяр (1962 он), түүний сөрөг үр дагавар (1962 оноос хойш)**

Энэ бол 1962 онд Чингис хаан мэндэлсэний 800 жилийн ойн баяртай холбоотой хэрэг билээ. Монголын ШУА-ийн эрдэмтэд тухайн жил Чингис хааны мэндэлсэн 800 жилийн ойн баярын арга хэмжээ хийхээр төлөвлөжээ. Энэ талаар урьд нь намд алба хашиж байсан түүхч Ж.Болдбаатарын номд дэлгэрэнгүй өгүүлсэн байдаг.<sup>60</sup> Тэрээр хэлэхдээ, тухайн үеийн Монголын сэхээтнүүд бүгд Чингис хааны мэндэлсэн ойн баярыг тэмдэглэх хүсэлтэй байсан ч “үндсэрхэг үзэлтэн” хэмээн шүүмжлүүлэхээс айсандаа энэ талаар ярихад зориг хэрэгтэй байсан гэжээ.

Энэ үеэр Хятад улсад Чингисийн мэндэлсэн 800 жилийн ойн баяр хийхээр төлөвлөж байгааг тэнд суралцаж байсан монгол оюутнууд ШУА-ын Түүхийн хүрээлэнд мэдэгдэхэд<sup>61</sup> Монголын эрдэмтэд зориг орсон байна. Ингээд шууд Монголд ч ойн баярыг тэмдэглэхээр зориг шулуудсан ажээ.<sup>62</sup> Энэ арга хэмжээ нь Хятадыг гайхуулан хэдхэн сарын богинохон хугацаанд амжилттай өрнөсөн гэж хэлж болно.

1962 оны 1 сарын 8-нд Түүхийн хүрээлэнгийн захирал Д.Цэдэв МАХН-ын Төв Хорооны суртлын хэлтсийн эрхлэгч Ж.Цэдэнжаваас Чингис хааны мэндэлсний 800 жилийн ойн баярыг тэмдэглэх зөвшөөрөл хүсэхийн зэрэгцээ ЗХУ-ын Азийн улсуудыг судлах институтын Монгол, Солонгос, Вьетнамын тасгийн ахлагч С.Д.Дылыковт захиа бичиж, Чингисийн 800 жилийн ойг тус институт тэмдэглэх эсэх, хэрэв тэмдэглэвэл ямар хэлбэрээр яаж зохион байгуулах гэж буй тухай санал, зөвлөгөө өгөхийг хүсжээ.

Түүний дараа 2 сарын 8-нд болсон МАХН-ын Төв хорооны Улс Төрийн Товчооны хуралдаанд Д.Төмөр-Очир энэ баярыг зохион байгуулах төлөвлөгөө

<sup>60</sup> Ж.Болдбаатар, *Чингис Хаан-800: Үндэсний ухамсрын сэргэлт, дарамт, хавчилт*. Улаанбаатар: Соёмбо Принтинг, 2012.

<sup>61</sup> 1961 оны 12 сарын 5-нд ШУА-ын Түүхийн хүрээлэн Олон улсын эрдэм шинжилгээний хурал зохион байгуулахаар шийдвэрлэсэн. Ф.23, д.2, хн.415, х.2.

<sup>62</sup> Мөн тэнд, тал 8.

танилцуулжээ. Эцэстээ МАХН-ын Төв хорооны Улс төрийн Товчоо “*Монгол аймгуудыг нэгтгэж, тулгар төрийг үндэслэн байгуулснаар Монголын түүхэнд дэвшилттэй үүрэг гүйцэтгэсэн Чингисийн төрсний 800 жилийн ойн баярыг 1962 оны 6 сарын 10-нд тэмдэглэн өнгөрүүлэхээр БНМАУ-ын ШУА-аас оруулж байгаа саналыг зөвшөөрсүгэй*” хэмээн шийдвэрлэжээ.<sup>63</sup>

Намын төв хорооны Улс төрийн Товчооны шийдвэрээр, Чингисийн төрсөн нутагт хөшөө босгох, түүний тухай баримтат кино бүтээх, марк хэвлэх зэрэг ажлууд хийхээр шийдвэрлэв. Сонирхолтой нь Чингисийн төрсөн өдөр чухам хэдийд вэ гэсэн асуудал үлдэв. Үнэндээ, Чингисийн хэзээ мэндэлсэн талаар үнэн бодит тэмдэглэл үлдээгүй юм. Тухайн үеийн монголчуудад төрсөн өдрийг тэмдэглэн үлдээх заншил байгаагүй хэрэг. Ингээд түүхч эрдэмтэд Монголын буддын шашны төв Гандантэгчэнлин хийдэд одон гарагийн зурхайч нарыг цуглуулан, Чингис хааны мэндэлсэн өдрийг 1162 оны 5 сарын 31-ний үүрийн 6 цаг хэмээх тогтоов. Энэ өдөрт үндэслэн, МАХН-ын Төв хорооны Улс төрийн Товчоо ч 800 жилийн ойн баярыг 5 сарын 31-нд зохион байгуулахаар тогтоосон байна.

Ийнхүү 5 сарын 31-ний өдөр ШУА-ын Түүхийн хүрээлэнгээс Чингис хаан мэндэлсний 800 жилийн ойн эрдэм шинжилгээний хурал зохион байгуулав. Хамгийн анх дээрх хурлыг Засгийн газрын ордны их танхимд зохион байгуулах төлөвлөгөөтэй байсан ч эцэстээ засгийн газар оролцохгүйгээр, Төв номын сангийн 106 тоот хурлын танхимд хийхээр болжээ.<sup>64</sup> Гэтэл хурал эхлэхээс 1 цагийн өмнө Москвагаас ирсэн цахилгаанд ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтэн И.М. Майскийн бичсэн Чингис хааны талаарх өгүүлэл ирэв. Мэргэжлийн түүхч биш, газарзүйн салбарын эрдэмтэн И.М.Майский онцгойлон Чингисийг шүүмжилсэн өгүүлэл бичсэн нь ЗХУ-аас монголчуудад хандсан анхааруулга гэдэг нь тодорхой.<sup>65</sup> Гэхдээ хурал төлөвлөсний дагуу болж өнгөрсөн юм. Танхимд дүүрэн оролцогчидтой, орж чадаагүй хүмүүс Төв номын сангийн гол хаалганы урд талын Сталины хөшөөний өмнө зогсоод, гадна цагаан хоолойгоор хурлын ажиллагааг сонсоцгоож байсан гэдэг.<sup>66</sup>

Хурал Монголын ШУА-ийн ерөнхийлөгч, академич Б.Ширэндэв нээж үг хэлснээр эхлэв. Дараа нь “БНМАУ-ын түүх”-ийн хоёр дахь хэвлэлийн Монголын эзэнт гүрний түүхийн талаарх хэсгийн редактор, түүхийг бичсэн академич Ш.Нацагдорж “*Чингис бол Монголын тулгар төрийн үүсгэн байгуулагч*” гэж хэлэхийн зэрэгцээ “*түүний авьяас чадвар нь хэчнээн суут боловч, Чингис бол өөрийн үеийн хүү, өөрийн ард түмний хүү юм. Ийм учраас өөрийн үед, өөрийн орчинд ажиллаж байснаар нь үзэх хэрэгтэй. Харин түүнийг өөр оронд*

<sup>63</sup> Мөн тэнд, тал 10-11.

<sup>64</sup> Мөн тэнд, 18-р тал.

<sup>65</sup> С.Чулуун, “Чингис хаан оросын судлаачдын нүдээр: Түүхийн судалгаа ба үнэлэлт” Ц.Цэрэндорж (ред.), *Чингис Хаан дэлхийн түүхнээ*, Улаанбаатар: Бэмби сан, 2012, тал 245.

<sup>66</sup> Болдбаатар, *op.cit.*, тал 23.

шилжүүлэн авчирч үзэж болохгүй” хэмээх ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтэн Владимирцовын саналыг дэмжиж байгаагаа илэрхийлэв. Улмаар “Чингис ардын баатар ч биш, үлгэр домгийн хүн ч биш, харин феодалжиж байсан Монголын язгууртнуудын нэг бөгөөд бүхий л хүчээ язгууртны эрх ашгийн төлөө зориулсан хүн” хэмээн өгүүлж, Чингисийн гадаад аян дайны талаар ч “Европ, Азийн олон орны ард түмэнд зовлон гаслан учруулсан догшин байлдан дагуулагч гэж түүхэнд орсныг мартаж ёсгүй” гэж тэмдэглэжээ. Гэхдээ хамгийн сүүлд “Чингисийн нэр алдар Монголын төрийн тусгаар тогтнолын цаашидын тэмцлийн түүхтэй салшгүй холбоотой явж ирсэн байна. Манай ард түмний сэтгэл зүрхэнд Чингис хаан бол Монголын тулгар төрийг үндэслэн байгуулагч гавьяат хүний дүрээр уламжлагдан хадгалагдаж үлдсэн байна. Энэ нь зүй ёсны хэрэг юм” хэмээн дүгнэсэн байна.<sup>67</sup>

XX зууны эхэн үеийн Монголын энгийн иргэд Чингисийг “Монголын тулгар төрийг үндэслэгч” хэмээн ойлгож байсан эсэх нь эргэлзээтэй. Гэхдээ Ш.Нацагдорж зөвхөн тулгар төрийг үндэслэгч гэдэг утгаар нь онцолсон ба, түүний эзлэн түрэмгийллийг ч эсэргүүцсэн учраас хэт үндсэрхэг үзэлтэй зүйл ярьсан гэж үзэх аргагүй.

Монголын крилл цагаан толгойг зохиосон зохиолч, академич Ц.Дамдинсүрэн ч уран зохиолын байр сууринаас Владимирцовын Чингисийн талаарх үзэлтэй санал нэгдсэн байна. Сонирхолтой нь, өөрийн орчуулсан ЗХУ-ын зохиолч Василий Янгийн “Чингис хаан” зохиолыг “арьс өнгөөр ялгаварласан зохиол” хэмээн хурцаар шүүмжилж

*Зөвлөлтийн зохиолч Ян, “Чингис хаан” гэдэг романд өгүүлэн буй хүн бол жинхэнэ Чингис биш. Зүгээр нэг бүдүүлэг дайсан. Зөвлөлтийн эсрэг Германчууд довтлоход ард түмнийг нэгтгэх боловсрол шаардлагатай болсон. Гаднын дайсан хүрч ирэхэд улс дотроо хагарал үймээнтэй, нэгдэн батжаагүй байх нь ямар аюултай болохыг Ян гайхалтай дүрслэн харуулсныг хэлэх нь зүй. Гэвч Чингис хаан болон түүний тойрон хүрээлэгчдийг сөрөг муу утгаар дүрсэлсэн нь үнэнээс хэт зөрүүтэй байна. Жишээлбэл “Чингис хаан бөөнийсөн муусайн морьдоо унаад жартгай ярдаг хатнаа дагуулаад” гэх зэргээр бичжээ. Чингис хаан бүх Монголыг бүх Азийг эзэлсэн байсан тул аль сайн морийг шилж унаж, аль сайхан хүүхнийг шилж авч явсан юм. Тэгэхээр Чингис хааны хатныг тийм царай муутай, морийг нь тийм өөдгүй юм байсан гэж би итгэхгүй байна. Зохиолч Ян манайхны хар нүдтэй, улаан хацартай хүүхнийг муухай гэж боддог бол, бид тийм хүүхнээ сайхан гэж боддог билээ. Бид баруун зүгийн хонгор үстэй, ногоон нүдтэй хүүхнийг муу муухай гэж ямар ч зохиолдоо яасан ч доромжлохгүй.*<sup>68</sup>

хэмээн бичсэн байдаг.

<sup>67</sup> Ф-6, Д-1,хн-12, No.7. Үнэн, 1962.5.31.

<sup>68</sup> Ф-6, Д-1,хн-12, No.4. Ташрамд дурдахад Дамдинсүрэн орос эхнэртэй байсан.

Түүнчлэн дээрх зохиолчийн бичлэгийн хэв маягийг “үндэслэлгүй, учир шалтгаанд нь үнэний хэлтэрхий ч алга. Марксизмын үнэр ч алга” хэмээн шүүмжилсэн.<sup>69</sup>

Үнэхээр л Янгийн дүрсэлсэн Чингисийн дүр марксизмтай огтхон ч хамааралгүй. Тухайн үеийн Монголын эрдэмтэд Чингисийг “тусгаар улсыг үүсгэн байгуулагч” хэмээн үнэлснээс хэтрээгүй нь үндсэрхэг үзэл гэхээс илүү социалист үзэл суртлын хүрээнд багтах үзэл бодол гэж хэлж болно. Харин ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтэд, зохиолчдын гаргасан Чингисийн талаарх үндэслэлгүй “мангас болгон хувиргасан (demonization)” гэмээр гүжир гүтгэлгийг тухайн үеийн Монголын эрдэмтэд бодитоор баримт нотолгоо гарган, логикийн үндэслэлтэйгээр ярьж зассан юм.

Бусад илтгэлүүд ч агуулгын хувьд дээрхтэй адил байв. Тухайлбал, Ш.Бира “Чингисийн Их Засаг (их ясаа) хэмээх хуулийн талаар” ярихдаа “Монгол гүрэн бол зөвхөн эртний овог аймгуудын холбоо нэгдэл төдий бус, харин хатуу чанга хууль цааз бүхий, нэлээдгүй боловсронгуй засаг төр” байсныг онцолжээ. Янгийн зохиолын төгсгөлд насан өндөр болсон Чингис насаа мөнхжүүлэхээр Чан Чун бумбыг урьж байгаа хэсэг гардаг бөгөөд тэнд Чингисийг амьдралд хоргодсон шунал хүсэлтэй дарлагч хэмээн дүрсэлсэн байдаг. Үүнийг Н.Ишжамц Хятадын эрдэмтэн Ван Говэй (王國維)-гийн өгүүлэл болон “Чан Чун бумбын өрнөдөд зорчсон тэмдэглэл” зэргийг эш татан эсэргүүцжээ. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, Чингис Хятадын алдартай эрдэмтэн Чан Чун бумбыг урихдаа Хятад даяар ихэд нэрд гарсан түүнийг биедээ татаж, Хятадыг эзлэхийн тулд түүний улс төрийн нөлөө болон эрдэм мэдлэгийг ашиглах гэсэн гол зорилготой байсан гэж үзжээ.<sup>70</sup>

Энэ хандлага нь Хэнтий аймгийн Дадал суманд Чингис хааны гэрэлт хөшөө босгох үйл явцад ч ажиглагдаж байна. Хөшөөний загварыг зохиосон уран барималч Л.Махвал хамгийн эхлээд далавчтай морь унасан Чингисийг дүрслэхээр төлөвлөсөн байна. Гэтэл Б.Ренчин, Х.Пэрлээ зэрэг зөвлөх эрдэмтэд зөвшөөрөөгүй ажээ. Тийм учраас өнөөгийн маягийн дээл өмсөөд зогсож буй Чингисийн хөргийг чулуун дээр сийлэхээр болсон байна.<sup>71</sup> Уран барималч Чингисийг нисдэг хүлэг морь унуулснаар бурхан хэмээн үзэхийг оролдсон бол эрдэмтэд түүнийг нь хүлээн зөвшөөрөлгүй “хүн” гэдэг үүднээс дүрслэх нь зүйтэй гэж үзжээ.

Гэтэл “үндсэрхэг үзэлтэй” монголчуудын дээрх хөдөлгөөнийг ЗХУ анзааралгүй өнгөрүүлсэнгүй. Юуны түрүүнд “Правда” сонин 1962 оны 7 сарын 21-ний дугаарт, монголчуудын Чингис хааныг тахиx шүтэх үзлийг хурцаар шүүмжилсэн байна. Энэ далимд ерөнхий сайд, Намын төв нарийн бичгийн дарга Ю.Цэдэнбал нь намын хоёр дахь лидер Д.Төмөр-Очир (Намын төв хорооны Улс төрийн товчооны нарийн бичгийн дарга)-ыг түлхэн унагаахдаа 800

<sup>69</sup> Мөн тэнд, тал 5.

<sup>70</sup> Ф-6, Д-1,хн-12, No.2.

<sup>71</sup> Мөн тэнд, 28-р тал.



жилийн ойн баярын талаарх ЗХУ-ын шүүмжлэлийг ашиглав. Ойн арга хэмжээг хариуцаж байсан Д.Төмөр-Очирыг 9 сарын 10-нд баярыг хэт өргөн дэлгэр гүйцэтгэсэн “үндсэрхэх үзэлтэн”, улмаар “Маршал Чойбалсангийн гавьяаг мартуулан баллаж, Чингис хааны үзүүлсэн амжилт хэмээн магтан дуулсан” хэмээн хурцаар шүүмжилжээ.<sup>72</sup> “Чойбалсангийн гавьяаг Чингисийнх болгосон” гэдэг нь гадаадын олон улстай дипломат харилцаа тогтоож, БНМАУ-ыг НҮБ-д гишүүнээр элсүүлэх (1961 он) замыг нээсэн ерөнхий сайд Х.Чойбалсан агсан л тусгаар улсыг үүсгэн байгуулагч бөгөөд Чингисийг “тусгаар улсыг үүсгэн байгуулагч” гэж хэлж болохгүй хэмээжээ.

Мөн, тухайн жилийн 5 сард Хятадын Өвөр Монголын Өөртөө Засах Оронд ч Чингис хааны мэндэлсэн 800 жилийн ойн арга хэмжээ зохион байгуулагдав. Хятад Оросын харилцаа муудсан тухайн үед Д.Төмөр-Очирыг Хятадыг дэмжигч хэмээн шүүмжлэх болсон байна. Анхнаасаа Хятадад Чингисийг булаалгахгүйн тулд эхлүүлсэн ойн арга хэмжээ байсан бол, эсрэгээрээ буруу ойлголт төрүүлж орхив. Юутай ч Д.Төмөр-Очирыг улс төрийн хүрээнээс зайлуулж, сэхээтнүүдийг ч байцаан, хилсээр гүтгэн хэлмэгдүүлсэн байна.

1963 оны 1 сарын 9-нд Намын “Үнэн” сонинд Ц.Дамдинсүрэн, Ш.Нацагдорж, Б.Ринчен нарын ШУА-ийн нөлөө бүхий эрдэмтдийг нэр заан шүүмжилж, үзэл суртлаар захирах тогтолцоо улам бүр гаарав.<sup>73</sup> Ялангуяа Ц.Дамдинсүрэнг тухайн жилийн 6 сард болсон Намын төв хорооны Улс төрийн товчооны III их хурлаар, Ю.Цэдэнбал “800 жилийн ойн эрдэм шинжилгээний хуралд үндсэрхэг үзэлтэй, арьс ясыг ялгаварласан тусгүй үг бичсэн” хэмээн буруушааж,<sup>74</sup> ШУА-ийн Хэл утга зохиолын хүрээлэнгийн захиралын албанаас энгийн судлаач болгон тушаал бууруулав.<sup>75</sup> Мөн ойн баярын хүрээнд хийхээр төлөвлөсөн Чингисийн тухай киног зогсоон, түүний талаарх ном байтугай эрдэм шинжилгээний хурлын эмхэтгэл өгүүллийг хүртэл хэвлэхийг хориглосон байна.<sup>76</sup>

Энэ хэргээс хойш Чингисийн талаар ил тод ярих хориотой болж эхлэв. Үнэн хэрэгтээ 1966 оноос хойш “БНМАУ-ын түүх” номыг дахин эмхэтгэхээр болсон байна. Түүнчлэн 1984 онд хэвлэгдсэн гуравдах хэвлэл нь Чингисийн гавьяа зүтгэлийн хувьд, ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтдийн бүтээлийг орчуулан бичсэн анхны хэвлэл (1955 он)-ийн агуулгатай бараг ижил болсон ба нийт 667 хуудас номд Чингисийн гавьяа зүтгэлийн талаар 16 хуудас л бичжээ.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Цэдэнбал нь Чингисийн удмынхан түүний үр ачтай тэмцэлдсээр ирсэн ойрад угсааны дөрвөд хүн байсан.

<sup>73</sup> Окада Казүюки *Профессор Дамдинсүрэн агсаны гавьяа*, Тоокёогийн гадаад хэлний их сургуулийн эмхэтгэл, No.38. (1988), тал 276.

<sup>74</sup> Болдбаатар, *op.cit.*, тал 44.

<sup>75</sup> Окада Казүюки *Профессор Дамдинсүрэн агсаны гавьяа*, Тоокёогийн гадаад хэлний их сургуулийн эмхэтгэл, No.38. (1988), тал 277.

<sup>76</sup> Болдбаатар, *op.cit.*, тал 44.

<sup>77</sup> Ш.Бира, Ш.Нацагдорж, Х.Пэрлээ, А.П. Окладников, С.Д.Дылыков, И.Ш.Казакевич (ред.), *Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын түүх нэмэж засварласан гурав дахь хэвлэл*, Улаанбаатар: Улсын Хэвлэлийн газар, 1984, тал 139-151.

Гэтэл энэхүү улс төрийн хэлмэгдүүлэлт төсөөлж байгаагүй сөрөг үр дагавартай байв. 5 сарын 31-нд Москвад суралцаж байсан залуу яруу найрагч Д.Пүрэвдорж (1933-2009)-ийн бичсэн “Чингис” шүлэг “Утга зохиол урлаг” сонинд нийтлэгдэж, тухайн үед радиогоор хүртэл уншиж байв. Тэгтэл энэ шүлэг нүд ирмэхийн зуур иргэдийн дунд ам дамжин дэлгэрсэн юм.

Дээрх шүлэг яг л хэн нэгний хэлснийг хүчтэй эсэргүүцэж байгаа гэмээр мөрөөр эхэлдэг. Улмаар зовлон бэрхийг даван туулж, Монголыг нэгтгэж байгаагаар үргэлжилдэг.

*Тэмүжин - нумын хөвчнөөс төрөөгүй юм*

*Тэмүжин - сумын зэвнээс гараагүй юм*

*Тэмүжин - Өэлүн эхээс төрсөн юм*

*Тэмүжин - өрлөг түүхээс гарсан юм*

*Амар заяа хомс догolon нулимст хорвоод*

*Аврах тавилан мөхөс долоон үеийн тэртээд*

*Атаа хорслын манцүйд Есүхэйн хүү өсөж*

*Аян дайны онгодоор есөн тугаа тахисан юм*

*Товчлов*

*Тийм ээ, дайны мөрөөр цагаан сүү урсаагүй*

*Тийм ээ, дайчдын сүрийг цагийн саалт мартаагүй*

*Тийм ээ, Чингис өндөр Алтайд зартай юм*

*Тийм ээ, Чингис өнөөдөр ч гэсэн нэртэй юм*

*Хойч үедээ тэр хар буруу санаагүй*

*Хорин лангийн их гачаалд хатан Онон ширгээгүй*

*Чингисийн их Монгол ядарсан, гутарсан, задарсан*

*Чиний хөх Монгол ялсан, хөгжсөн, мандсан*

*Ямар ч байсан Чингис хаан-гарьд шиг хальж*

*Ял гавьяа хоёроо хойч үедээ даатгасан юм*

*Гал усанд элэгдсэн буурал замбуутивийн магнайд*

*Ган сэлмэнийхээ ирээр МОНГОЛ гэж бичсэн юм*

*Чингис - нумын хөвчнөөс төрөөгүй юм*

*Чингис - сумын зэвнээс гараагүй юм*

*Чингис - Өэлүн эхээс төрсөн юм*

*Чингис - өрлөг Монголоос гарсан юм<sup>78</sup>*

<sup>78</sup> Дэндэвийн Пүрэвдорж, Чингис, Л.Түдэв, П.Бадарч, Д.Нямаа, С.Эрдэнэ (ред.), *Монголын уран зохиолын дээж найман боть*: Би хаана төрөө вэ? “Монгол уран зохиол”, Улсын хэвлэлийн газар, 1994, тал 193-194.



Гэвч намын үзэл суртлын хэлтсээс энэ шүлгийг үндсэрхэг үзлийг илэрхийлсэн хэмээн шүүмжлэн хориглосноор, ардчилал ялах хүртэлх 28 жилийн хугацаанд дарагдсан юм.<sup>79</sup> Сүүлд нь зохиолч энэ шүлгээ “*сэтгэлийн нударга зангидаж шүтэн биширч бичсэн*” хэмээн дурссан бөгөөд, үнэхээр л тухайн цаг үеийг туулаагүй хүн бичиж чадахааргүй шүлэг байсан болов уу. Энэ шүлэг ардын аман зохиолын хэлбэрээр, толгой холбож бичсэн учраас цээжлэхэд тун хялбар. Тиймээс хүмүүсийн дунд ам дамжин нууцаар алдаршсан байна.

Тухайлбал, тухайн үед МУИС-ийн Утга зохиолын тэнхимд суралцаж байсан профессор Дагвадорж (1942 онд төрсөн, тухайн үед 20 настай)-ийн яриагаар энэ шүлгийг уншаад сэтгэл хөдөлсөн оюутнууд цээжээр уншицгаасан гэдэг. Ялангуяа утга зохиолын тэнхимийн арван хэдэн оюутан бүгд “Чингис” шүлгийг цээжилсэн бололтой.<sup>80</sup> Мөн тухайн үед Москвад суралцаж байсан профессор Г.Цэрэнханд (1938 онд төрсөн, тухайн үед 24 настай) ч ялгаагүй тэнд суралцаж байсан монгол оюутнуудын ихэнх нь мэргэжил үл хамааран энэ шүлгийг цээжээр уншдаг байсан талаар хүүрнэсэн билээ.<sup>81</sup>

Яагаад яруу найрагч яг л хэн нэгний үгийг эсэргүүцэх мэт “-аагүй”<sup>4</sup> хэмээн давтах хэрэгтэй байсан юм бол. Тэмүүжин нумын хөвчнөөс төрсөн гэж хамгийн эхлээд нэг хүн хэлсэн байхаас зайлахгүй. Тэр бол ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтэд, зохиолчид гэвэл буруудах юмгүй. Учир нь Оросын баатарлаг туульд өөрсдийн дайсан болох аваар, половиц, монгол, казак зэрэг Азийн морьт үндэстнийг “*нум сумт овгийнхон*” хэмээн нэрлэдэг заншилтай байв.<sup>82</sup>

Энэ хэргээс үүдэн тухайн үед 33 настай байсан зохиолч С.Эрдэнэ (1929-2000) “Чингис хаан”-ы талаар зохиол бичихсэн гэсэн хүсэлтэй болсон хэмээн ярьжээ. Ардчилал ялсны дараа тэрээр Чингисийн талаар “Мөнх тэнгэрийн хүчин дор” (1992 он, найруулагч Б.Балжинням) хэмээх уран сайхны кино зохиол бичжээ. Сүүлд нь С.Эрдэнэ энэ киноныхоо талаар “*Чингис хаан энгийн хүн байсныг хүмүүст харуулахаар зорьсон*” хэмээн хариулсан байдаг. Мөн тэрээр “*Өнөөг хүртэл гаднын улсад Чингис хааны талаар хэд хэдэн кино бүтээгээд байна. Гэтэл монголчууд бидний нүдээр энгийн хүн үүднээс нь авч үзсэн бүтээл огт байхгүй гэхэд хилсдэхгүй болов уу*”<sup>83</sup> гэжээ.

Юутай ч Чингисийн мэндэлсэн 800 жилийн ойн баярын үеэр зохион байгуулагдсан ЗХУ ба түүнийг дагалдагч удирдагч Ю.Цэдэнбал Чингис хааны талаарх дискурсыг дарснаараа эсрэгээрээ хүмүүс ялангуяа сэхээтнүүдийн ой ухаан дотор Чингисийг хурц тодоор үлдээх болсон юм.

<sup>79</sup> Д.Цэвээндорж, *Монголын уран зохиол дахь Чингис хааны дүрийн судалгаа*, Улаанбаатарын Их сургууль, 2007, тал 146-147.

<sup>80</sup> 2015 оны 8 сарын 12-нд зохиогчийн Улаанбаатарт хийсэн ярилцлага.

<sup>81</sup> 2015 оны 8 сарын 25-нд зохиогчийн Улаанбаатарт хийсэн ярилцлага.

<sup>82</sup> cf. Figes.op.cit., p.365.

<sup>83</sup> Мацүда Таданори, *Монгол сэргэж буй нүүдэлчин үндэстэн*, Шякай хёороншя: 1996, 20-122-р тал. (Matsuda Tadanori, *Mongoru-Yomigaeru yubokumin-*, Shakai hyoronsha, 1996, pp. 120-122.)

## Төгсгөл – Социализмын/аар бүтээсэн үндэсний баатар

Энэхүү өгүүлэлдээ социализмын үед “БНМАУ-ын түүх” номын эмхэтгэл ба 1920-1960-аад оны Монгол дахь Чингис хааны дүр, тухайн төсөөллийг хэрхэн бүтээсэн процессыг судалснаар “хэвлэлийн социализм (printing socialism)”-аар үндсэрхэг үзэл бүрэлдэж буй үе шатыг тодруулсан билээ.

XX зууны эхэн үеэс Монголын сэхээтнүүд ЗХУ болон Европоос суралцсанаар урьд нь бурхан хэмээн шүтэгдэж ирсэн Чингисийг түүхэн, бодит хүн болгож домгийн хүрээнээс салган авч үзэх болов. Гэвч энэхүү туршилт нь 1930-аад оны улс төрийн хэлмэгдүүлэлт, 1945 оны хуучин монгол бичгийг кирилл үсгээр сольсон зэрэг хэргээс болж мухардалд орж, сэхээтнүүдээс энгийн иргэдийн дунд дэлгэрч чадаагүй билээ. Харин энгийн иргэд 1951 онд 10.000 хувь хэвлэгдсэн В.Яны “Чингис хаан” роман, 1955 онд 25.000 хувь хэвлэгдсэн “БНМАУ-ын түүх” номын анхны хэвлэлээс хамгийн анх Чингисийн талаар ойлголт авч эхэлсэн юм. Эдгээр ном нь хэвшмэл үзэлтэй, тогтсон үгтэй, сөрөг агуулгатай байсан хэдий ч энгийн ард иргэд түүгээр дамжуулан, Чингис хаан Орос, Хятадыг эзэлсэн талаарх түүхийг аажим аажмаар мэдэж авцгаасан билээ.

Гэвч дэлхийн II дайны үед япончууд эзэн хаанаа амьд бурхан хэмээн үзсэн мэт Монголын сэхээтнүүд Чингис хааныг бурханчлан шүтэхийг хүсээгүй байжээ. Харин ч эсрэгээрээ 1966 оны “БНМАУ-ын түүх” хоёрдугаар хэвлэлд, европчуудын бүтээсэн Чингисийг “ад чөтгөр” болгон харуулсан “домгийн чанартай түүх”-ийг тухай үеийн Монголын эрдэмтэд түүхийн шинжлэх ухааны зүй ёсоор сурвалжаас эш татан шүүмжилсэн (зарим үед маш ухаалгаар Хятадаас түүхийн сурвалж олж авч байсан) бөгөөд мөн “Чингис” шүлгэнд түүний сайн муу талыг адил тэнцүү багтаан дүрслэх зэргээр “хүн” үүднээс авч үзсэн билээ. Үнэхээр л Чингисийн төрсөн газрыг тодорхойлсон, төрсөн өдрийг тогтооход ч их бага хэмжээгээр бурханчлан шүтэх гэмээр үйлдэл байсныг үгүйсгэх аргагүй. Гэхдээ тэдний дээрх үйлдэл нь Самаркандыг эзэлсэн гэмдэглэлийн өөрчлөлт, Ц.Дамдинсүрэнгийн шүүмжлэл, Д.Пүрэвдоржийн шүлгээс харахад ч бэлхнээ, заримдаа Монголын эрдэмтэд ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтдээс ч илүү позитивист бөгөөд мөн Монголын яруу найрагчид, уран зохиолчид нь ЗХУ-ын зохиолчдоос илүү социалист реализмд итгэж байсныг харуулж байв.

Эл өгүүллйн эхээр танилцуулсан Английн антропологич К. Каплонский социализмын үед зөвхөн Чингисийн тухай бичигдэж байсан эсэхийг шалгаж, тус үед Чингис хааны тухай өгүүлэхийг хориглож байгаагүй гэж үзсэн нь одоо ямар ч үндэслэлгүй “домгийн чанартай түүх (mythico-history with Western bias) байжээ гэж дүгнэхэд буруутахгүй буй за. Учир нь ЗХУ-ын ба Монголын эрдэмтэд ялгаагүй социализмын хүрээнээс Чингисийн талаар хэлэлцсэн билээ. Нэг үгээр

хэлбэл, социализм ба үндсэрхэг үзэл хоорондоо тэрсэлдсэн хэрэг биш. Чингис “*феодал эзэн мөн, хүмүүсийг дарлан мөлжиж байсан, гадаад улсуудад гаслан зовлон учруулж байсан*” зэрэг тэмдэглэлийг монголын “социалист” үзэлтэй эрдэмтэд мэдээж хүлээн зөвшөөрч байсан. Харин тэдний хүлээн зөвшөөрөөгүй зүйл бол, үзэл сурталтай огт хамааралгүйгээр ЗХУ-ын эрдэмтэд, зохиолчид Чингисийн хувь хүний зан чанарыг үгүйсгэн, яг л ад чөтгөр, эсвэл хуулиас гадуурх дээрэмчин мэтээр дүрсэлсэнд байгаа юм. Түүхийн ямар ч ул үндэслэл, нотолгоогүйгээр харгис хэрцгий, ноорхой хувцастай, үзэшгүй муухай царайтай, муу морь унасан зэргээр ад чөтгөрийн (demonization) дүрээр дүрсэлснийг, хүн төрөлд эргүүлэн хувиргах нь Монголын сэхээтнүүдийн хүсэл байсан нь зүй. Тэдний чин хатуу байр суурь бол Чингис бол хүний хүү болон мэндэлж, ядуу зүдүү амьдралаас өндийн, өөрийн хүчээр тусгаар Монгол улсыг байгуулсан хэмээх асуудал байв.

Ийнхүү социализмын үед тогтсон нотолгоот түүхээр монголын сэхээтнүүд Чингис хэмээх “хүний” дүрийг бүтээсэн гэж хэлж болно. Үүний зэрэгцээ орчин үежлийн явцад ЗХУ-ын сэхээтнүүд Хаант Оросын үеэс уламжлагдан ирсэн Чингисийн талаарх дискурс эсрэгээр (харилцан хэлэлцэж) бий болсон юм. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, ЗХУ домгийн дүр, мангас болгон бүтээсэн Чингисийн дүрийг Монголд социализмаар энэ хүрээнээс гаргаж, хүн болгон бүтээсэн билээ.

Ерөнхийдөө орчин үеийн төрт улсад үндсэрхэг үзэл бүрэлдэх явцад үндэсний баатраа бурханчлан шүтэх нь дэлхий даяаар нийтлэг үзэгдэл. Харин Монголд эсрэгээрээ Чингис гэдэг хүнийг домгийн хүрээнээс гаргаж, энгийн хүн болгон дүрсэлснээр үндсэрхэг үзэл бүрэлдсэн онцлогтой.

Гэтэл 1962 онд тохиосон Чингис хаан мэндэлсний 800 жилийн ойн баяраас үүдэн, маш өргөн хүрээг хамарсан сэхээтнүүдийн улс төрийн хэлмэгдүүлэлт эхэлж, Чингисийн талаар ярихыг хориглох болов. Харин энэ хориг нь эсрэгээр үйлчилж Монголын ард түмний дунд улам үндсэрхэг үзлийг бүтээх баялаг (cultural resource for nationalism) болсон ажээ. Өөрөөр хэлбэл Чингисийн нэрийг хорих тусмаа Чингис хааны үнэ цэнийг улам үнэтэй болгосон гэсэн үг. Кристиан Даниелсийн хэлснээр, мэдээллийг (нэрийг) нууцлах нь мэдлэгийг баялаг болгох чухал арга байдаг бөгөөд мөн нэгэнтээ соёлын баялаг болгосон мэдлэгийн ашгийг зөв хадгалах арга байдаг.<sup>84</sup>

Мөн түүнээс гадна Монголчууд буруугаар ярьж, зөвөөр ойлгодог гэж ярьцгаадаг. Тэгэхээр нэгэн мэдээлэгчийн (informant) надад ярьсан “*монголчууд Чингисийн талаарх сөрөг утгатай яриаг зөвөөр буюу өөрсдөдөө*

<sup>84</sup> Кристиан Даниелс *Уламжлалт арга технологи баялаг болсон нь*, Учибори Мотомицу (ред.), *Баялаг ба хүн*, Баялгийн антропологи 1, Кообундоо, 2007, тал 82. (Christian Daniels, Shigen toshite no dentoo gijyutsu, Uchibori Motomitsu (ed), Shigen to ningen, shigen jinruigaku-1, koobundoo, 2007, pp.82)

*ойлгомжтойгоор дахин тайлбарлаж ойлгосоор ирсэн*”<sup>85</sup> нь дамжиггүй. Цаашлаад ад чөтгөр мэтээр дүрсэлсэн Чингисийн талаар ЗХУ-ын дүрийг “*Тэмүүжин-нумын хөвчнөөс төрөөгүй юм. Тэмүүжин-сумын зэвнээс гараагүй юм*” гэхчилэн “-аагүй” хэмээн давтаж хэлэн үгүйсгэсэн (зөвөөр ойлгосон) Д.Пүрэвдоржийн шүлэг ард иргэдийн дунд ам дамжин өргөнөөр дэлгэрсэн юм.

Ийнхүү эл өгүүлэлдээ А.Кампигийн социализмын үед Чингисийн тухай ярихыг хориглож байсан, социализмын дараа эрх чөлөөтэйгөөр ярьж эхэлсэн гэсэн хялбарчилсан онол бус, К.Каплонскийгийн дэвшүүлсэн Чингис хааны талаар ярихыг хориглож байсан зэрэг нь домог юм гэсэн барууны ялгаварладаг онол (western biased theory) биш, харин Чингисийн талаарх яриа *дарагдаж-хэлэлцээр хийж-реакци үзүүлсэн (нэрийг нууцалсан)* гэсэн үндсэрхэг үзэл бүрэлдэх дөрвөн процесстой болохыг тодруулсан билээ. Тодруулан хэлбэл, Монгол дахь Чингис хааны дүр нь, Чингисийг мангас болгон дүрсэлсэн ЗХУ-ын дарлагч дүр ба түүний эсрэг Монголын сэхээтнүүдийн хийсэн хэлэлцээр, цаашлаад энгийн иргэдийн яриаг урвуулан ойлгосны (мэдлэгийн ашгийг хадгалах) ачаар бий болсон юм.

Өнөө хэр нь сэхээтнүүд төдийгүй, монголчууд нийтгээрээ Чингисийг бурхны дүрээр биш, хүн хэмээн хүндлэх болсон юм. Үүний нотолгоо нь монголчууд социализм нурж, ардчилал ялсан ч Чингис хааныг бурхан хэмээн үзээгүй. Засгийн газрын ордон, Улаанбаатар хотын гадна аварга том Чингисийн хөшөө сүндэрлэсэн ч монголчууд түүнд сүслэн мөргөдөггүй. Тахилгын өвөрмөц зан үйл ч хийдэггүй.

Сонирхолтой нь өвөрмонголчууд Чингисийг тэднээс өөрөөр буюу үндэстний өвөг дээдэс-бурхан хэмээн шүтэн дээдэлдэг. Тэд Чингисийг бурхан хэмээн шүтэж, гэртээ ч тахилга үйлддэг. Мөн Чингисийн хөрөг зураггүй айл байхгүй гэмээр тэдний хувьд Чингис хаан бол сэтгэлийн түшиг нь байдаг ба Цагаан сараар заавал Чингисийн хөрөгний өмнө идээ ундаа тавьж мөргөдөг билээ.

Өвөр Монголын нийслэл Хөх хотод ажиллаж, амьдардаг эр (Монгол улсын иргэн) Чингист мөргөн залбирч байгаа өвөрмонголчуудыг хараад гайхсан талаараа надад ярьсан юм.<sup>86</sup> Мөн Монгол улсын Засгийн газрын ордны урд талд байдаг Чингис хааны хөшөөнд өвөрмонголчууд мөргөн залбирдаг гэж хотын хүмүүс ярьдаг. Үүнийг монголчууд хачирхан харцгаадаг аж. Харин ч монголчууд Чингисийн хөшөөний өмнө мөргөхийн оронд зүгээр зогсож зургаа авхуулдаг. Антропологич Урадын Булаг өнөөгийн монголчуудын үндсэрхэг үзэл зөвхөн ХХ зууны Монгол улс (хуучин Ар монголын нутаг)-д бүрэлдсэнээр өвөрмонголчуудыг өөрсөдтэй нь адил монгол хүн гэж үзэхээ больсон гэж онцолжээ.<sup>87</sup> Үнэндээ Чингисийг бурхан болгох, хүн болгох эсэх нь Ар ба

<sup>85</sup> 2015 оны 8 сарын 21-нд Улаанбаатарт зохиогчийн хийсэн судалгаа.

<sup>86</sup> 2015 оны 8 сарын 12-нд Хөх хотод зохиогчийн хийсэн судалгаа.

<sup>87</sup> Uradyn E.Bulag, *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Өвөрмонголын иргэдийн хооронд орших харь хүн (others) гэх хүрээг заасан ялгаа болж байгаа гэж хэлж болно.

Ар монголчууд Чингисийг шүтэхгүй болсон учир нь дундад зууны үеэс Чингисийн тахилгыг үйлдэж ирсэн дархад хэмээх хүмүүс Ордост байсан ба одоо ч байн тахилгыг үргэлжлүүлэн үйлдээр байгаа бол дээрх уламжлал өнөөгийн Монгол улсад ХХ зуунаас аль эрт устан үгүй болсонтой холбоотой болов уу.

Хэдийгээр тийм боловч ЗХУ-ын хүлээснээс ангижирсан орчин үед ч Монголд Чингис хааныг тахидаг тахилч хүмүүс үгүй болсон учраас Чингисийг бурханчлан шүтдэггүй хэмээн тайлбарлаж болохгүй.<sup>88</sup> Учир нь “уламжлал” хэмээх зүйлийг зохиох боломжтойг дэлхийн олон соёлыг судалсан антропологичид нотолсон. Харин монголчуудын хувьд Чингисийн төрсөн өдрийг шинээр зохиож, түүнийгээ Монгол бахархлын өдөр<sup>89</sup> гэж нэрлэснээс өөр сүрхий зохиосон зүйл байдаггүй. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, хүн Чингис нь социализмын явцад монголчуудын дотоод сэтгэлд бий болсон үнэт зүйл, үнэлэмж юм.<sup>90</sup>

ХХ зууныг хүртэл Чингисийн тахилгын баяр Ордосын нутагт болж байсан бөгөөд өнөөгийн Өвөрмонголын нутагт энэ зан үйлийг гүйцэтгэж байсан гэсэн үг биш. Японы антропологич Конагая Юки, өвөрмонголчуудын Чингисийн шүтлэгийг дэлхийн II дайны үед Японы квантуны армитай *хамтач үндсэрхэг үзэл (collaborative nationalism)*<sup>91</sup> -ийн нөлөөгөөр бий болсон хэмээн үзжээ.<sup>92</sup>

Харин өнөөгийн Монгол улсад зочид буудал, ресторан, шар айраг, архи гээд бүхий л зүйлийг Чингис хааны нэрээр замбараагүй нэрлэх болсон. Түүнчлэн, 1990-ээд онд ургийн овгоор нэрлэхээр тогтоосон хэдий ч, бараг ихэнх нь Чингисийн боржигон овгийг авцгаасан. Дээрх байдлыг антропологич, түүхч

<sup>88</sup> Үнэн хэрэгтээ 90-ээд оны эхээр Ордосын дархад тахилчийг урьж авчиран, Чингисийн онгон байгаа хэмээн үздэг Бурхан Халдун Хайрханы тахилгыг үйлдсэнээс хойш, бөө нар тахилга үйлдсэнээс бусдаар Монгол улсад Чингисийн тахилгын зан үйл үлдэж хоцроогүй.

<sup>89</sup> 2012 оноос аргын тооллын өвлийн эхэн сарын шинийн нэгэн (11 сар орчим)-д Чингис хааны төрсөн өдөр хэмээн тогтоож, “Монгол бахархлын өдөр” болгон тэмдэглэх болжээ. Монгол улсын ерөнхийлөгчийн тамгын газар 2012 оны 1 сарын 9-ний мэдэгдлээс харна уу.

<http://www.president.mn/content/2360>

<sup>90</sup> Чингис хааны талаар Монгол улс, Өвөрмонголд хэрхэн үздэг талаарх ялгааг Булаг 1998 онд бичсэн халх төвтэй үзэлтэй үндэстэн бүрэлдэх онол үнэн байсныг харуулж байна. Нөгөө талаар, Булаг 2010 онд бичсэн номондоо олон улс Чингисийг хэрхэн үзэж байсан талаар “Чингис нь Монгол улсаас илүү өргөн уудам” гэж хэлсэн ч энэ үг үнэн эсэх тухайд эргэлзээтэй байна. Булаг, *op.cit.*, Uradyn E.Bulag, *Collaborative Nationalism: The Politics of Friendship on China's Mongolian Frontier*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010.

<sup>91</sup> “Хамтач үндсэрхэг үзэл”-ийн талаар Конагая ч дурьдсан хэдий ч Булагийн дэвшүүлсэн ойлголт юм. *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Конагая Юки *Чингис хааны тахилгын орчин үеийн үүсэл-Япон Монголын хариултаас*, Улсын төв Угсаатан судлалын музейн судалгааны тайлан-37 боть, No.4 (2013), тал 425-447. Мөн доорх онолын номноос дэлгэрэнгүй харах боломжтой. Хирокава Сахо, Чингис хааны тахилга ба Орчин үеийн Өвөр Монгол, Шираиши Норуюки (ред.) *Чингискан ба түүний он цаг*, Бэнсэй шюппан, 2015, тал 339-355.

(Konagaya Yuki, Chingisu haan suuhai no kindaiteki kigen-nihon to mongoru no ooto kankei kara-, Kokuritsu minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyu hookoku, 37-4 (2013), pp.425-447. )

Л.Мөнх-Эрдэнэ “сайн эцгийн нэрийг гурав худалдах” хэмээх хэлц үгийг эш татан, Чингисийг хэт их магтан дуулж байна хэмээн шүүмжлэн бичжээ.<sup>93</sup>

Гэхдээ Чингисийг бурхан, эсвэл мангас болгон ашиглахаар санаархсан колоничлогч нарын аргатай харьцуулахад, монголчуудын дүрсэлсэн Чингис хэмээх хүний дүр илүү бодитой гэмээр. Тэр бол социализмын үед монголчууд ЗХУ-тай харилцан хэлэлцэж байж, бурхан хэмээх хүрэнээс салган, олж авсан хүний дүр байсан нь дамжиггүй. Тийм учраас Чингис хаан бол социализмын/аар бүтээсэн үндэсний баатар билээ.

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<sup>93</sup> L.Monkh-Erdene, “Selling of Good Father s Name Legitimacy”, Pride, and Commodity, Хүмүүн соёл, Шига мужийн хүмүүн соёлын факультетийн судалгааны тайлан, No.24, 2008. тал 35-46.

## **Reviews and Representations: Comparative observations in post-socialist Germany and Mongolia**

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The years 1989/1990 are considered a turning point in history. In Germany, where the fall of the Berlin Wall led to reunification, present-day debates around the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary focus on matters of disparities in the present time rather than pre-post comparisons. Many issues remain controversial, yet most East German witnesses of the period agree on the positive impacts of freedom gained after 1990, while the ascription of a general inferiority of “the East”, together with a denial of life-time achievements and progressive aspects in the socialist era, belong to their negative experiences. In this short essay, I use a comparative perspective to address some aspects of lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) experiences which have (outside social anthropology) largely been unregarded in prevailing portrayals of socialism.

The widespread habit to condemn the era wholesale has led to a yawning gap between representations of this type and individual memories that give a rather nuanced picture. This applies even more for contemporary witnesses who were born into the period of “late socialism” (Yurchak 2005) and whose lived realities and reference points differ substantially from those of earlier generations. While East Germans are often readily dismissed as nostalgists when they balance pros and cons in the light of their personal experiences in reunified Germany, attitudes in post-socialist Mongolia are quite different. I argue that now, thirty years later, experiences with dominating post-socialist representations of socialism contribute to retrospective assessments as much as (if not more than) experiences gained during the socialist era itself.

This process has, of course, begun earlier. In the course of a four-year research project (2004-2008) on perceptions of the late cultural campaigns (*soyolyn dovtolgoon*) in the Mongolian People’s Republic, I encountered interesting strategies on how Mongolians cope with what they perceive as misrepresentations. While I conducted more than 200 individual and focus group interviews with people aged between 30 and 98 from all provinces (*aimag*) in Mongolia, most of the interlocutors older than me wanted to know which Germany I was from. Noteworthy was not only the way this question was usually asked (*Manai Germanaas uu, baruun Germanaas uu?* – From our Germany or from West Germany?) but even more how the answer influenced the process of the interview: In several cases interviewees suddenly started to criticize aspects of socialism, which had so far been portrayed rather positively during the course of the interlocution. When I wondered why, I got answers such as “You are



one of ours, so you know and understand how socialism was”. But being seen as an insider was not the only reason for the credit of trust. Some of the people told me that they would be fed up with entirely condemning depictions of the socialist era by unaware “Americans and the like” (*amerik mamerik*) which is why their painting of a rosy picture was supposed to counterbalance ignorant representations, especially by those foreigners, whose surveys are primarily based on contacts to the same circles of English speaking elites in Ulaanbaatar.

One example are narrations on the appropriate classification of historical periods, including the debate on whether or not Mongolians have ever been subject to colonialism, and, if so, which historical period would qualify as such (Stolpe & Jigmeddorj 2018). The equation of socialism with colonialism by some Western scholars usually results in undifferentiated condemnations. Iveta Silova, Zsuzsa Millei and Nelli Piattoeva (2017) criticized such simplistic depictions as “coloniality of knowledge production ... in and about (post)socialist spaces” and made a passionate plea “to reclaim our positions as epistemic subjects who have both the legitimacy and capacity to look at and interpret the world from our own origins and lived realities” (ibid.). According to Michael Meyen (2013), the focus on a permanent repetition of primarily negative aspects of socialism, together with a lack of nuances and the denial of progressive aspects, have led to a distorted picture in Germany, where, as he puts it, the West Germans believe that they know how it was ‘over there’ while the East Germans mostly avoid to be ‘uncovered’. Ilko-Sascha Kowalczyk also observed strategic hiding due to the common portrayal of East Germans as “the Other” (2019: 89). Evidently, there is no othering of this type present in post-socialist Mongolia since people do not feel compelled to continuously justify their realm of experiences vis-à-vis a majority who did not share their lifeworld. However, while “the dismantling of socialism” was “affirmably advertised to the former citizens of the socialist block [sic] as a positive change” (Morozova 2012: 6), most ordinary Mongolians do not have very fond memories of the 1990s due to the multiple crises and the widespread feeling of regression. As David Sneath (2003: 49) aptly put it: “The real transition that Mongolia has experienced has been from a middle-income to a poor country, as if the process of development had been thrown into reverse.”

Throughout my field studies on various topics, such as education, social and spatial mobility, social change and nutag-councils (*nutgiin zövlöl*), the periods associated most with progress and advancement was the late 1960s, the 1970s and the early 1980s. My interlocutors had memories of considerable upswing and progression,<sup>1</sup> particularly so in contrast to the experiences of the 1990s. One popular TV-programme, titled *Altan Üyeiin Duunuud* and featuring stars of that era, can be understood both as “Songs of the Golden Age” or as “Songs of the Golden Generation”, for these

<sup>1</sup> For examples of achievements, particularly of the youth association see Boldbaatar (2003), on other historical backgrounds see Boldbaatar (2018b).



celebrities are known in Mongolia as *altan üyeiinkhen* (“Golden Agers”). The latter refers particularly to outstanding social mobility opportunities of these generations, facilitated by the permeability of the educational system. This was possible in the context of “one of the strongest modernist and developmentalist visions on history and society, whereas its eschatology and symbolism provided for non-essentialist motivation for the individuals to work for building a progressively improving society” (Morozova 2014: 7).

A common element across the post-socialist world was and is the experience of being portrayed as “behind”, thus in need for ‘development’, yet in an understanding quite different from the previous internationalist paradigm.<sup>2</sup> After the hopeful era of perestroika<sup>3</sup> and the democratic revolution, Mongolia was downgraded from what was known as the “Second World” to the so-called “Third World” in the early 1990s, and later on was discursively moved into the “Global South”. Boris Buden criticized the definition of “the post-communist East as a space of belated modernity” (2014: 174), and, with reference to Rastko Močnik (2009), continued: the “West ... is not only always already in its proper place but also always on time“ (ibid.). In post-socialist Mongolia people shared (and still share) a disillusionment with the fact that most foreign consultants had (and have) a poor understanding of the local conditions, concepts and institutional frameworks that constitute social life.

In the field of education, for example, there was concern that Mongolian notions would not have a chance to develop against “westernizing” (*örnödchlökh*) approaches.<sup>4</sup> Not many foreign projects took such concerns seriously and reflected upon the pitfalls of development ideologies. That is why the main objective of the project *Mongolization of Civil Society Development in Rural Mongolia* (2014-2018),<sup>5</sup> was to build on citizen’s capacity to engage in in their respective communities. “*Mongolization*” served as a heuristic frame to better understand the social dynamics in rural Mongolia, including the vital forces of the respect for the native land (*nutag*) and the distinctive features of localities (*nutgiin ontslog*). In 2016, I had the opportunity to join several regional workshops of the project, to conduct interviews and to collect data with a focus on values considered Mongolian, notions of Mongolization, civil society and the role of nutag and nutag-councils (*nutgiin zövlöl*). The workshop participants came from 7 aimags (Bayankhongor, Dornod, Dornogovi, Dundgovi, Övörkhangai, Selenge, Sükhbaatar). Most of them were teachers (24), among other professions or occupations were accountants, dormitory stokers, secretaries,

<sup>2</sup> On the change of development paradigms and their respective consequences for rural schools in Mongolia see Stolpe (2008 and 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Boldbaatar (2018a).

<sup>4</sup> See for example Tsanjid (2005).

<sup>5</sup> Co-designed and jointly implemented by CICED/Community for International Cooperation in Education and Development, Denmark and MAPSSD/Mongolian Association for Primary and Secondary School Development.

archivists, drivers, stock keepers, librarians, jijüür (*concierge*), directors/managers, one economist, one methodologist, one medical doctor and one retired zootechnician. Since pre-post comparisons are usually common in such contexts, I had included the following question (number 8 out of 9) into the questionnaires:

During 70 years of socialism, new traditions were introduced in Mongolia. Do you think that there are historical experiences from socialist times that should be maintained and adapted to the current conditions?

Altogether 49 out of 50 questionnaires were returned, and 6 of the 49 respondents had not answered this question. Among the 43 people who provided an answer only 3 had decided for “no”, one of them without any further comment. The two others, had written the following explanations:

- No, because there was a tendency to prefer the readily available (*belenchlekh*) and therefore no interest to learn something new
- No, it is problematic to change from modern times into old times, I don't think this is possible

Among the 40 respondents who had answered with “yes”, only 2 had not added any further explanation, whereas some of the explanations appeared more than one time:

- Work was done collaboratively (*khamtarsan ajil*) – 8 times
- Adequate timing / time compliance (*tsag barimtlal*) – 7 times
- Work results mattered and were valued – 7 times
- Agriculture (*gazar tarialan*) – 7 times
- Infrastructure construction – 7 times
- Industrialisation – 6 times
- Clear responsibility / accountability (*khariutslaga*) at workplaces – 6 times
- Education and literacy – 5 times
- Mongolians showed mutual solidarity – 4 times
- To love and worship the culture and heritage of the Mongolian way of life and to wear a Mongolian deel on a daily basis – 4 times
- Administration and governance (*zakhirakh, zakhiragdakh yos*) was bound to rules – 4 times
- Workplaces used to be staffed with people who were qualified – 2 times
- To fulfil rights and obligations (*erkh üüreg*) – 2 times
- Law and order – 2 times
- Integrity (*shudarga baidal*) – 2 times
- Respect for elders – 2 times
- We should keep some ideas but now we can express our thoughts freely – 2 times

These statements demonstrate that the respondents retrospectively attached a lot of weight and importance to collaborative work and societal progress, related to

personal responsibility, integrity and respect. In contrast to Germany, the remembrance of such progressive aspects has hardly ever been questioned in Mongolia, which illustrates how the dominating social context influences prevalent assessments of the past. During a focus group discussion, elder participants emphasized that a good foundation (*sain suuri*) would have been built to connect the Mongolian people to world culture (*delkhiin soyol*). They also emphasized that people who appreciated various positive aspects would not necessarily have trusted communism (*zaaval kommunistd itgedeggüi baisan*). Some of the statements reflect what the respondents see primarily in contrast to the current situation. One of the most controversial issues brought up during the focus group discussion was the immoderate politicization of administration, the so-called *khalaa-selgee*, which implies appointments of public servants according to party membership rather than qualification (*öörüinkhөө namын огт mergejilgüi khümüüsüig томилдог болсон*) and was characterized as political disease (*улс төрийн өвчин*). The discussants criticized in particular that it would no longer be possible to realize a long-term implementation of policies (*урт khugatsaany залгамж бодлого kheregjüülekh болomjgüi*) and that social relations would be tainted as a result of this gridlocked situation. There was also consensus on some aspects that should, in the view of the participants, not have been abandoned, namely general attitudes towards work, including acknowledgements (*ajildaa setgeleesee khanddag baisan*), a high sense of responsibility (*khariutslagaa ukhamsarlasan*), good interpersonal relations and mutual help (*khoorondyn khariltsaa sain, biye biyedee tusaldag baisan*), integrity and care for the mother country (*shudarga, ekh ornoo boddog baisan*).

As a last example for different attitudes towards representations of the socialist era I would like to touch upon portrayals with regard to museums. In her dissertation on “Mongolian Museums and the Construction of National Identity”, Sally Watterson, based on perceptions in Ulaanbaatar (and despite she did not include written sources in Mongolian), diagnosed a lacking “museological debate“ (2014: 38) and stated that “[...] unlike other countries Mongolia’s state-funded museums have not thoroughly demonised socialism“ (ibid.: 63). – It might be that some foreigners find it odd to see museum exhibitions inaugurated during the socialist era still in place. But instead of assuming that there is (or should be) a worldwide convergence of views on history or that museo-logics have to (or should) follow the same frames of reference and relevance, such sceneries actually invite for enquiry.

During my three visits (in 2003, 2009 and 2011) to the museum in Dornod *aimag*-centre, which focuses on the commemoration of the historical events in 1939 known as *Khalkhyn golyn baildaan*<sup>6</sup> prior to World War II, I found the core exhibition arrangements dating from the socialist era unchanged. The visitors present in the

<sup>6</sup> Russian: бой на Халхин голe. In the former West and Japan commonly known as Nomonhan Incident (*jiken*).

museum did obviously not take any offence, and the guest book contained only laudatory entries. When I asked individuals and groups of visitors from Ulaanbaatar what they think about an exhibition from the socialist era not replaced, there was consensus that this would not really matter since the exhibition would be very interesting (*sonirkholtoi shuu*), though some parts would nowadays appear a bit odd (*jaakhan sonin*). A man (age 44) said that this would be now in itself of historical value, and one could learn here how history was displayed at the time. The museum attendant on duty joined one of the talks and emphasized that she and her colleagues would be proud to receive school classes and thus contribute to the patriotic (in Mongolian “matriotic” – *ekh oronch*) education of the younger generation. And, she emphasized, it would be of utmost importance to make sure that the achievements of the combat veterans are appreciated with dignity. – Whether or not the exhibition actually accomplished that purpose appeared less important than the desire for a continued commemoration of the events<sup>7</sup> at the beginning of World War II as a heroic and victorious defense of the mother country.

Such statements indicate, among other things, that a considerable respect for memory cultures of the socialist era has remained in Mongolia, which I also experienced in small *sum*-museums in the countryside, for example in Tögrög *sum* (Övörkhangai) in 1997, in Khalkhgol *sum* (Dornod) in 2009, in Dadal and Bayan-Adraga *sum* (both Khentii aimag) in 2012, but also in Zuunmod (Töv aimag) in 2006 and in the *aimag*-museums in Khovd (2005) and Tsetserleg (Arkhangai) in 2018. All people I asked in these places (museum attendants as well as locals) did interestingly not interpret their museum exhibitions from the socialist era as representations of a bygone social order but instead as a demonstration of lifetime achievements of the local population (*manai nutgiin khümüüs*). Accordingly, nobody in the local communities opts for a clearing out, for the exhibitions are embedded in a social frame of everyday culture and practiced values as a realm of experience.

From a sociology of knowledge perspective, interdependencies between ordinary people’s lifeworlds (Lebenswelten) and cultures of remembrance (cf. Berek 2009: 199) are crucial. As far as I could observe, the respective museum exhibitions seem to be perceived as parts of shared experiences, often complemented by other points of view (for example the insightful exhibition on Stalinist purges in the military museum in Ulaanbaatar), which invite for reflection but do not simply replace other narratives. They do also not reproduce the common use of binary categories and phrases, which Alexei Yurchak, referring to “late socialism”, aptly criticized, emphasizing that “control, coercion, alienation, fear, moral quandaries were irreducibly mixed with ideals, communal ethics, dignity, creativity, and care for the future” (2005: 10).

<sup>7</sup> Now by more and more scholars characterised as a war – *dain* – rather than a battle. See for example: [https://mn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Халхын\\_голын\\_дайн](https://mn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Халхын_голын_дайн). On some early arguments of the discussion see for example Tanaka (2010) and the multifaceted contributions in Ganbold (2013).

In reunited Germany, critical questions on how representation is connected to the trustworthiness of institutions and memorial sites, or more general, how diversity (also with regard to depictions of the socialist past) can be translated into representation (Krüger 2018), gained momentum only recently. Finally, when it comes to German-Mongolian diplomatic relations, it is the anniversaries in West German history (such as 2014 and now 2019) that are in the focus of celebrations, which is especially astonishing when Mongolians who had studied in East Germany appear at the center of this post-socialist publicity.

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## Other People's Prophecies: Subversive Adaptations and Transformations of Śambhala Eschatology

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**Abstract:** This article aims to demonstrate the processes of adaptation and transformation of the original, Śambhala-related, prophetic narrative in the course of its transmissions from one religious tradition to another (from the Hindu tradition to a later form of Buddhism) and from one culture to another (from India and Tibet to Mongolia). The permutations of an eschatological narrative that will be discussed here reflect not only their historical, social, and doctrinal contexts, but also the undoing of other people's prophetic discourses through the ongoing and subversive reinterpretation and cultural signification. As we trace the development of the Kalkī-related eschatology from the *Mahābhārata* to its transformations in other Indic and Mongolian sources, we see that through recontextualization and creative production of new meanings, this eschatological narrative gradually grew from a brief, versified reference to elaborate prophetic accounts written in prose. Like the prophecies of other religious traditions, Śambhala-related prophecies come to us in the form of a revelatory dialogue.

In Indian Kālacakra tantric tradition, a prophecy of two eschatological events is mentioned. One is an apocalypse of cosmic proportions, in which the entire world is destroyed by fire kindled by collective winds of sentient beings' karma; and the other is a multilayered prophecy that culminates in the eschatological battle in which the enemies of the Buddha Dharma are vanquished and a new era of a global, Buddhist dynasty begins. As we will see, the purposeful, appropriation and recontextualization of eschatology presented in the *Kālacakatantra* is a subversive adaptation of the preexisting eschatological passages in the *Mahābhārata* (ca 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE-4<sup>th</sup> cent. CE), and Purāṇas, such as the *Viṣṇu*, *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Kalkī Purāṇas*.

In order to demonstrate the adaptations and transformations which Śambhala-related eschatology underwent, let us begin with a section of the *Mahābhārata* (Book 3, Chapter 188, vs. 89-93), which contains the earliest reference to Śambhala, together with a long description of the grievous conditions of the last phase of the degenerate *kali-yuga*, when the entire world, having become devoid of religious performances (*niṣkriya*), sacrificial rites (*yajñavarjita*),<sup>1</sup> and *śrāddha* ceremonies for ancestor,<sup>2</sup> will become barbarian (*mleccha*). We read that at that time,

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata*, Book, 3, Ch.188, v. 29:  
*mlecchabhūtaṃ jagat sarvaṃ niṣkriyaṃ yajñavarjitaṃ |*  
*bhaviṣyati nirānandam anutsavam atho tathā ||*

<sup>2</sup> *Mahābhārata*, Book, 3, Ch.188, v. 45:  
*mlecchabhūtaṃ jagat sarvaṃ bhaviṣyati yuddhiṣṭhira |*  
*na śrāddhair hi pitṛṃs cāpi tarpaviṣyanti mānavāḥ ||*

A *brāhmaṇa* by name Kalkī, Viṣṇuyaśas, [who] set in motion by time,  
Will arise, having great valor and the great intelligence and power.

[He will be] born in the village of Śambhala, in the pure abode of *brāhmaṇas*.

Vehicles, weapons, warriors, swords, and armors  
Will appear in accordance with his wish.

He will be a king triumphant in virtue, a universal emperor (*cakravartin*),  
And he will bring tranquility to this world together with its clans (*kula*).

Arisen as a blazing *brāhmaṇa* of profound intelligence, he will bring the  
end to destruction.

As a destroyer of everything, he will set in motion a [new] era (*yuga*).

Then that twice-born, surrounded by *brāhmaṇas*, will annihilate  
All of the barbarians (*mleccha*) wherever [those] vile ones have gone.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Purāṇic interpretations, Kalkī in his form as the last *avatāra* of Viṣṇu will appear at the end of the *kali-yuga*. Riding a white horse and holding a blazing sword, he will destroy the enemies of Dharma, bring peace, restore the good, and return to Śambhala. With this, a new era (*satya-yuga*) will begin, and Viṣṇu will depart for heaven.<sup>4</sup> In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ca between the 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent. CE) we read that at that time, the Dharma of *smṛtis* and *śrutis* will nearly perish and barbarians (*mleccha*), *sūdras*, and outcastes (*dasyu*),<sup>5</sup> will be kings ruling the world with cruelty; and different countries (*janapada*) will intermingle (*vimiśra*) with them. Therefore, a portion of the Lord Vāsudeva, who is of the nature of Brahmā, will descend into this world as Kalkī born in the *brāhmaṇa* family of Viṣṇuyaśas in the village of Śambhala. With his mighty power, he will annihilate all barbarians (*mlecchas*), the outcastes, and those of evil minds and conducts. He will establish all people in their virtues, and enlightened communities will become pure like a stainless crystal.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhārata, Book, 3, Ch. 188, vs. 89-93:  
*kalkir viṣṇuyaśā nāma dvijaḥ kālapracoditaḥ |*  
*utpatsyate mahāvīro mahābuddhiparākramaḥ ||*  
*saṃbhūtaḥ saṃbhalagrāme brāhmaṇāvasathe śubhe |*  
*manasā tasya sarvāṇi vāhanāny āyudhāni ca ||*  
*upasthāsyanti yodhās ca śastrāṇi kavacāni ca |*  
*sa dharmavijayī rājā cakravartī bhaviṣyati ||*  
*sa cemaṃ saṃkulaṃ lokaṃ prasādam upaneṣyati |*  
*utthito brāhmaṇo dīptaḥ kṣayāntakṛd udāradhīḥ ||*  
*sa saṃkṣepo hi sarvasya yugasya parivartakaḥ |*  
*sa sarvatra gatān kṣudrān brāhmaṇaiḥ parivāritaḥ |*  
*utsādayiṣyati tadā sarvān mlecchagaṇān dvijaḥ ||*

<sup>4</sup> According to the annotations on the *Kālacakratānta* (Ch. 1, v. 169) given in the *Padminīnāmapañ-jikā*, traditionally attributed to Indian master Kālacakrapāda, the Lord Cakrī and others have taken the names of Viṣṇu to assist sentient beings. See Newman, 1987, p. 587.

<sup>5</sup> *Dasyu* refers to a Hindu who has become an outcast by neglecting the rites.

<sup>6</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. 2, 1989, pp. 661-664.



*Agni Purāṇa* (Ch. 16), the appearance of Kalkī as a son of Viṣṇuayaśas takes place in Śambhala at the time when those who abandoned the path of the Vedas and the demons who were deluded by Viṣṇu's previous *avatāra* as the Buddha became Buddhists and outcastes (*dāsyu*), devoid of good conduct. Also, at that time, Kalkī with his sword will destroy the barbarians (*mlecchas*) who became kings. The later eschatological account in the *Kalkī Purāṇa* counteracts the *Kālacakratāntra*'s eschatology that overrides the discourses of the *Mahābhārata* and earlier Purāṇas.<sup>7</sup> In the *Kalkī Purāṇa* (Ch. 14), Kalkī, a son of Viṣṇuayaśas, after enjoying married life in Śambhala for some time, will depart for the city of Kīkaṭa,<sup>8</sup> the abode of Buddhists, who reject the Vedas and the practice of honoring the ancestors and gods with sacrifices. With his army, he will conquer the Buddhist army led by the Conqueror (Jina, or Buddha), the king of Kīkaṭa.

As we will see, the *Kālacakra* tradition in India declares the Puranic prophetic teachings that identify the Buddha as Vāsudeva, or as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, who led people away from ritual duties, and the Kalkī as the tenth *avatāra* as meaningless (*nīrarthaka*),<sup>9</sup> as the false utterances of corrupt sages, who devoid of reflection (*vicāra*), confuse childish people and aim at establishing the corrupt sages' own race.<sup>10</sup> It also seeks to counteract the "corrupt sages'" aim by trying to initiate them into the *Kālacakratāntra*.

In the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas, the word "barbarian" (*mleccha*) generally refers to those who do not follow the traditional Hindu system of values and ritual practices, who dwell in hills and mountain caves, or to non-*āryans*,<sup>11</sup> who lived outside the *āryāvarta* ("the abode of *āryans*"). In contrast, in the *Kālacakra* tantric tradition in India, the "barbarian" refers to a specific ethnic group—to Tājikas, also referred to as Tāyins, who worship Bishmillāh through animal sacrifices. Their belief in Rahman as the creator of the animate and inanimate worlds, who distributes the rewards of heaven and hell in accordance with people's karma performed in this life, is portrayed as deceptive and violent, leading to the infliction of harm to animals for the sake

<sup>7</sup> If scholars are correct in dating the *Kalkī Purāṇa* to the fifteenth to eighteenth century, then we can read the account as a response to the *Kālacakratāntra*'s eschatology. Interestingly, this *Purāṇa* is already mentioned in the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakratāntra*, Ch. 5, where it is said: "Purāṇas, begging with Matsya and so son up to the Kalkī [Purāṇa] are considered meaningless" (*matsyādīpurāṇam api kalkīparyantam vicāryamāṇam nīrarthakam*). *Śrī Laghukālacakratāntrarājasya Kalkinā Śrī Puṇḍarīkeṇa Viracitā Ṭikā Vimalaprabhā*, Vol. 3, 1994, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> Kīkaṭa was the first time mentioned in the *Rg Veda* (3.53.14) as an ancient kingdom of southeastern tribes, and it is also mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* and *Mahābhārata* (Book 8, Ch. 30, 45). Most scholars place it in Magadha (now Bihar), where the Buddha Sākyamuni spent most of his time and taught.

<sup>9</sup> *Śrī Laghukālacakratāntrarājasya Kalkinā Śrī Puṇḍarīkeṇa Viracitā Ṭikā Vimalaprabhā*, Vol. 3, 1994, pp. 95-96.

<sup>10</sup> *Śrī Laghukālacakratāntrarājasya Kalkinā Śrī Puṇḍarīkeṇa Viracitā Ṭikā Vimalaprabhā*, Vol. 3, 1994, pp. 95-96.

<sup>11</sup> See the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. 2, 1989, p. 662.

of meat consumption. Buddhists eating boiled rice are contrasted to the barbarians eating rice with beef and drinking an egg-yolk of hens and other birds.<sup>12</sup>

Rewriting the Hindu prophetic narrative in 1026, soon after a series of Mahmud of Ghazni's raids in India, the author of the *Kālacakratantra* transformed it into a Buddhist tantric, eschatological narrative, which begins with the Buddha Śākyamuni foretelling the arising of the king Mañjuśrī Yaśas, or Kalkī, who will be an emanation of the ten-stage, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. According to Puṇḍarīka, the author of the *Stainless Light Commentary (Vimalaprabhā)* on the *Kālacakratantra*, Mañjuśrī Yaśas is not to be thought of as a son of the *brāhmaṇa* Yaśas for if he were to be a son of the *brāhmaṇa* Yaśas, he could not be a Kalkī because he would be without a clan (*kalka*). He is called "Kalkī" because he has a clan (*kalka*), and the clan is a unification of the castes and outcastes (*varṇavarṇaikakāraṇa*).<sup>13</sup> Mañjuśrī Yaśas will appear 600 years after the year of the Tathāgata's teaching of Dharma and will become the eighth king in the land of Śambhala, situated north of Śītā river, in order to mature brāhmaṇic sages.<sup>14</sup> Initiating into the *Kālacakratantra* the thirty-five million brāhmaṇic sages led by Sūryaratha, who reside in Śambhala's capital Kalāpa and observe the Vedas and Smṛtis, he will teach them the *Kālacakratantra*, which he himself abridged in accordance with their dispositions. He will establish them, together with the inhabitants of 960 million villages of Śambhala, in the Mahāyāna path.

This is the manner in which the entire Śambhala (which is here no longer a mere village but an immensely large territory) is transformed into a unified, Buddhist dynastic kingdom. Its future kings and *kalkīs*, who are the emanations of Bodhisattvas and of the kings of Krodhas (Wrathful Ones), bear the thirty-two marks of universal emperors (*cakravartin*) and promote the Buddha Dharma, especially the system of mantras (*mantra-naya*). They will be the ones who will in the future annihilate "the evil Dharma (*kudharma*) of barbarians (*mleccha*) and others."<sup>15</sup> By means of the initiation of the brāhmaṇic sages into the *Kālacakratantra*, Mañjuśrī Yaśas will unify all the castes (*varṇa*) into a single clan (*eka-kalka*), or into a *vajra*-family, and surely not into a brāhmaṇic line.<sup>16</sup>

While in the *Mahābhārata*'s prophecy, the event in which the world will become of a single caste at the final phase of the degenerate *kali-yuga* is a sign of the religious

<sup>12</sup> See the *Vimalaprabhā of Kalkī Śrī Puṇḍarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja* by Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 1, 1986 Vol. 1, 1986, Ch. 2, vs. 89, 99, 164, and 174,

<sup>13</sup> *Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarājasya Kalkinā Śrī Puṇḍarīkeṇa Viracitā Ṭīkā Vimalaprabhā*, Vol. 3, 1994, p. 96.

<sup>14</sup> *Vimalaprabhā of Kalkī Śrī Puṇḍarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja* by Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 21-22, 24.

<sup>15</sup> *Vimalaprabhā of Kalkī Śrī Puṇḍarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja* by Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 21-22, 26, 29.

<sup>16</sup> *Vimalaprabhā of Kalkī Śrī Puṇḍarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja* by Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśas, Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 21-22.

and social degradation, in which the entire world will become barbarians (*mleccha*),<sup>17</sup> in the Indian Kālacakra tradition, the unification of all castes is a desirable outcome, necessary for withstanding the influence of the barbarian Dharma on the future generations of Śambhala's inhabitants, which could occur some 800 hundred years after Mañjuśrī Yaśas.<sup>18</sup> Ascended on a proper Vehicle (*samyak-yāna*) and with a spear in his hand (*sellapāṇi*), Mañjuśrī Yaśas will terrify the family of demons and make the *Kālacakra* manifest on the earth. Then, at the end of the era (*yuga*), among the twenty-five sequential reigns in Śambhala, Raudra Kalkī will appear in the lineage of *kalkīs*. To virtuous ones he will appear in a peaceful form and to the race of barbarians he will be death. Depicted similarly to Viṣṇuyaśas in the Purāṇas, Raudra Kalkī, mounted on a mountain horse, with a spear in his hand and with the radiance of the sun, will strike the barbarian enemy.<sup>19</sup>

After the eight generations of the descendants within the Kalkī's lineage pass, or 800 years after the passing of the king Mañjuśrī Yaśas into *nirvāṇa*, the barbarian Dharma (*mlecchadharmā*), the Dharma of *asuras*, identified as Tājikas in the *Stainless Light Commentary*, will arise in the region of Mecca (Makha), located south of the Śītā river and will last for 1,800 years. At the time of Raudra Kalkī's rule, a violent battle will take place on the earth. Accompanied by Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva) as his attendants, Kalkī will destroy the barbarian hordes on the entire earth with his fourfold army, consisting of 90 million mountain horses of various colors and swift like the wind, with the four hundred thousand mad elephants, and the five hundred thousand chariots. He will be accompanied by the minor kings of 96 clans in Śambhala and their six large armies (*akṣauhiṇī*).<sup>20</sup> Mahācandra, a son of Hanumān, will kill Aśvathāma, the general of barbarian army. Rudra will kill the protector of barbarian lords, and Raudra Kalkī will kill Kṛṇmatī, the king of barbarians.<sup>21</sup> After defeating the barbarians in the battle, Raudracakrī, also referred to as Cakrapāṇi (One Having a Wheel in His Hand), having established his own Dharma, will set out into the sections of the great earth on the back of Mt. Meru, where the Buddha Dharma has vanished and the degenerate era (*kali-yuga*) has advanced. Teaching the Dharma in those sections, he will initiate the era of perfection (*kr̥ta-yuga*).<sup>22</sup> Then, accompanied by Hari and Hara, the two main Hindu gods who are clearly demoted here to the status of his attendants, and by his entire army, he will depart to the city built by gods

<sup>17</sup> *Mahābhārata*, Book, 3, Chapter 188, v. 41, *pada* b:  
*ekavarṇas tadā loko bhaviṣyati yugakṣaye* |

<sup>18</sup> *Vimalaprabhā of Kalkī Śrī Puṇḍarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśas*, Vol. 1, 1986, p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> *Akṣauhiṇī* is a large army, which consists of 21,870 chariots, the same number of elephants, 65610 horses, and 109350 foot soldiers.

<sup>20</sup> *Akṣauhiṇī* is a large army, which consists of 21,870 chariots, the same number of elephants, 65610 horses, and 109350 foot soldiers.

<sup>21</sup> *Kālacakratantra*, 1986, Ch. 1, v. 26, p. and the *Vimalaprabhā*, p. 77, vs. 157-167, pp. 154-155.

<sup>22</sup> See the *Kālacakratantra*, Ch. 1, v. 22 and the *Vimalaprabhā*, 1986, p. 74.

on Mount Kailāśa. At that time, all humans on the earth will be filled with Dharma, pleasure, and material prosperity (*dharmārthakāmapūrṇa*). Kalkī will attain the state of bliss, his two sons, Brahmā and Sureśa will comply with the Dharma in the north and south respectively; and the Buddha Dharma will endure for 18,000 years. After that, a caste division is prophesized to occur in the northern section of the earth where Kalkī's son Brahmā rules, causing the social decline and decrease of human lifespan to 100 years.<sup>23</sup>

Earlier, in the first chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* (Ch. 1, vs. 128-149), twenty-one verses are dedicated to Mañjuśrī's instruction on the manner of constructing diverse mechanical devices (*yantra*), or war machines, including catapults, military sailboats, horse-driven chariots, etc., and on the ways of applying various military tactics for destroying the enemy's strongholds (*durga*). In the words of Mañjuśrī Yaśas, this was previously foretold by Buddha Śākyamuni in the *Primordial Buddha Tantra* (*Ādibuddhatantra*) to king Sucandra, an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, so that the evil enemy would be subjugated and the righteous ones (*dhārmika*) be victorious on the earth. Mañjuśrī Yaśas instructs the converted Sūryaratha, the leader of the *brāhmaṇas* in Śambhala, to make use of the described war machines and tactics against the enemy not out of hatred or greed but to protect his region (*sthāna*). Puṇḍarīka, in his *Stainless Light Commentary* on the Ch. 1, v. 149, emphasizes that this restriction applies not only to Sūryaratha but also to others who fully understand the *Kālacakratantra*.<sup>24</sup> It is worth noting that none of the war machines and military tactics described in this chapter by Mañjuśrī Yaśas are mentioned in any other description of the Kalkī's army in the *Kālacakratantra* or in the *Stainless Light Commentary* or in the depiction of the great Śambhala war. Military devices such as catapults and the like described in the *Kālacakratantra* were invented as early as the fifth century BCE and were implemented in Europe and elsewhere centuries before the appearance of the *Kālacakratantra* in India. The internal textual evidence in the tantra suggests that the *Kālacakratantra*'s instruction on how to construct and utilize the military machines seems to have been intended for use in the face of the impending Muslim invasion of India and not for the great Śambhala war. This becomes even more clear when we examine sections of Puṇḍarīka's *Stainless Light Commentary* on the last, fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*, where he takes a different approach in his interpretation of the eschatological Śambhala war to that in other chapters. In his alternative view, Raudracakrī will eradicate only the barbarians' Dharma but will not kill the barbarians. After he sees the prevalence of the barbarians' Dharma at the end of the era, Kalkī will become motionless like a mountain, and with his mind in a profound meditative concentration (*samādhi*) on the most excellent horses, he will emanate a limitless number of the most excellent horses. With them he will drive

<sup>23</sup> *Kālacakratantra*, 1986, Ch. 1, v. 26, p. and the *Vimalaprabhā*, p. 77, vs. 157-167, pp. 154-155.

<sup>24</sup> *Kālacakratantra*, 1986, Ch. 1, vs. 128-149, pp. 143-152.

away the doctrines of the barbarians and establish them in his Dharma.<sup>25</sup> We are further told that this will be done in order to captivate the minds (*cittāpakarṣaṇa*) of corrupt Hindu sages, because if their thoughts of doubt arise first, they will not be able to attain Awakening (*bodhi*). Therefore, the Buddha taught that a Bodhisattva must be equipped with skillful means (*upāya*).<sup>26</sup>

Seeing two different interpretations of Śambhala war, how are we to understand this later interpretation in light of the previous statements given in the root text and commentary regarding the Kalkī's annihilation of the barbarians with his fourfold army? Did Puṇḍarīka change his mind or does he want us to think of the eschatological battle as an illusory appearance? Or did he intend to point out the provisional and ultimate meanings of the eschatological event by means of two different interpretations as he did in his descriptions of the internal Śambhala war between the forces of good and evil waged within the person's own body until the full and perfect Awakening? As we will see, Mongolian Buddhist authors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries opted for a more literal meaning of Śambhala war.

So far, we have seen that the eschatology of the *Kālacakrantra* tradition in India, which foretells the ascendance of the great universal emperor (*mahācakravartī*) Raudracakrī to the throne in Śambhala and the great war signifies a process of the social, religious, and material development of humankind, which will eventually revert to social decline and ills that come with that. In the *Kālacakrantra*'s eschatology in general, the nature of time, which is both destructive and productive, is imprinted on all events. It gives rise to the fortunate era of perfection (*kṛta-yuga*), a new phase in Buddhist history and to its eventual decline and a diminishing of the human lifespan, from 1,800 years to 100. In Mongolian Buddhist writings, the *Kālacakrantra*'s eschatology is fundamentally an optimistic eschatology, which offers a triumphal vision of the Buddhist mission and Buddhist identity, perceived as quintessentially esoteric and permanently preserved by the dynastic Dharma rulers of the kingdom of Śambhala.

Let us now briefly turn to Mongolian adaptations of the *Kālacakrantra*'s eschatology and the perspectives of Mongolian monastic authors on barbarian enemies of Dharma (*lal*, Tib. *la lo*), which emerged in the eighteenth to nineteenth century and continued in the first part of the twentieth century. In the *Crystal Mirror (Bolor Toly)*, composed by Jambadorj in 1848, the eschatological war between the army of Raudra Cakrī and the army of the barbarians' leader Kṛṇmati is not inspired by nationalistic or racial sentiments, as appears to be the case later in the first part of the twentieth-century Mongolian writings on this topic. Jambadorj interprets the word Maka

<sup>25</sup> Śrī Laghukālacakrantrarājasya Kalkinā Śrī Puṇḍarīkeṇa Viracitā Ṭīkā Vimalaprabhā, Vol. 3, 1994, p. 96.

<sup>26</sup> Śrī Laghukālacakrantrarājasya Kalkinā Śrī Puṇḍarīkeṇa Viracitā Ṭīkā Vimalaprabhā, Vol. 3, 1994, pp. 95-96.

(Mecca) to mean “Mongol,” and he writes, “those Barbarians (Muslims) (Mong. *lal. Tib. la los*)” are all Mongols,” whose “false view will increasingly proliferate after this period;” and as a result, “the majority of the countries of Jambudvīpa will adhere to the views of Islam.”<sup>27</sup> Jambadorj’s interpretation of the word *Maka* seems to come from his misunderstanding of the usage of the Tibetan ethnonym *sog po*, which in some contexts designates Mongols, and in another contexts, it is used as a synonym for a “Muslim,” as for instance, in Bu ston’s annotations to the *Kālacakratantra* and in the Tibetan translation of the *Padminīnāmapañjikā*, a word commentary on the *Kālacakratantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*.<sup>28</sup> Jambadorj does not explain the falsity of the religious views of Muslims. Instead, similarly to the holders of the *Kālacakra* tradition in India, he focuses on their dietary customs, the manner in which they kill their livestock for food, and their faith in the god Bishmilla. Following the idea expressed in the *Stainless Light Commentary* on Chapter 1, where it is said that Buddhists should consume only the meat of animals that died due to natural causes, accidents, or killed in wars and not the meat of an animal killed for consumption or for sacrifices to ancestors, Jambadorj states, “In accordance with their false theory, they eat meat of the livestock that did not die on its own.” As a Mongol living in a pastoral society that subsists on meat, Jambadorj seems to be even more concerned with the manner in which Muslims kill the livestock and with the motivation behind their ritual killing. He tells us, “they slaughter cows and horses to the best of their ability, claiming that they will be saved by cutting the throat of the animal with a knife after reciting the *dhāraṇī* of their god Bisamali (Bishmilla).”<sup>29</sup>

Minjüür Dechin Shiirav<sup>30</sup> (Tib. ‘Mi ‘gyur Bde chen Shes rab, a teacher of Jalkhanz Khutugtu), a Mongolian monk-scholar from Ikh Khüree who lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in his *Jewel Steps of a Fortunate Disciple: A Prayer for a Sure Rebirth in the Land of Śambhala of the Great Siddhi, in the Land that Captivates Peoples’ Minds, and [a Prayer] for the Definite Meeting with the Dharma of Raudra Kalkī*, is concerned primarily with Muslims’ false view, which he says, lies in dismissing the fruits of karma for the sake of committing a great sin, namely, the destruction of Buddhist monasteries and numerous innocent beings. With this view of Muslims, he compares Islam to a devil.<sup>31</sup> According to this author, when the *cakravartī* Raudra Cakrī ascends to the throne in Śambhala as the 25<sup>th</sup> Kalkī

<sup>27</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3: 292.

<sup>28</sup> The *Padminīnāmapañjikā* commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, Ch. 1, v. 154, Peking ed. #2065, Vol. 47. See also Newman, 1987: 596-97, and p. 533, ft. 5; Tucci, 1940: 94, which interprets the *sog po* in this way: “In some places there as Muslimans, that is, *sog pos*” (*la la na mu sur man zhes pa sog po yod*).

<sup>29</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3: 292. Cf. the *Kālacakratantra*, 1986, Ch. 1, v. 155, p. 153.

<sup>30</sup> Minjüür Dechin Shiirav was a teacher of the famous Jalkhanz Khutukhtu Daminbazar and belonged to the Vizaya *aimag* of Ikh Küree.

<sup>31</sup> *Khüniī oyunyng barigch oron, deed бүтeliin Shambalyn orond magadtai törökh khiigeed Rigden Dagvyn shashintai magad uirakhyn erööl, khuvitai taviin erdeniin gishgüür khemeekh orshvoi*, 2003:22.



in the Year of the Fire Sheep of the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of the sixtieth cycle, he will govern Śambhala in accordance with the principle of a dual law, the law of Dharma and the law of the State, making the State and religion equally prosper. In his activities, he will be undifferentiated from the Buddha.<sup>32</sup> For him, Śambhala is the only place on earth where the line of *cakravartins*, the Dharma-kings is being continually present; hence, it is an “eternally strong”<sup>33</sup> Buddhist kingdom. Thus, we see that for Minjüür Dechin Shiirav, the strength of Śambhala kingdom rests on its theocratic foundation, characterized by the unified laws of State and Dharma embodied in its dynastic rulers, where the desirable features of the era of perfection are always present.

Both Minjüür Dechin and Jambadorj defend Raudra Cakrī’s involvement in the prophesized eschatological battle against the Muslim king, an incarnation of Asura, as a dharmic activity, and the battle as a defensive and just war. Jambadorj assures us that Raudra Cakrī, abiding in a profound *samādhi* and having completed his *bodhicitta* aspiration, will enter the battle *only* when the Muslim emperor sets out with his army in the direction of Śambhala, after he has already occupied half of Jambudvīpa, including the region to the south of the river Sītā and Tibet, killing many people, and especially livestock, such as camels, horses, cows, and sheep.<sup>34</sup> Jambadorj seems here to be concerned with the loss of livestock, traditionally considered as the “five treasures” (*tavan erdene/tabun erdeni*) when goats are added the aforementioned list of livestock, which are indispensable for survival in Mongolian pastoral life. He excuses Raudra Cakrī’s obliteration of the multitudes of those who will fight on the side of the Muslim army on the grounds that it will be impossible to tame those “extremely savage beings of this difficult age and to bring them to Dharma by peaceful means displayed by the Buddha Śākyamuni.”<sup>35</sup> Therefore, they will have to be tamed by fierce means. The inevitability of Raudra Cakrī’s resorting to violence will be confirmed when a self-manifest, iron wheel descends from the sky on the occasion of his ascendance to the throne of Śambhala, for which reason he is given the name of Raudra Cakrī, or the Fierce Wheel-Bearer. The image of an iron wheel as Raudra Cakrī’s weapon is, no doubt, used here as a contrast to a golden wheel, which is often said in classical Buddhist literature to descend upon the chosen *cakravartī*, to go ahead of his army and pacify the enemies with Dharma by peaceful means. Jambadorj also assures us that everyone who will be killed by Raudra Cakrī’s mighty army, even the grubs and bugs that will be crushed under the feet of that army, will obtain the path of pacification and will experience great peace in their next life.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Khüinii oyunig barigch oron, deed büteeliin Shambalin orond magadtai törökh khiigeed Rigden Dagvin shashintai magad uchrakhin erööl, khuvitai shaviin erdeniin gishgütür khemeekh orshvoi*, 2003: 19-22.

<sup>33</sup> In the Mongolian *Wish-prayer for Śambhala*, translated by Charles Bawden, Śambhala is referred to as “eternally strong.” See Bawden, 1984-85, Mon. Ser. 36 (1984-85): 473.

<sup>34</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3: 293.

<sup>35</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book, 3: 294.

<sup>36</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book, 3: 294-94.

Similarly, the author of the anonymous text from Buryatia, titled titled *This is a Sūtra that Shows the Conditions of the Country of Śambhala, the Epoch of the Kings, and the Ways and Means of Travelling [There]*, wants us to understand that karmic consequences for those who will fight on the side of Raudra Cakrī's army and cause death to many on the enemy's side will be most desirable. He tells us that when the period of 150 years of the rule of Raudra Cakrī comes to an end, on the 22nd of the second month of the Horse Year, Raudra Kalkī will depart for Sukhāvātī, leading all the fortunate beings, including many gods who will fight on his side, the brave officials, soldiers, elephants, horses, ordinary humans, and animals. As soon as they join him in Sukhāvātī, they too will attain the supreme *siddhi*.<sup>37</sup>

The account of Raudra Cakrī, his iron wheel, the incorrigibly cruel barbarians, and the necessity of engaging in war is conspicuously evocative of the Mongolian seventeenth-to-early twentieth century narratives of Chinggis Khan, being predicted by Buddha Śākyamuni as the one who will turn “the wheel of power,” annihilate the twelve, cruel Muslim kings by harsh means, take the charge of the living beings in Jambudvīpa, administer the principle of two laws (the law of Dharma and the law of the State), and make “the milk of Dharma abundantly flow.”<sup>38</sup> In his early twentieth-century *Golden Book (Altan Devter)*, Mongolian monk scholar, Zawa Damdin Luvsandamdin (bLo bzang rta mgrin; bLo bzang rta dbyangs, 1867-1937) asserts that Chinggis Khaan brought the kings of Buddhist countries under his power by gentle means, while taking control over Muslim countries and the countries of Europe by means of fierce means due to their animosity toward the Buddha Dharma. Although in his external actions Chinggis Khaan displayed ferocity, internally he was free of mental afflictions and genuinely loved suffering sentient beings, and his thoughts were always dharmic.<sup>39</sup> According to Jambadorj's prophecy in the *Crystal Mirror*, Chinggis Khaan will again fight a just war along the side of Kalkī Raudra Cakrī. On the verge of the great battle between the army of Raudra Cakrī and the barbarian army, Chinggis Khaan will enter his bodily relics<sup>40</sup> and join the army of Raudra Cakrī. Some of Mongol khans and lamas will also enter their relics and tremendously help living beings.<sup>41</sup> Chinggis Khaan's participation in the eschatological war that

<sup>37</sup> *Shambala-yin orun-u baidal qayan-ud-un üy-e kiged jorčiqui-yin yosu ary-a jam nuγud-i üjügüilegsen sudur ene bolai*, MS: 18-19. According to the *Kālacakrantra*, 1986, Ch. 1, v. 161, Raudra Cakrī will depart to the city on Mt. Kailāśa fashioned by gods and there he will offer the female companions, mountain horses, the best of elephants, the kings in golden chariots, and the warriors with weapons in their hands to the Rudra, Skanda, Gaṇendra, and Hari.

<sup>38</sup> For the justifying narratives of Chinggis Khan's violent battles see the two seventeenth-century chronicles: Luvsandanzan's *Golden Summary (Altan Tobči)* and Sagang Setsen's *Precious Summary (Erdeni-yin Tobči)*.

<sup>39</sup> Blo bzang rTa dbyangs. *Ser gyi deb ther*, 1964, 83a2–4, 83b1–3. See also Lkhamsüreniin, 2006, 8–9.

<sup>40</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3: 294.

<sup>41</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3: 294-5. A legend says that Chinggis Khan's remains have been kept on the earth in a *čomčog-ger* because of the need for the existence of the bodily form of the clear light at the time when there will be a need for him to subdue the rebellious ones as a companion of the *kalkī* Raudra Cakrī.



brings about the new beginning of world history will also mark the new beginning of Mongolian national history. In Galdan's seventeenth-century chronicle, titled the *Precious Rosary (Erdeni-yin erike)* we read that at the time of Chinggis Khaan's death, everyone prayed that he would become a king in the country of Śambhala, having a holy origin.<sup>42</sup> Chinggis Khaan, regarded by Mongolian Buddhists as an emanation of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who, in turn, represents one of the three lineages of the Buddha Śākyamuni, has been also brought into connection with Śambhala through his lineage of emanations, which was initially introduced to Śambhala by the first king of Śambhala.<sup>43</sup>

Justifications for resorting to violence given in the previously mentioned Mongolian sources became central to Mongolian Buddhist political activity in the early twentieth century, especially among those who fought for liberation from the Qing and from the Chinese warlords who were encroaching on Mongolian lands. While the Mongolian writings of the pre-revolutionary period of the early twentieth century employed a futurist method of interpreting the *Kālacakatantra's* eschatological prophecies, the early twentieth-century Buddhist author took a historicist method, bringing the sense of immediacy by analyzing the events described in the *Kālacakatantra* as directly related to the current events of their time. When the Japanese army advanced on Manchuria, Mongolian lamas thought of it as the military force dispatched by the king of Śambhala himself to liberate Mongolia from the Qing. As already pointed out by Bawden<sup>44</sup> and Znamenski, this view was reinforced by the Ninth Panchen Lama, Dge legs Rnam rgyal (1883-1937), who declared that Mongols' happiness would come from the east, and encouraged them to worship the Japanese emperor and resist the Red menace. While the Ninth Panchen Lama was repeatedly travelling to the southern borders of Mongolia, initiating Mongols into the military ranks of Śambhala, rumors spread that he will come and lead them in the "yellow," or Dge lugs pa, war against the revolutionaries, the enemies of the Buddha Dharma.<sup>45</sup> There were confirmations of these reports in the writings of the Fourth,<sup>46</sup> Sixth, and Seventh Panchen Lamas,<sup>47</sup> who had promoted the idea that in one of his previous incarnations, Panchen Rinpoche" was Mañjuśrī Yaśas, the first *kalkī* king of Śambhala and that in

<sup>42</sup> Baldanjabova. P. B. and Vanchikovoi, Ts. P, 2012: 152.

<sup>43</sup> See Jambadorj. 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3: 294.

<sup>44</sup> See Bawden, 1989: 262-263.

<sup>45</sup> Znamenski, 2011: 209-10, 227.

<sup>46</sup> In his *Thub dbang zhal pad ma*, the Fourth Pan chen Bla ma eulogizes the Third Pan chen Bla ma, Blo bzang Don grub, Dben sa ba (1505-1568) as an incarnation of the first *kalkī* king of Śambhala, Mañjuśrī Yaśas. He also expresses his aspiration to be reborn in Śambhala and that the Third Pan chen Bla ma may become the *cakravartin* king who will annihilate the Asuras and Barbarians of the Black Direction. Later in the eighteenth century, Klong drol Bla ma in his history of the *Kālacakatantra*, identifies the Pan chen Bla ma with the 1st and the 25th *kalkī* kings. See TBRC, #23430, Blo bzang Chos kyi Rgyal mtshan's Collected Works (*gsung 'bum*), Vol. 1. See also Bawden, 1984-1985: 455-456.

<sup>47</sup> Their full names are Pan chen Blo bzang Chos kyi Rgyal mtshan (1569-1661), Blo bzang Dpal ldan Ye shes (1737-1780), and Bstan pa'i Nyi ma (1781-1852).

the future he would become the 25<sup>th</sup> *kalkī* Raudra Cakrī. This idea was later reiterated in various Mongolian writings, including the *Crystal Mirror*, the *Precious Crystal Staircase*, the previously mentioned anonymous, Buryat text,<sup>48</sup> in which, the Seventh Panchen Lama is said to declare: “. . . arriving to the southern border of the river Sītā, I, *kalkī* Raudra Cakrī will pierce the heart of Kṛṇmati, the leader of barbarian (Khuikhuin) tribe.”

In response to the increased influx of Chinese settlers in Mongolia as a result of the new Qing policy in Mongolia, a heightened national awareness emerged in response to the perceived threat of losing Mongolian national identity and culture. By the early twentieth century, the reports of the prophecy foretelling the Bogd Jebtsundamba Khutugtu's rebirth as the General Hanumān in the army of Panchen Erdene, who will be the *kalkī* Raudra Cakrī, were widely disseminated. After the death of the Eighth Bogd Jebtsundamba in 1924, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party exploited the prophecy of his rebirth in Śambhala for its own political agenda. As Palmer pointed out, to prevent the continuation of the line of his reincarnations and their reign, the party declared that a search for his new incarnation was needless since he will not return to the same line, but will reincarnate as the General Hanumān in Śambhala.<sup>49</sup> The widely popular Śambhala prophecy became the means of promoting Mongolian nationalistic cause against the Chinese as a righteous fight for Śambhala, which became a part of a national, heroic future. But with communist purges of Buddhism, resulting in the destruction of Buddhist monasteries and persecution of lamas in the mid 1930s on Stalin's initiative, Buddhists saw that period as a beginning of a Śambhala war and the revolutionary army as a prophesized enemy of the Dharma. Through the *Kālacakratantra*'s eschatology Mongolian lamas found meaning in the political and social crisis of their time.

When we look closely at the eschatological discourses related to Śambhala war in the Hindu sources, we notice that the authors dedicated more pages to the description of the events leading to the eschatological moment than in what comes after it. In contrast, the holders of the Kālacakra tradition in India and Mongolia seem to have been more concerned with the events taking place during and the eschatological war. While the *Kālacakratantra* offers a minimal account of the anticipated golden era that follows the eschatological battle,<sup>50</sup> later Mongolian writers developed their own perspectives on life in the new era, when the whole world becomes the extended land of Śambhala. According to the previously mentioned work composed by Minjūūr Dechin Shiirav, people of the new golden era will have a pleasant appearance, will

<sup>48</sup> *Shambala-yin orun-u baidal qayan-ud-un üy-e kiged jorčiqui-yin yosu ary-a jam noyud-i üjügülegsen sudur ene bolai*, p. 1 in MS. The text was discovered by the Buryat lama physician L. Galbaabadraa and studied by Professor Sharavyn Choimaa.

<sup>49</sup> Palmer, James. 2009. *The Bloody White Baron*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 234-35.

<sup>50</sup> *Kālacakratantra*, 1986, Ch. 1, v. 164, *padas c* and *d*, and vs. 168-169, pp. 155-56. See also Newman, 1987, pp. 647-649.

be young and vigorous, and will have all the necessities of life, including ornaments. There will be neither poor nor socially low, and their sense-faculties will equal to those of gods in the Trayamstrimśa heaven. They will enjoy freedom, live in accordance with gentle rules, and dwell in peace. Harm, illness, demons of obstacles, disasters affecting livestock due to harsh winters, and so on will not befall them.<sup>51</sup> Minjüür Dechin's vision of life during the golden era echoes the description of the conditions of the inhabitants of Śambhala, depicted in Jambadorj's chronicle *Crystal Mirror*, where we are told that people born in Śambhala are beautiful and have abundant food, clothing, and ornaments. Residents of Śambhala live under gentle laws, and adversities such as killing, beating, disease, and cattle pestilence are unknown to them.<sup>52</sup> This description clearly has its basis in the Sixth Panchen Lama, Blo bzang Dpal ldan Ye shes's (1738-1780), *Guide to Śambhala*, which was influential in Mongolia, and which, in turn, has its source in Tārānātha's translation of the Nepalese text, *Kalāpāvātāra* (Tib. *Ka la par 'jug pa*).

In his aforementioned text, Minjüür Dechin informs us that although all the teachings of the Buddha Śākyamuni will be widely circulated in all the four continents of the Great Jambudvīpa during the era of perfection, it will be the Mahāyāna and the Unsurpassed Yoga Tantras (*niruttarayogatantra*), such as the *Guhyasamāja*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Yamāntaka*, and *Kālacakra tantras*, that will develop in an inconceivable manner. Among them, the *Kālacakratantra*, which will be re-disseminated by Raudra Cakrī, will be a *chief tantra*. Due to practicing the mentioned *tantras*, many will attain Awakening within a single lifetime.<sup>53</sup> Jambadorj's *Crystal Mirror* and the anonymous Mongolian text from Buryatia predict that at that time, Nāgārjuna will enter his relics, which he previously turned into a stone and upon which he placed his blessings. Likewise, Tsongkhapa will enter his relics after the teacher by name Ringchin Choyijil steals them away from Tsongkhapa's Gandan monastery. Having entered his relics, Tsongkhapa will proceed in the form of a great *siddha*.<sup>54</sup> According to the anonymous Buryat text, Nāgārjuna and Tsongkhapa will

<sup>51</sup> *Khünii oyunig barigch oron, deed büteeliin Shambalin orond magadtai törökh khiigeed Rigden Dagvin shashintai magad uchrakhin erööl, khuvitai shaviin erdeniin gishgüür khemeekh orshvoi*, 2003: 25-27. According to the colophon, Baldan Jigmed wrote the inscription. Translated from Tibetan into Mongolian by the Third Nalandra, a monk of Dashchoinbel Datsan.

<sup>52</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, Book 3. See also Bawden, 1984-85, Mon. Ser. 36 (1984-85): 459-67.

<sup>53</sup> *Khünii oyunig barigch oron, deed büteeliin Shambalyn orond magadtai törökh khiigeed Rigden Dagvin shashintai magad uchrakhin erööl, khuvitai shaviin erdeniin gishgüür khemeekh orshvoi*, 2003: 26-27. See also *Khünii oyunig barigch oron, deed büteeliin Shambalyn orond magadtai törökh khiigeed Rigden Dagvin shashintai magad uirakhyn erööl, khuvitai taviin erdeniin gishgüür khemeekh orshvoi*, 2003: 25-27. To support this statement, he references Vagindra's *Wish-Prayer for Śambhala*, the *Response to Questions regarding Śambhala* written by the Second 'Jam dbyangs Bzhad pa, Dkon mchog 'Jigs med Dbang po, 1728-1791), and Darmabazar's *Composition of the Land of Śambhala* (the 18th century).

<sup>54</sup> Jambadorj, 2006, Vol. 2, 2006: 294. *Shambala-yin orun-u baidal qayan-ud-un üy-e kiged jorčiqui-yin yosu ary-a jam nujud-i üjügülegsen sudur ene bolai*, MS:18.

accompany the Kalkī Raudra Cakrī in illuminating the teachings of *sūtras* and *tantras* and will remain on earth for as long as Raudra Kalkī remains, that is, for 150 years.<sup>55</sup> Minjüür Dechin suggests that this is a reason why even Bodhisattvas in Sukhāvati pray for their rebirth in in the Mahāyāna-oriented Śambhala.

In conclusion, we can say that all of the mentioned variants of eschatological discourses connected to Kalkī's war, despite their differences, became means of bringing together the degenerative aspects of the religious, social, and political realms deemed as immanent to the final phase of the *kali-yuga*. In the context of Indian and Mongolian Kālacakra traditions, these three realms were inextricably tied together within the historical periods that were characterized by social crises, ominous political events, and destruction of the Buddha Dharma by external forces. However, in all the discussed eschatological narratives, Kalkī's war with barbarians is a triumphant religious war, the good and evil that are clearly demarcated are irreconcilable, leaving no room for peaceful solution. Creating the sense of historical plausibility and giving rise to suspenseful anxieties, these eschatological narratives have been influencing the rhetoric of the respective religious communities in which they emerged to this very day.

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<sup>55</sup> *Shambala-yin orun-u baidal qayan-ud-un üy-e kiged jorčiqui-yin yosu ary-a jam nuγud-i üjügüilegsen sudur ene bolai*, MS: 18-19.

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## The Tulku Institution and Future of Buddhism in Mongolia

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**Abstract.** This article considers the restoration of the tulku institution in contemporary Mongolia in the context of the processes taking place in the world of Tibetan Buddhism. The restoration of the *khuvilgaan* institution in Mongolia has the potential to strengthen the Mongolian Sangha and increase its authority in the Tibetan Buddhist world. However, further development depends largely on two important factors. First, much has to do with the restoration of the Jetsun Damba Khutugtu Institution in Mongolia. Second, the future of the Dalai Lama institution could also have a major impact on the situation inside Mongolia.

Since the early 1990s, Mongolia has been in the process of rebuilding Buddhist institutions. The revival of the tulku (*khuvilgaan*) institution takes an important place in this process. The tulku institution in the modern world is an extremely curious phenomenon. Being a product of medieval society that appeared in response to certain conditions of the time, this institution did not sink into oblivion together with the Mongolian and Tibetan theocracies. Moreover, according to Dr. Lopez, in the middle of the twentieth century, many leaders of the Tibetan Sangha in exile, among whom were well-known tulkus, approved a moratorium on the discovery of new tulkus. In other words the representatives of this institution themselves actually recognized its problematic nature, but ten years later the ban was violated and new tulkus began to appear.<sup>1</sup> This vitality of the tulku institution indicates that it continues to play an important function in Tibetan Buddhism. This is due to the fact that, as I will show in more detail below, the tulku institution provides legitimacy to religious figures largely at the expense of status, without requiring from its owner outstanding achievements.

This institution has been closely associated with politics since its very inception in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This connection was further strengthened under the Fifth Dalai Lama, under whom Tibet finally becomes a theocracy. During the Qing Empire, Lhasa became an important religious center. Under the influence of the Fifth Dalai Lama Tibetan Buddhism spread throughout the Empire, including Mongolia. Thus the tulku institution took root there.

These two factors - the legitimization of religious figures and the close connection with politics - are both a strength and a weakness of the institution.

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<sup>1</sup> The Tulku Institution in Tibetan Buddhism: A Symposium at USF, February 15 & 16, 2013. Accessed August 04, 2019. <http://tsadra-wp.tsadra.org/2013/02/20/the-tulku-institution-in-tibetan-buddhism-a-symposium-at-usf-february-15-16-2013>.



By the early twentieth century, the Mongols had 243 khuvilgaans, 147 of them in Inner Mongolia and 35 in Kokonur.<sup>2</sup> The main tulku and the head of the Sangha in Outer Mongolia was Jetsun Damba Khutugtu. Besides him there were 13 khutugtus with seals, i.e., officially recognized by the Manchu authorities. The Eighth Bogdo Gegeen played a major role in the struggle for independence of Mongolia and headed the Mongolian theocratic state in 1911-1924. The Eighth Jalkhanz Khutugtu was one of the most famous, revered and wealthy khuvilgaans in the country, twice held the post of Prime Minister. The Sixth Manjushri Khutugtu S. Tserendorj (1872-1937) was a prominent religious and political figure of Mongolia, its fourth Prime Minister. Previous Eguzer Khutugtu Galsnadash (1870-1930) was also a Minister in the government of the theocratic Mongolia.

The Eighth Bogdo Gegeen passed away in 1924. After his death the new revolutionary forces that had come to power three years ago adopted new Constitution and proclaimed Mongolian People's Republic. The Seventh Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and the Fifth Great People's Khural adopted a resolution banning the search for the next reincarnation of Bogdo Gegeen. At the end of the 1930s during the anti-religious campaign almost all Buddhist institutions in Mongolia, including the tulku institution were destroyed.

This did not mean the disappearance of the Buddhist tradition as a whole. Many lamas, even going to the secular way of life, continued Buddhist practice at the household level, could teach local people. In addition, in 1944 authorities opened again the Gandan monastery in Ulaanbaatar, it had its own community. Furthermore, there were even khuvilgaans during the socialist period. For example, Tserendondov Khuvilgaan and Khuukhen Khutugtu O. Tagarva.

Tserendondov Khuvilgaan was born in 1919 on the territory of Zavkhan aimag. At the age of five, he was recognized as the fourth reincarnation of the famous Tibetan poet and yogin Milarepa and enthroned in the local monastery. As a result of the anti-religious policy of the new state, he was forced to switch to a secular way of life. But believers continued to honor him as the last of the surviving major lamas.<sup>3</sup>

The Eight Khuukhen Khutugtu Ooloi Tagarva was born in 1944 in Dundgovi aimag. In 1960 one of the former lamas recognized him as the incarnation of Khuukhen Khutugtu. Until 1990, this information was kept secret, but a former Lama, a friend of his father, personally instructed him in Dharma. Most of his life O. Tagarva worked as herdsman. Only in 1990 he was officially enthroned as Khuukhen Khutugtu in the monastery of Delgeriin Choir, he was 46 years old. The important

<sup>2</sup> Монголын бурхны шашин. Accessed August 14, 2019. <https://ikon.mn/n/fc1>

<sup>3</sup> Милово бурханы хувилгаан Цэрэндондов. Accessed August 14, 2019. [http://zashiluustei.pms.mn/index.php?module=menu&cmd=content&id=67&menu\\_id=42](http://zashiluustei.pms.mn/index.php?module=menu&cmd=content&id=67&menu_id=42)

fact is that O. Tagarva became one of the first officially recognized reincarnations, found and approved not by the Dalai Lama, but by the Mongolian lamas.<sup>4</sup>

These two examples also clearly show that these two men, while lacking formal religious education and religious achievements, were nevertheless held in high esteem by the believers because of their tulku status.

In the 1990s, the restoration of Buddhist institutions in Mongolia began. On September 20, 1991, the Dalai Lama officially confirmed the existence of the incarnation of the Ninth Bogdo Gegeen. On 13 January 1992, his enthronement ceremony was held in Dharamsala in the presence of senior lamas, tulkus and officials.<sup>5</sup> But the Mongolian government regarded it an interference of the Tibetan diaspora to the internal affairs of the country. As a result in 1995, the National Security Council of Mongolia refused to issue a visa to Bogdo Gegeen.<sup>6</sup> He managed to visit the country only in 1999 on a tourist visa. During that visit, a number of Mongolian monks held the enthronement ceremony of Bogdo Gegeen at the Erdeni Dzu monastery. At the same time, the Khambo Lama of the Gandan monastery - the center of Mongolian Buddhists – did not participate in the event, and the government issued an official condemnation<sup>7</sup>. Only on November 2, 2011, the Ninth Bogdo Gegeen was enthroned for the second time as the head of Mongolian Buddhists at the Gandan monastery. This time the Khambo Lama of the Gandan as well as other high lamas and authorities were present. Bogdo Gegeen did not stay in his new status for long – on March 1, 2012 he passed away.

According to Khambo Lama Choijamts, before his death Bogdo said that “...my next rebirth will appear in Mongolia and will accomplish my great deeds. ...Secondly, the affairs of the state do not interest me in any way. Therefore, my future reincarnation in the slightest capacity will not be interested in politics, and will only do the works of faith...”<sup>8</sup> This clarification that his future incarnation will not be involved in politics is very revealing and is intended primarily for Mongolian politicians and statesmen, who may be afraid of attempts, if not to restore the theocracy, then significantly influence politics. Thus, the political component of the tulku institution is not only still relevant, but also causes fears among politicians.

<sup>4</sup> Говийн багш. О.Тагарваагийн тухай хөрөг дурьдатгал. (Улаанбаатар хот, 2016), 201.

<sup>5</sup> Кузьмин С.Л., Оюунчимэг Ж. *Краткая биография Его Святейшества Богдо-гэгэна IX Джеб-цзундамба-хутухты*. Сохраним Тибет!, 14 января 2011. Accessed June 14, 2019. [http://savetibet.ru/2011/01/14/bogdo\\_gegen.html](http://savetibet.ru/2011/01/14/bogdo_gegen.html)

<sup>6</sup> Lhagvademchig J. Shastri. *Double Headed Mongolian Buddhism*, February 28, 2018. Accessed July 24, 2019. <http://theecessblog.com/2018/02/double-headed-mongolian-buddhism-by-lhagvademchig-j-shastri-visiting-researcher-university-of-shiga-prefecture>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Нэргуй В. Интервью с Хамбо-ламой Гандана Чойжамцем о последних днях и предсказаниях Богдо-гэгэна IX (2 марта 2012 года). Accessed August 14, 2019. [http://oros-oros.blogspot.com/2012/03/ix\\_03.html](http://oros-oros.blogspot.com/2012/03/ix_03.html)

Since the early 1990s, 20 *huvilgaans* have been identified and approved by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and the Ninth Jetsun Damba *Khutugtu*: *Diluwa Khutugtu*, *Zaya Gegeen*, *Gachen Khuvilgaan*, *Jalkhanz Khutugtu*, *Gushri Khuvilgaan*, *Jonan Khanchen Khuvilgaan*, *Lamyn Gegeen*, *Manzushir Khutugtu*, *Sraidorj Nomun Khan*, *Banbar Erdene Khutugtu*, *Barigri Khuvilgaan*, *Noen Khutugtu*, *Darba Pandita Khutugtu*, *Narobanchin Gegeen*, *Jamyangarav Gegeen*, *Eguzer Khutugtu*, *Sengee Rinpoche*, *Erdene Bishrelt Mergen Pandita*, *Yalguusan Khutugtu*, *Haraagiin Dar Ekhiin Khuvilgaan*.

There is no much information about many of them, so as they still quite young (although *Zaya Gegeen* already passed away) and study in India. As a rule, the search for new incarnation begins on the initiative of the believers themselves. They refer to the Dalai Lama or *Bogdo Gegeen* (while he was alive). Believers ask the Dalai Lama to identify a new *khuvilgaan*. At his request, believers or monks send the names of potential candidates born in aimag to the Dalai Lama. After some time he tells the name. Some of the newly found *khuvilgaans* were already lamas, some were children who had nothing to do with religion. Most of the new Mongolian *khuvilgaans* study in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in India. The main problem for young *khuvilgaans* is integration into the Mongolian Buddhist community. If before the famous *tulku* had his monastery and *shav'nars*, as well as the treasury, now some *khuvilgaans* are deprived of this and cannot fully participate in the religious life of the country and influence it. But at the same time some *khuvilgaans* are supported by believers, and have their own foundations.

One of the reasons why this medieval *tulku* institution is still relevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is that it offers a relatively simple and reliable method of legitimizing religious status. The Buddhist Sangha in Mongolia was virtually destroyed as a result of the anti-religious campaign of the 1930s. The processes of modernization and secularization undermined the position of religion as a whole. The authority of lamas among the population is not so high. Often Mongolian monks are accused of violating the rules of *Vinaya* and of low level of their training. To gain trust and authority among believers requires many years of training and raising the level of respect of the Sangha in general. *Tulku* institution in these conditions offers a good alternative. Here a religious figure gains authority in the eyes of the believers due to his status as a *tulku*. His personal qualities and abilities fade into the background. Believers see in him not only a particular person, but also his outstanding predecessors. Thus the connection with the past is built, through the present incarnation in which previous incarnations are manifested people get connected with the history of Buddhism in Mongolia, Tibet and India, become involved in the glorious times of Buddhism. This also contributes to the development of Buddhism in Mongolia and increases the authority of the Mongolian Sangha in the world.

One of the main features of the institution is that it is translocal in nature. It goes beyond nation state, because usually the tulku lineage goes back to prominent figures of Indian Buddhism, continues in Tibet, then comes to Mongolia. Some tulkus still operate at the transnational level. Telo Tulku Rinpoche is a prime example.

Formally, Telo Tulku is primarily associated with Buddhism in Russia, but at the same time he has historical ties with Mongolia and plays a significant role in the restoration of Buddhist institutions in Mongolia, he has a lot of followers there.

Telo Tulku Rinpoche (Ombadykov Erdni Basanovic) was born in 1972 in a family of Kalmyk emigrants in the USA. Already in childhood he wanted to become a Buddhist monk. On the advice of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama parents sent him to study at the Drepung Goman monastery in India. In the late 1980s, he was recognized as an incarnation of Diluwa Khutugtu XI Jamsranjav (1884-1965) - a famous Mongolian religious figure who died in exile in the United States. In 1992, Telo Tulku was elected Supreme Lama of Kalmykia (Shajin Lama), and later – the representative of the Dalai Lama in Russia and CIS countries. A considerable part of his activity connected with Mongolia. First, he is connected with it by his previous incarnation, secondly, the Oirats live in the West of Mongolia, and thirdly, as a representative of the Dalai Lama, he carries out various projects there and accompanies him on trips to Mongolia.<sup>9</sup> In 2007, the Naropa and Tilopa Buddhist center in Mongolia asked Telo Tulku to lead a project to restore the Narobanchen Buddhist monastery, which belonged to previous Diluwa Khutugtu.<sup>10</sup> In 2009, Telo Tulku made a trip to Mongolia, visiting Buddhist monasteries and centers of Ulaanbaatar and Zavkhan Aimag (where the previous Diluwa Khutugtu lived), where several thousand people came to his lecture and teachings.<sup>11</sup> Following the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and as his representative, Telo Tulku Rinpoche stresses that “Mongolia is a free Buddhist country capable of taking patronage over Buddhist teaching in the world.”<sup>12</sup>

The situation is complicated by the fact that in Mongolia there are reincarnations recognized not by the Dalai Lama, but by his opponents, that is, they are not under the control of the Dalai Lama. This is the group of the Dorje Shugden<sup>13</sup> followers. They appeared in post-socialist Mongolia thanks to Guru Deva Rinpoche's efforts. This is a prominent Mongolian Lama, who played an important role in the history of the

<sup>9</sup> Тэло Тулку Ринпоче о визите в Монголию. Интервью монгольскому телеканалу «Образование». Accessed August 14, 2019. <http://khurul.ru/2009/09/telo-tulku-rinpoche-o-vizite-v-mongoliyu>

<sup>10</sup> Тэло Тулку Ринпоче. Accessed August 24, 2019. <http://khurul.ru/Шаджин-лама/telo-tulku-rinpoche/>

<sup>11</sup> Тур Верховного ламы Калмыкии по Монголии. Accessed May 14, 2019. <http://khurul.ru/2009/07/tur-verhovnogo-lamy-kalmykii-po-mongolii>

<sup>12</sup> Интервью Шаджин ламы Калмыкии Тэло Тулку Ринпоче Монгольскому телевидению. Accessed March 23, 2019. <http://khurul.ru/2009/03/testpage-747>

<sup>13</sup> Dreyfus, Georges. "The Shugden Affair: Origins of a Controversy". *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*. IABS. 21 (2 (1998)): 227–270.

Tibetan diaspora in India, as well as influenced the history of Buddhism in modern Mongolia.

Guru Deva Rinpoche, also known as Sokpu Rinpoche, was born in Ordos (Inner Mongolia) in 1908. As a child, he was recognized and enthroned as the tulku of one of the 84 Indian mahasiddhas.<sup>14</sup> In 1928, at the age of 20, he went to Drepung monastery in Tibet, where he studied under the guidance of leading Gelug mentors of the twentieth century. Guru Deva Rinpoche did not agree with the Dalai Lama's call to stop worshipping Dorje Shugden and, having been in opposition since 1986, was forced to leave India at the age of 78. In 1991 he came to Mongolia, where the restoration of Buddhist institutions had just begun, and lived there until his death in 2009. Possessing great authority and means, Sokpu Rinpoche made a considerable contribution to the development of Buddhism in Mongolia, in particular, thanks to him, the Amarbayasgalant monastery was restored. But at the same time, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mongolian Sangha and the inexperience of believers, Guru Deva Rinpoche rooted the cult of Dorje Shugden there, thus laying the foundation for future disagreements. The main disciple and follower of Sokpu Rinpoche in Mongolia was N. Osgonbayar, whom Rinpoche recognized as the khuvilgaan of the famous Mongolian scholar, philosopher and historian Lama Zava Damdin.

Today, Zava Damdin is one of the most popular Mongolian tulkus, gathering thousands of believers in his teachings and lectures.<sup>15</sup> Zava Damdin is quite critical of the Khambo Lama Choijamts and anyone who focuses on the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan teachers. He claims that neither he nor his teachers chose any of Choijamts nor the Dalai Lama the head of Buddhism in Mongolia.<sup>16</sup> From his point of view, Buddhism in Mongolia has a long history and one should follow what the old Mongolian lamas taught, and not become a conductor of external influences. That, however, does not prevent him from regularly inviting Tibetan lamas to Mongolia.

It is obvious that Zava Damdin is speaking from a more nationalist position. At the heart of his criticism are fears that the lamas of the Gandan monastery, the main center of Mongolian Buddhists, want to subordinate Mongolian Buddhism to the Tibetan Buddhist diaspora, embed it in the hierarchy of the Tibetan Sangha led by the Dalai Lama. His position is that Mongolian Buddhism is an independent religious tradition.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> His Eminence Sokpu Rinpoche. Accessed August 4, 2019. <http://www.dorjeshugden.org/lamas/sokpu-rinpoche>

<sup>15</sup> Зава Дамдин Ринбүчи: Далай ламыг хүлээн зөвшөөрдөг улс Монголоос өөр хаана байгаа юм? //Sonin.mn agency, 19.04.2017. Accessed July 13, 2019. <http://www.sonin.mn/news/politics-economy/76889>

<sup>16</sup> Сайхан Т. Ц, Батмөнх: З.Санждорж, Х.Баасансүрэн, Огсонбаяр лам нарын үнэн төрхийг илчлэх болно. Accessed July 13, 2019. <http://polit.mn/20604>

<sup>17</sup> King, Matthew. "Finding the Buddha Hidden below the Sand: Youth, Identity and Narrative in the Revival of Mongolian Buddhism" in Change in Democratic Mongolia, pp.17-29. Leiden, The Netherlands: BRILL, 2012.

However, for Zawa Damdin (though to a lesser extent), and for the Mongolian khuvilgaans in general, the source of legitimacy is outside. For the former, it is the Tibetan monks who follow Dorje Shugden, for the latter, it is the Dalai Lama who finds and approves new incarnations.

In November 2016, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, during his visit to Mongolia, stated that the Tenth Jebtsun Damba Khutugtu was born in the country and the process of his identification began, but did not disclose any details.<sup>18</sup> But it is already clear that the new khutugtu is a Mongolian. This is one of the main conditions from the point of view of the Mongolian authorities and the population as a whole. The story of the return of the Ninth Bogdo to Mongolia vividly demonstrated this.

For the Chinese government the emergence of the Tenth Bogdo Gegeen, recognized by the current Dalai Lama, creates an alternative source of power and influence to China. Actually he spoils the attempts of the Chinese authorities to take control over Tibetan Buddhism. After the death of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Bogdo Gegeen will be the only supreme hierarch in the Gelug tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, since the Chinese Panchen does not enjoy authority among the believers, the Karmapas' positions are weakened by the scandal, the heads of other schools do not play a significant role in the world of Tibetan Buddhism beyond their own schools. Some Chinese authors describe the restoration of the Jetsun Damba Khutugtu institution as a “great victory and breakthrough of the Dalai clique,” which happened with the participation of the “Indian government and the CIA.”<sup>19</sup>

The Chinese authorities have long been trying to interfere in religious affairs and control the processes in the Tibetan Sangha. The main goal has been the control over the Dalai Lama's next rebirth or the future of the Dalai Lama institution in principle. It began with the tragic story of the incarnation of the Panchen Lama. In 1995, six-year-old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima was chosen as a new Panchen by the Dalai Lama. Chinese authorities learned about it and three days later he had disappeared with his whole family. On December 8, 1995, China announced six-year-old Gyaltzen Norbu was the new Panchen Lama. Then there were attempts with the Karmapa, but he fled from China, now the main stake is the Dalai Lama. China has made it clear that it will find its Dalai Lama. The Chinese Communist Party passed laws (New Regulations on Religious Affairs and the Rules on the Management of the Reincarnation of Tibetan Living Buddhas) banning reincarnations without prior approval from the government. The highest reincarnations including the Dalai Lama

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<sup>18</sup> Mongolia reassures China against Dalai Lama revisit, 10th Khalkha Jetsun Dhamba approval. Tibet-anReview.net, January 26, 2017. Accessed July 13, 2019. <http://www.tibetanreview.net/mongolia-re-assures-china-against-dalai-lama-revisit-10th-khalkha-jetsun-dhamba-approval/>

<sup>19</sup> Lulu, Jichang. *Thinking outside the Urn: China and the reincarnation of Mongolia's highest lama*. March 21, 2017. Accessed July 23, 2019. <https://jichanglulu.wordpress.com/2017/03/21/urn>



must be approved by the central government.<sup>20</sup> Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Geng Shuang said: “The institution of reincarnation of the Dalai Lama has been in existence for several hundred years — the Fourteenth Dalai Lama himself was found and recognized following religious rituals and historical conventions, and his succession was approved by the then Central Government. Therefore reincarnation of living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations and follow religious rituals and historical conventions.”<sup>21</sup>

The Dalai Lama, trying to avoid this, offers different options. In recent years, he suggested that he might reincarnate as a female, or be reborn in a country outside of Chinese government control, or that he might not reincarnate at all. In 2004, the Dalai Lama in an interview said that “The institution of the Dalai Lama, and whether it should continue or not, is up to the Tibetan people. If they feel it is not relevant, then it will cease and there will be no Fifteenth Dalai Lama.”<sup>22</sup>

During a meeting with students in Dharamsala on 25 October 2019, the Dalai Lama suggested that the tulku institution may be coming to an end.<sup>23</sup> He added that, “Institutions need to be owned by the people, not by an individual. Like my own institution, the Dalai Lama’s office, I feel like it is linked to a feudal system. The system should end, or at least change with the changing times”.<sup>24</sup>

Here the political component of the tulku institution was fully manifested. And it concerns not only Tibetan-Chinese relations. The US is closely monitoring developments. James McGovern, chairman of the U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China introduced The Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019 in Congress on September 13, 2019. It threatens sanctions against Chinese officials who interfere with the selection of a new Dalai Lama. The bill proposed penalties including the freezing of assets and denial of entry to the United States.<sup>25</sup> Senator Cory Gardner said that “the United States Congress will never recognize a Dalai Lama that is selected by the Chinese. His Holiness has laid out [his] succession. Only then will the US follow that succession.”<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Shaw, Steve. *The Future of the Dalai Lama and Tibet*. April 23, 2019. Accessed June 15, 2019. <http://globalcomment.com/the-future-of-the-dalai-lama-and-tibet/>

<sup>21</sup> Handley, Erin. *Dalai Lama says he could be reincarnated in India, but Beijing says rebirth must follow Chinese rules*. Accessed July 1, 2019. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-21/dalai-lama-says-he-could-be-reincarnated-in-india/10923354>

<sup>22</sup> Shaw, Steve. *The Future of the Dalai Lama and Tibet*. April 23, 2019. Accessed June 15, 2019. <http://globalcomment.com/the-future-of-the-dalai-lama-and-tibet/>

<sup>23</sup> Whitaker, Justin. *Dalai Lama Hints at a Possible End to the Reincarnate Lama System*. Buddhistdoor Global, 2019-10-29. Accessed November 15, 2019. <https://www.buddhistdoor.net/news/dalai-lama-hints-at-a-possible-end-to-the-reincarnate-lama-system>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Dalai Lama’s Successor Will be Chosen by Tibetans, not by China: US Envoy. Accessed November 1, 2019. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/chosen-10282019145243.html>

<sup>26</sup> Shaw, Steve. *The Future of the Dalai Lama and Tibet*. April 23, 2019. Accessed June 15, 2019. <http://globalcomment.com/the-future-of-the-dalai-lama-and-tibet/>



It is evident that under current conditions it is impossible to find pro-Tibetan Dalai Lama in Tibet. The Chinese government will not allow this. In turn, the pro-Chinese Dalai Lama will not be respected among believers, both Tibetans and others. The end to the Dalai Lama lineage looks like an alternative that can be acceptable to China even more than to the Tibetans because then Chinese government does not have to constantly involve into Buddhist matters all over the world. But the decision to find its own Dalai Lama goes far beyond Tibetan-Buddhist relationships and concerns all the countries in the region where Tibetan Buddhism is present. In other words it has clear geopolitical implications.

It is unlikely that the end of the Dalai Lama lineage will end the tulku institution itself. The Dalai Lama does not have any direct authority over other reincarnated teachers, either within his own Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism, or in any other tradition.

For Mongolia, which is apprehensive about the growth of Chinese presence in the economy and other spheres, this is an extremely undesirable prospect. In addition, for Mongolian believers, especially the newly found tulkus, ending the Dalai Lama institution would be highly destabilizing. Potentially, this will strengthen the position of those lamas who do not follow the Dalai Lama. At the same time, it can also become a factor of even greater strengthening of the Mongolian Sangha. The appearance of its Bogdo Gegeen, independent of the PRC, will lead to the fact that the highest authority in the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism will be in Mongolia.

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# Making the Esoteric Public: The Ninth Panchen Lama and the Trans-ethnonational Rituals of the Kālacakra Initiations in Early Twentieth-Century East Asia<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

The *Kālacakratantra* is an early eleventh-century esoteric treatise that belongs to the highest class of *tantras*, the unexcelled *yoga-tantras* (S: *niruttara-yoga-tantra*)<sup>3</sup> and is believed to be the last *niruttara-yoga-tantra* to appear in India.<sup>4</sup> The *tantra* spread to Nepal and Tibet under the promulgation of Piṇḍo and his disciple Atiśa, as well as Nāropa, and became highly influential in Tibetan Buddhist traditions, especially with the Jonang and Gelug traditions.<sup>5</sup> In the Kālacakra tradition, an initiation (S: *abhiṣeka*; T: *dbang/dbang bskur*) is an essential ritual in which a qualified teacher confers the authority and ability to practice a certain tantric method.<sup>6</sup> It can be understood as a process of purification, a rite of passage into a superior spiritual path, an empowerment of potencies, and a type of healing for both worldly and mental distresses.<sup>7</sup>

Since May 1954, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama has conducted thirty-four Kālacakra initiations outside of Tibet. The most recent initiation, which had 200,000 people in attendance, was carried out in January 2017 in Bodhgaya, India.<sup>8</sup> All of these thirty-

<sup>1</sup> This paper was first written by Daigengna Duoer for a graduate seminar on the *Kālacakratantra* taught by Dr. Vesna A. Wallace in fall, 2017 at the University of California, Santa Barbara. A version of this paper was presented under the title, “The 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama and Kālacakra Initiations in Inner Mongolia” on January 30, 2018, for the New Directions in Mongolian Buddhism Conference held at the University of California, Santa Barbara. I am extremely grateful for Dr. Wallace’s continuous support and guidance for this research project. I am also very much thankful for all the helpful comments that I have received from Dr. José I. Cabezón, Dr. Matthew King, Dr. Uranchimeg Tsultem, Dr. Brian Baumann, Dr. Rory Lindsay, and Dr. Sangseraima Ujeed on this project.

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<sup>3</sup> For non-English terms used in this paper, “S” refers to Sanskrit, “T” refers to Tibetan, “C” refers to Chinese, “M” refers to Mongolian, and “J” refers to Japanese.

<sup>4</sup> Vesna A. Wallace, *The Inner Kālacakratantra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 1014.

<sup>6</sup> Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, “The Kālacakra Empowerment as Conducted by Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche,” in *As Long as Space Endures: Essays on the Kālacakra Tantra in Honor of H. H. The Dalai Lama*, ed. Edward A. Arnold (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2009), 415.

<sup>7</sup> Jeffrey Hopkins, *Kālacakra Tantra Rite of Initiation: For the Stage of Generation* (Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 67-68.

<sup>8</sup> The Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Introduction to the Kalacakra,” <https://www.dalailama.com/teachings/kalachakra-initiations>. (accessed January 7, 2020).

four initiations were attended by thousands of people from various parts of the world. The Kālacakra initiations have become not only popular tantric rituals for global Tibetan Buddhist communities, but also major international events that promote world peace and religious freedom.

However, the first Kālacakra initiation that was given to large diverse public audiences outside of Tibet was conducted not by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, but by the Ninth Panchen Lama at the turn of the twentieth century. Nine such Kālacakra initiations were given by the Ninth Panchen Lama from 1928 to 1936. Tens of thousands of attendees from Inner Mongolia, Republic of China, and parts of Amdo, such as Mongol lords and princes, Chinese politicians and war lords, foreign dignitaries, distinguished Buddhists from various transnational traditions, celebrities, socialites, university students, as well as thousands of interested individuals, all flocked to the rituals.

Using newspaper, periodical, and biographical sources, the first part of this paper reveals some of the details of these Buddhist rituals and shows that the Ninth Panchen Lama's Kālacakra initiations were not only open to diverse audiences of the public, they were also groundbreaking in their embrace of modern technologies such as print media for advertising and fundraising. Some of these media platforms promoted Buddhism, while others served as public arenas for critical discussions on religion. Modern transportation systems, radio communication, and film were utilized to assist ritual operations and documentation. Robust commercial activities around the Kālacakra initiations even took place, such as the vending of the rituals' photographs and various types of religious commodities from Tibet. Non-monastic women of various cultural and social backgrounds also emerged in these sources as avid donors and passionate participants of these public Tibetan Buddhist rituals.

The second part of the paper asks, why did the Ninth Panchen Lama perform these Kālacakra initiations outside of Central Tibet and to such diverse public audiences? What does it mean to perform this esoteric tantric ritual multiples times in public to audiences made up of mostly non-Tibetans and non-monastics? Why was this esoteric ritual made public? Can the Kālacakra initiation, a tantric ritual that places high importance on the vows of secrecy, be allowed to be performed to a mass audience? Furthermore, why were these nine Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama so well-received by the general public outside of Tibet? What does this say about the role Tibetan Buddhism, especially the institution of Gelug Buddhism, played in the post-imperium spaces of modern East Asia?

This paper argues that in the precarious ruins of post-Qing East Asia, the Ninth Panchen Lama in exile performed these Kālacakra initiations in places where religious and political capitals were highly saturated, so that old lineages and priest-patron bonds can be maintained. For the Mongol patrons of the Lama, the Kālacakra initiations in Inner Mongolia created rituals spaces which facilitated the preservation

of the imagined community that is the Mongols, who were bound by lineages through the myth of Śambhala as described in the *Kālacakratantra*. This sharing of ethnonational communal experiences through rituals helped to gather, centralize, and mobilize these nomadic groups of people for political change. For the Chinese patrons of the Republican government, the publicity of the Kālacakra initiations were useful in promoting ethnic harmony between the “five nationalities” (C: *wuzu gonghe* 五族共和), especially between the Tibetans, Mongols, and the Han. However, as this paper shows, there was also at the same time a popular desire for the continuity of Buddhist history and tradition, as well as a market for the messianic message contained in the *Kālacakratantra*, especially in desperate times of war, natural disasters, political instabilities, and increasing global conflict.

Through examining the Ninth Panchen Lama’s nine Kālacakra initiations performed outside of Tibet between 1928 and 1936, this paper unveils that Tibetan Buddhism, especially Gelug Buddhism, was highly transregional, trans-ethnonational, and even international at the turn of the twentieth century. On the one hand, the Ninth Panchen Lama actively pursued religious and political activities beyond Tibet, which allowed for the maintenance of old lineages while enabling the forging of new alliances. On the other hand, Tibetan Buddhism was involved in a larger pan-Asian tantric revival movement propelled by modern Chinese Buddhists and Japanese Buddhists who were motivated to “rediscover” the “lost *tantras*” in Tibetan Buddhism. On top of this, the Ninth Panchen Lama and the Gelug Buddhist institution enjoyed considerable international coverage by travelers, journalists, and academics from the West, who followed Tibet and its religious institutions closely in their geopolitical analyses of pre-WWII East Asia.

This paper shows that while the diverse audiences of the Kālacakra initiations had creative agencies to interpret and participate in the rituals in ways that were relevant to them, this paper also suggests that the rituals themselves had agencies of their own – they held affective power that was able to evoke various types of imaginations and interpretations of religion in their recipients. Tantric texts such as the *Kālacakratantra* and its associated practices provided metanarratives using Buddhist cosmology to explain suffering, war, disorder, and even imperialism in the post-imperium instabilities of modern East Asia.

Finally, this paper presents the Kālacakra initiations as case studies of how Tibetan Buddhist rituals functioned as public spheres that facilitated public discourse on religion and modernity. As the Kālacakra initiations became controversial topics of fascination and denunciation through the power of print media, the Buddhist ritual served as a location for public debates on the role of religion in politics, and the place of faith in the processes of modernization.



### The 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama (1883-1937) in Exile:

The Ninth Panchen Lama was born as Samdrub Gyatso on February 19, 1883 in the Brum Gasha village in the Dakpo region of southeastern Tibet.<sup>9</sup> He was selected out of three possible reincarnations of the Eighth Panchen Lama.<sup>10</sup> In 1888, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama presided over the tonsure ceremony for Samdrub Gyatso and bestowed upon him the religious name Jétsun Lozang Thubten Chökyi Nyima Gélèk Namgyel Pelzangbo (T: Rje-btsun blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal dpal bzang po).<sup>11</sup> In 1892, the Ninth Panchen Lama was enthroned at the Tashilhunpo monastery and took novice vows under the regent of Tibet, Demo Khutukhtu (T: De mo ho thog thu).<sup>12</sup> A few years later in 1902, the Ninth Panchen Lama took monastic vows with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Lhasa.<sup>13</sup>

The young Panchen Lama was only in his early twenties when the British invasion led by Colonel Francis Younghusband came to his doorsteps in 1903. The era marked by imperialist ambitions and global-scale warfare had begun and Tibet was not exempt. The Qing hegemony that had been a major patron to the Tibetan Gelug Buddhist institution for centuries also struggled with foreign invasions and after a series of unsuccessful reforms, collapsed under the weight of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. In the ruins of the post-imperium, the Republic of China (ROC) declared itself as a sovereign state under the leadership of its first president, Sun Yat-sen, and his political party, the Kuomintang (KMT). Soon after the fall of the Qing empire in 1911, Outer Mongolia declared independence, followed by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama declaring independence for Tibet.<sup>14</sup> However, the new Republic of China continued to recognize non-Han groups and regions as part of the ROC state. Tibet, along with Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Manchuria were claimed as part of the ROC territories. Tibetans, Mongolians, Uyghurs and Hui Muslims, and Manchus were recognized alongside Han Chinese as the official five nationalities and languages of the state.

In 1923, due to disputes with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over taxation imposed on Tashilhunpo, the Ninth Panchen Lama left Tibet and began more than a decade of exiled travel in Inner Mongolia and the Republic of China. When he arrived in

<sup>9</sup> Fabienne Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*, trans. Rebecca Bissett Buechel (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2011), 205.

<sup>10</sup> Jagou, 205.

<sup>11</sup> Jagou uses the name “Jétsun Lozang Chökyi Nyima Gélèk Namgyel Pelzangbo” (Tib: Rje-btsun blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal dpal bzang po), 205; The Treasury of Lives uses “thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma,” <https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/thub-bstan-chos-kyi-nyi-ma/3822>; the BDRC uses these name variants: chos kyi nyi ma, blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal, paN chen 06 blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, paN chen 09 blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma (he is sometimes referred to as the Sixth Panchen Lama, but mostly commonly referred to as the Ninth Panchen Lama), <https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=P215>.

<sup>12</sup> Jagou, 205.

<sup>13</sup> Jagou, 205.

<sup>14</sup> Jagou, 205.

Beijing in January 1925, he gave a speech read by Lozang Gyeltsen at the National Reconstruction Conference (C: *shanhou huiyi* 善後會議). The speech denounced internal disputes within the ROC government over power struggles and suggested the “collaboration of the five nationalities” (C: *wuzu gongzhu* 五族共助).<sup>15</sup> This was the first time that the Panchen Lama had used the ROC’s rhetoric of the “Five Races under One Union” (C: *wuzu gonghe* 五族共和) in public. In the following months of the same year, the Panchen Lama gave a series of Green and White Tārā and Amitāyus initiations at Mount Wutai, as well as in Beijing, Hangzhou, and Shanghai.<sup>16</sup> In August 1925, he was given the title of “Propagating Righteousness and Spreading Salvation” (C: *xuancheng jishi* 宣誠濟世) by the ROC government through the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission to commemorate his efforts at spreading the dharma outside of Tibet.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of 1929, eight Offices of the Ninth Panchen Lama had opened in the ROC, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and India with the support of the ROC government. They are located in Nanjing (capital city of the ROC government in South China), Beijing (today’s Beijing, in North China), Chengdu (in Sichuan), Fengtian (today’s Shenyang, in Manchuria), Xining (in Qinghai), Xilinhot (in Inner Mongolia), Taiyuan (in Shanxi), and Darjeeling (in India).<sup>18</sup> According to two correspondences sent from the Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing to the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, the purpose of setting up these offices was due to the Panchen Lama’s concern for “national security and the suffering of the Tibetan people,”<sup>19</sup> as well as a wish to “collaborate with comrades on the revolution front and pursue the liberation of the Tibetan people.”<sup>20</sup> It is also clear from the document that more and more Tibetans were traveling outside of Tibet and that these offices would provide satellite support. In the *Manifesto of the Establishment of the Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing* (C: *banchan zhujing bangongchu chengli xuanyan* 班禪駐京辦公處成立宣言) written by the Office in Nanjing, it is stated that the offices of the Panchen Lama had three main goals:

<sup>15</sup> Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China 中國藏學研究中心，中國第二歷史檔案館合編，*Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang’an xuanbian* 九世班禪內地活動及返藏受阻檔案選編 [Selections of Archival Materials on the Ninth Panchen, His Activities in the Mainland, and Obstacles Returning Tibet] (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1992), 2.

<sup>16</sup> Jagou, 206.

<sup>17</sup> Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China, 5.

<sup>18</sup> The Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing 班禪駐京辦公處，“Banchan gedu bangongchu yilanbiao” 班禪各地辦公處一覽表 [A Chart for the Various Offices of the Panchen Lama], *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊1(1929), in *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成 [Complete Collection of Republican-Era Buddhist Periodical Literature], ed. Huang Xianian 黃夏年 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan, 2006), Vol. 30: 58. The multi-volume source *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* will be referred to as MFQ in this paper.

<sup>19</sup> C: *guofang zhi dianwei, zangmin zhi jiku* 國防之艱危·藏民之疾苦

<sup>20</sup> C: *lianhe geming lichang shang zhi tongzhi, yiqiu Xizang minzu zhi jiefang* 聯合革命立場上之同志，以求西藏民族之解放；Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China, 6-7.

1. to collaborate with the ROC in carrying out the “Unity of the Five Nationalities” (C: *wuzu gonghe* 五族共和), which meant unity between the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Hui Muslims<sup>21</sup>; and campaigns of dispelling invasions from “aggressive neighbors” (C: *qianglin* 強鄰);<sup>22</sup>
2. to help and lead the people of Tibet in ethnic equality towards self-determination and autonomy (C: *zijue, zizhi* 自決, 自治);
3. to protect and preserve the religion of Tibet in order to spread the rightful spirit of Buddhism for world peace.<sup>23</sup>

It is unclear if these were the words of the Panchen Lama himself or if he had any participation in writing them, since the correspondences and manifesto were composed in Chinese. In any case, the strategic choice of locations for these offices alone signal not only the spreading influence of the Panchen Lama outside of Tibet, but also the diplomatic planning that the ROC had in mind for the widely respected Tibetan Buddhist monk.

In June 1931, the Ninth Panchen Lama was appointed by the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission as the “Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers” (C: *xichui xuanhua shi* 西陲宣化使), as well as the “Protector of the State and Propagation Master of Extended Wisdoms” (C: *huguo xuanhua guanghui dashi* 護國宣化廣慧大師).<sup>24</sup> The term used for “propagation” is *xuanhua* 宣化, in which the character *xuan* 宣 can be understood as “promotion and propagation” of ideas and practices; and *hua* 化 can be understood as carrying the connotation of “edification,” “instruction,” or even “enlightenment.” As for the “Western Frontiers,” the title refers to the frontier territories to the west of the ROC, which is comprised of places such as Qinghai (Amdo), Xikang (Kham), and Tibet.<sup>25</sup> The appointment thus conveys both the type of duty and the geographical range within which the duties shall be carried out for the Panchen Lama as understood by the ROC government.

In a directive document issued by the ROC government in 1931, the specific duties and restrictions for the Panchen Lama as the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers were listed as follows:

1. It is appropriate for the Ambassador to promote and instruct the *Dharma* and approved messages of the government<sup>26</sup> for lamas, monasteries, and

<sup>21</sup> The term “Hui” 回 in the rhetoric of the “Five Races under One Union” mainly refers to the Hui Muslims of Western China, but it also includes the Uyghurs (回疆) in Xinjiang.

<sup>22</sup> This is mainly a reference to the Japanese invasion.

<sup>23</sup> This manifesto was published in the first monthly periodical issued by the Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing. See *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊(1929), in MFQ Vol. 30: 17.

<sup>24</sup> Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China, 26.

<sup>25</sup> Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China, 26.

<sup>26</sup> One important message from the ROC government that was to be delivered throughout the nation and especially in the frontier regions was the Three Principles of the People 三民主義, a political doctrine developed by Sun Yat-sen.

common Buddhists. However, if the Ambassador has opinions about the administration of Qinghai (Amdo) and Xikang (Kham), he must not directly intervene and should consult with the ROC government and the respective governments of the two provinces.

2. The Ambassador may choose appropriate places to set up administrative offices with two staff members dispatched by the central government to help out with propagation matters.
3. The Ambassador's office may have three departments, namely: secretarial, propagational, and educational. The allotted number of staff and hiring process will be decided separately [by the government].
4. The Ambassador may send individual promoters to the local monasteries in Qinghai and Xikang for goodwill and edification.
5. The Ambassador may have his own security team for the protection of safety. The team leader may be chosen by the Ambassador. The coaching staff will be chosen by the central government. Weapons, ammunition, radio communication, and automobile transportation will be provided by the central government.
6. The monthly allowance for the Ambassador's administration is 15,000 *yuan*. The security team's monthly allowance is also 15,000 *yuan*. Both will be paid by the central government.
7. The annual salary of the Panchen Lama is 120,000 *yuan*, paid monthly by the central government. All personal spending and living costs of attendants and disciples [of the Panchen Lama] will be deducted from the annual salary. All hospitality expenses<sup>27</sup> must discontinue.<sup>28</sup>

It is not difficult to see that the political and financial freedom of the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers was rather restricted. Although the Panchen Lama's duties as the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers did not include propagation and instruction for the northern frontiers of Inner Mongolia, the Lama's ties with the Mongols there overrode much of this job description. Most of the religious rituals performed by the Panchen Lama during his years outside of Tibet were performed in Inner Mongolia, where Gelug Buddhism had deep roots and influence for centuries.

The disregard for the duties of the Propagation Ambassador described by the ROC regime indicates that the Panchen Lama was less interested in what the new Republic had planned for him and more interested in continuing and strengthening old lineages and bonds. As we will see below, most of the propagation and teaching activities that the Panchen Lama did engage in were neither in Qinghai nor in Xikang,

<sup>27</sup> C: *zhaodai fei* 招待費

<sup>28</sup> Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China, 27.

but rather in Inner Mongolia, Beijing, and Hangzhou, places where religious and political capitals were highly saturated.

### The 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama and the Kālacakra initiations:

During his years of exile outside of Tibet, the Ninth Panchen Lama performed numerous tantric initiations. According to Fabinne Jagou, two hagiographies of the Panchen Lama enumerate eighteen tantric initiations given to the public.<sup>29</sup> They are nine Kālacakra initiations and nine long life initiations (five Amitāyus, three Tārā, and one uncertain).<sup>30</sup> Amongst these rites, the Kālacakra initiations were particularly well-attended by not only Buddhist donors but also citizens from various parts of society. The nine Kālacakra initiations also received considerably more media coverage in newspapers and periodicals. The table below summarizes the details of these initiations.<sup>31</sup>

No	Location	Date	Number of Attendees	Patrons
1	Yangwang monastery; Qorcin Banner; Jerim League, Inner Mongolia <sup>1a</sup>	April 15-22, 1928 <sup>2a</sup>	70,000-170,000 <sup>3a</sup>	Prince Darhan <sup>4a</sup>
2	Jastu monastery; Qorcin Banner; Jerim League, Inner Mongolia <sup>5a</sup>	July, 1928 <sup>6a</sup>	80,000-84000 <sup>7a</sup>	Prince Jasaqt <sup>8a</sup>
3	Beizi monastery; Heshigten Banner; Juu Uda League, Inner Mongolia <sup>9a</sup>	April 15, 1929 <sup>10a</sup>	70,000 <sup>11a</sup>	Chief of the ten leagues <sup>12a</sup>
4	Lands on the Üjümücin Banner; Shilingol League, Inner Mongolia <sup>13a</sup>	August 1930 <sup>14a</sup>	50,000-90,000 <sup>15a</sup>	Prince Sönam Rabtan <sup>16a</sup>
5	Beile monastery; Üjümücin Banner; Shilingol League, Inner Mongolia <sup>17a</sup>	July 1932 <sup>18a</sup>	37,000 <sup>19a</sup>	Prince Yondonwangchug <sup>20a</sup>
6	Hall of Supreme Harmony; Forbidden City; Beijing <sup>21a</sup>	October 21-24, 1932 <sup>22a</sup>	100,000 <sup>23a</sup>	Duan Qirui <sup>24a</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Jagou, 65.

<sup>30</sup> Jagou, 65.

<sup>31</sup> In this table, I am consulting three different sources with slightly different information on the nine initiations. The three sources are: “The Nine Kālacakra Initiations Constructed by the Master Panchen during His Visits in the Mainland,” published in the monthly periodical of the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers Office. See “Banchan dashi li neidi hou gongjian jiuci miaode shilun jingang fahui [biaoge]” 班禪大師蒞內地後共建九次妙德時輪金剛法會[表格] [The Nine Kālacakra Initiations Constructed by the Master Panchen during His Visits in the Mainland], Xichui xuanhuashi gongshu yuekan 西陲宣化使公署月刊 1(7/8)(1936):190; Fabienne Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*, trans. Rebecca Bissett Buechel (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2011), 259; and Zhang Yun 張雲, *Piaobo zhong de foye: jiushi Banchan neidi huodong de qianqianhouhou* 漂泊中的佛爺：九世班禪內地活動的前前後後 [A Wondering Buddha: Activities of the Ninth Panchen Lama in the Mainland] (Beijing: Zangxue chubanshe, 2002), 83.

7	Lingyin Temple; Hangzhou <sup>25a</sup>	April 28-29, 1934 <sup>26a</sup>	70,000 <sup>27a</sup>	Dai Jitao, Wang Yiting, Qu Wenliu, Zhang Xiaolin <sup>28a</sup>
8	Kumbum monastery; Amdo <sup>29a</sup>	August 13, 1935 <sup>30a</sup>	50,000 <sup>31a</sup>	Dai Jitao and the Abbot of the Kumbum monastery <sup>32a</sup>
9	Labrang monastery; Amdo <sup>33a</sup>	July 4, 1936 <sup>34a</sup>	60,000 <sup>35a</sup>	The Fifth Jamyang Zhépa and Huang Zhengqing <sup>36a</sup>

<sup>1a</sup> Jagou, 259. Both the monthly periodical of the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers Office (PAWFO) and Zhang provide the same location at the Yangwang monastery in the eastern league (東盟楊王廟/河戈吐蘇馬).

<sup>2a</sup> Jagou, 259. PAWFO and Zhang: April 15, 1928.

<sup>3a</sup> Jagou records 70,000, while PAWFO and Zhang records 170,000.

<sup>4a</sup> Jagou p.259; PAWFO and Zhang: Prince Yang Sangqiao (親王楊桑巧)

<sup>5a</sup> Jagou p.259; PAWFO and Zhang: Zhasatu Abu Monastery in the eastern league (東盟札薩圖阿布寺)

<sup>6a</sup> PAWFO, 190; Zhang, 83. Jagou records June 1928.

<sup>7a</sup> Jagou records 80,000, while PAWFO and Zhang records 84,000.

<sup>8a</sup> Jagou p.259; PAWFO and Zhang: Princes of the ten banners of the eastern league (東盟十旗王公).

<sup>9a</sup> Jagou p.259; PAWFO and Zhang: Beizi monastery of the Xilingol league (錫林果[郭]勒盟貝子廟, 江龍)

<sup>10a</sup> Jagou p.259; PAWFO, 190; Zhang, 83.

<sup>11a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: 70, 000. No numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>12a</sup> Jagou p259; PAWFO and Zhang: League leader, Prince Sónam Rabtan and princes of the ten banners (索盟長及十旗王公)

<sup>13a</sup> Jagou,259; PAWFO and Zhang: the grasslands in front of the West Üjümücin Prince's residence (西烏珠穆沁王府對面大草場).

<sup>14a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO, 190; Zhang, 83.

<sup>15a</sup> PAWFO cites 90,000; Zhang cites 50,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>16a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO and Zhang: League leader, Prince Sónam Rabtan (索盟長).

<sup>17a</sup> Jagou, 259: "on the lands of the Üjümücin Banner"; PAWFO and Zhang: Beile monastery of Suiyuan (綏遠貝勒廟/巴達哈拉蘇馬).

<sup>18a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO, 190, Zhang, 83.

<sup>19a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang cites 37,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>20a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: Prince Yondonwangchug and various Banners of the Ulanqab League (雲王及烏盟各旗).

<sup>21a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO and Zhang: Hall of Supreme Harmony, Beijing (北平[京]太和殿).

<sup>22a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO: August 1932; Zhang: October 1932. News reports from various media sources confirm that the Beijing initiation took place from October 21 to 25 in 1932.

<sup>23a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: 100,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>24a</sup> Jagou and Zhang: Duan Qirui. PAWFO: Duan Qirui, Zhu Qinglan, Wu Peifu, and many other lay practitioners (段祺瑞, 朱慶瀾, 吳佩孚等十方居士).

<sup>25a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO, 190; Zhang, 83.

<sup>26a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang Yun: April 15, 1934. Jagou reports: May 13-15, 1935. However, most Chinese newspaper sources report that the Panchen Lama did not arrive in Hangzhou until after April 25, 1934; see "Shilun jingang fahui xiaoxi: Hangzhou shiwusuo jinxun: Banchan juejing nianwuriliu qijie lai-hang" 時輪金剛法會消息: 杭州事務所近訊: 班禪決定廿五日起節來航, Cihang huabao 慈航畫報 41(1934), 1. Most sources say that the initiations took place on the days of April 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>. See invitation sent by the Panchen Lama's Hangzhou office: "Gechu zhi baojing fashi han: Hangzhou shi-lun jingang fahui lai-hang" 各處致寶靜法師函: 杭州時輪金剛法會來函 [A Correspondence to Master Baojing from the Hangzhou Kālacakra Initiation], Hongfa shekan 弘法社刊25(1934), 142-143.



In the *Kālacakrantra*, “initiation” (*abhiṣeka*) has multiple facets: it means “to cleanse and purify defilements; to authorize students to hear about and cultivate the tantric paths and to achieve special feats; to empower the attainment of beneficial qualities; to set potencies for attaining levels of the path and the fruits of those paths; to sprinkle water; to pour potencies and cast seeds into the mental continuum of the initiate; to convey a new style of behavior and its attendant releases from distorted states; and to cause initiates to be endowed with a blissful mind.”<sup>32</sup> In short, “initiation” in the Kālacakra tradition can be understood as a process of purification, a rite of passage into a superior spiritual path, an empowerment of potencies, and a type of healing for both worldly and mental distresses.

The first five Kālacakra initiations were performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia at the requests of Mongol aristocrats and local princes who continued to have jurisdiction and autonomy over their lands even after the establishment of the Republic of China. Tens of thousands of Mongols were attracted from nearby banners and leagues to attend these initiations. Given the relative low population density of Inner Mongolia, this was a very generous turnout. The donors comprised of local political leaders of banners and leagues, but the most important donors were probably Prince Sönam Rabtan (C: Suo *wang* 索王) and Prince Yondonwangchug (C: Yun *wang* 雲王), as well as Prince Demchugdongrub (C: De *wang* 德王), who was junior to the older generation of Mongol royalties, but who would later become instrumental in the autonomous movements in Inner Mongolia.

The fifth Kālacakra initiation given at the Beile monastery<sup>33</sup> in the Üjümücin Banner even attracted the attendance of the great Mongol Buddhist master, Kanjurwa Khutukhtu, who travelled for days to reach the ceremony.<sup>34</sup> According to an article by A.T. Steele published in *The New York Times* on June 17, 1934, Reverend Stuart Gunzel

<sup>32</sup> Hopkins, 67-68.

<sup>33</sup> M: Buyan badarayuluṣi sūme, also known as Beile-yin Sūme; C: Beile miao 貝勒廟 or Bailing miao 百靈廟

<sup>34</sup> Jagou, 73.

<sup>27a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: 70,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>28a</sup> Jagou, 259: Dai Jitao; PAWFO: Wang Yiting, Qu Wenliu, Zhang Xiaolin, and lay practitioners from the north and south provinces (王一亭, 屈文六, 張嘯林及南北各省居士); Zhang Yun: Wang Yiting, Qu Liuwen (王一亭, 屈文六等).

<sup>29a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO, 190, Zhang, 83.

<sup>30a</sup> Jagou and Zhang: August 13, 1935. PAWFO: August 2, 1935.

<sup>31a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: 50,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>32a</sup> Jagou, 259: Dai Jitao; PAWFO and Zhang: Abbot of the Kumbum monastery and its entire monastic population

<sup>33a</sup> Jagou, 259; PAWFO, 190, Zhang, 83.

<sup>34a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: July 4, 1936. Jagou, 259: July 14, 1936. News reports in 1936 also use the date July 4 for the Labrang initiation.

<sup>35a</sup> PAWFO and Zhang: 60,000. No numbers are cited in Jagou.

<sup>36a</sup> PAWFO, 190; and Zhang, 83.



of the Evangelical Alliance Mission was able to participate in this specific ceremony during his stay with Prince Demchugdongrub. Steele quotes Gunzel that the visit of the Panchen Lama was one of the biggest events of that year, which lasted for about six weeks. The Panchen Lama stayed at the palace of Prince Demchugdongrub and during that period the Prince's residential area became "a mecca for devout pilgrims from all parts of Mongolia." Followers of the Buddha *Dharma* came even beyond the border from Outer Mongolia and from the leagues in Manchukuo to pay their tribute to the Panchen Lama and to take part in the elaborate religious services. Gunzel also reports that Prince Demchugdongrub did "not pass up the opportunity to strengthen his prestige through the medium of religion." It was also during this time that the Prince began constructing, at considerable cost, a special residence and temple for the visiting Panchen Lama, which took at least three years to build.<sup>35</sup> According to Sechin Jagchid, who was an attendant to the Prince Demchugdongrub at the time, the initiation took place in the open air on the vast grasslands; the Panchen Lama was seated on a throne raised on a platform and was surrounded by thousands of monks and lay people sitting cross-legged on the ground. It was said that the teachings of the Lama were at times inaudible, but the audience was captivated and attentive, nonetheless. The attendees felt that hearing the sounds of the ritual instruments alone would mean that they have been blessed by the initiation.<sup>36</sup>

More information about the sixth Kālacakra initiation in Beijing can be subtracted from media coverage. According to a news report published in the periodical *Mongolia Tibet Newsletter*<sup>37</sup> in 1932, the ritual began at six in the morning on October 21, 1932 in the Hall of Supreme Harmony situated at the center of the Forbidden Palace in Beijing. Important members of the government and the army in the Beijing and Tianjin areas were present, as well as citizens from various walks of life. Mongol princes and commoners, along with lamas and monks, as well as foreign dignitaries were all part of the huge audience numbering at 100,000.

The major donors of the ritual and the Panchen Lama were, in order: Duan Qirui (段祺瑞), Wu Peifu (吳佩孚), Zhu Qinglan (朱慶瀾), Sun Chuanfang (孫傳芳), Wang Yitang (王揖唐), Zhao Hengti (趙恆惕), Tang Xiangming (湯薊銘), Wang Jiuling (王九齡), Wu Chaoshu (伍朝樞), Zhang Xueliang (張學良), Wu Guangxin (吳光新), Cao Rulin (曹汝霖), amongst others.<sup>38</sup> These donors were probably named in the order of prominence and political influence. Out of the ones mentioned in the

<sup>35</sup> A. T. Steele, "Life in Mongolia Lacking in Luxury: American Missionary Found Teh Wang's Palace Far from Comfortable," *The New York Times*, June 17, 1934. E8.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha: Biography of the Kanjurwa Khutughtu* (Albany: State University of New York, 1983), 135-136.

<sup>37</sup> C: Mengzang xunkan 蒙藏旬刊

<sup>38</sup> "Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiuji daochang" 蒙藏時間：北平時輪金剛法會追紀：時輪金剛法會息災救劫道場 [Mongolia Tibet Time: Reports on the Kālacakra Initiation in Beijing: The Ritual of the Disaster Subduing Kālacakra Initiation], *Mengzang xunkan* 蒙藏旬刊, 33(1932), 17.

list published in the news article, nine out of twelve had crucial posts in the Republic of China's military.<sup>39</sup>

The most important donor and organizer of the ritual was Duan Qirui, who was not only one of the most powerful warlords and political leaders in China after the fall of the Qing empire, but also an extremely devoted practitioner of Buddhism. Duan commanded the Beiyang army and served as the premier to the ROC on four occasions. He was also instrumental in the success of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou. All of these mentioned donors were said to have been granted Kālacakra initiations by the Panchen Lama.<sup>40</sup>

The Buddhist ritual also drew a lot of international attention. The acting chairman for the Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism Research Committee<sup>41</sup> and Japanese Shingon monk, Tanaka Seijun (田中清純), was granted a front seat position not far from the Panchen Lama inside the Hall of Supreme Harmony. According to his accounts, he was accommodated amongst other monastics while the majority of other attendees sat on the ground outside the hall in the vast square of the Palace. There were so many people participating that the crowd seemed “like a [dark] cloud.” Tanaka also remarked on the uniqueness of this occasion: “...although during emperor Qianlong's reign, respected lamas from Tibet were invited to lead Buddhist rituals [in the Forbidden Palace], for more than two hundred years an event on this scale and pomp has never been held, especially one that is open to commoners, politicians, and students all at the same time.”<sup>42</sup>

Many attendees at the Kālacakra initiation in Beijing were also non-monastic women. In an issue of the periodical *Great Asia Pictorial*, a witness of the initiation remarked that in addition to hundreds of pious elderly women who attended the ritual, there were also many young, fashionable “modern girls” (*C: modeng xiaojie* 摩登小姐) who not only took part in the ceremony, but also fought each other for “blessings” – it was said that they wrangled each other in order to get sprinkled with the “holy water” administered by the Panchen Lama during the ritual.<sup>43</sup> The Japanese

<sup>39</sup> Donors of the ritual that were involved in the military were: Duan Qirui, Wu Peifu, Zhu Qinglan, Sun Chuanfang, Wang Yitang, Zhao Hengti, Tang Xiangming, Zhang Xueliang, and Wu Guangxin. Wang Jiuling was mainly a politician; Wu Chaoshu was a foreign minister and Cao Rulin was involved in foreign affairs.

<sup>40</sup> Mengzang xunkan, 33(1932), 19.

<sup>41</sup> J: chūnichi mikkyō kenkyūkai 中日密教研究会; C: zhongri mijiao yanjiuhui 中日密教研究會

<sup>42</sup> Tanaka Seijun 田中清純, *I shūkyō nichishi shinzen* 依宗教日支親善 [Sino-Japanese Friendship Through Religion] (Shizuoka Kiyomizudera, 1933), 21, published in Shiryōshū: Senjika “Nihon Bukkyō” no kokusai kōryū 資料集：戦時下「日本佛教」の国際交流 [Collected Documents: Interwar Japanese Buddhism and International Relations], compiled by the Ryukoku University Asian Buddhism and Culture Research Center, Interwar Japanese Buddhism and International Relations Research Team (G1, UB, S2) 龍谷大学アジア仏教文化研究センター「戦時下「日本仏教」の国際交流」研究班 (G1, UB, S2) 5 (2019), Vol. 10.

<sup>43</sup> “Shilun jingang fahui zhi huaxu” 時輪金剛法會之花絮 [Highlights of the Kālacakra Initiation], *Daya huabao* 大亞畫報, November 2, 1932, No. 337.

Shingon monk Tanaka Seijun have commented on this as well; he was surprised that “young women” were prostrating so piously with their whole bodies on the ground.<sup>44</sup>

Reports also tell us about the rules for attending the Kālacakra initiation in Beijing. First, attendees must be well-groomed and enter with tickets. Second, homage must be paid upon requirement; smoking, snickering, spitting, and shuffling are forbidden. Third, ritual objects, such as herbs and flowers from Tibet and red ritual blindfolds were to be handed out and their uses instructed on site. Fourth, attendees must be orderly when leaving their seats. Lastly, the Kālacakra root *mantra* (C: *shilun genben zhou* 時輪根本咒) was to be chanted for future rebirths in the kingdom of Śambhala.<sup>45</sup>

The report also describes the ritual process. The Panchen Lama performed purification rituals and began the creation of the ritual *mandala* as early as on October 9, 1932, ten days before the official ritual started. It was said that it took nine days to complete the sand *mandala*. Starting on the 21<sup>st</sup>, the Lama taught for four days, accompanied by both an interpreter and printed translations in the form of pamphlets. The transmission initiation took place from two to five in the afternoon, preceded by initiations for the generation stage, followed by one day of *homa* ritual and three days of initiations for the completion stage. The total cost of the entire ritual was said to be 60,000 *yuan*,<sup>46</sup> which was a considerable amount compared to the average cost of living in 1930s China.

At the end of the ritual, the Panchen Lama gave a speech about the purpose of the rite. He said, “...the various disasters and misfortunes of the nation were caused by sentient beings’ ignorance about morality and karma,” and he wished that the attendees “...will keep in their hearts the compassion for the salvation of the nation and its people; not to be selfish.” He ended with the remarks, “Religion and politics must proceed together in ruling the nation and stabilizing peace for its people.”<sup>47</sup> This was one of the earliest accounts from the Panchen Lama on the Kālacakra initiations that he performed outside of Tibet. The idea that these initiation rituals are performed as both moral edification for the citizens of the nation and in hope for peace and stability in times of national distress, also emerged frequently in public discussions on the Tibetan rituals, as we will see in the context of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou.

The Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou was not the most attended, as compared to the other initiations performed in Inner Mongolia and Beijing, however, it was definitely one that enjoyed the most exposure in media. Many newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals in China widely publicized the event and closely followed the Panchen Lama’s travels and religious activities in China. Different from how the initiations in Inner Mongolia and Beijing were reported, comments on the

<sup>44</sup> Tanaka, 21.

<sup>45</sup> Mengzang xunkan, 33(1932), 17.

<sup>46</sup> Mengzang xunkan, 33(1932), 18.

<sup>47</sup> Mengzang xunkan, 33(1932), 19.

Hangzhou initiation were rather diverse in opinion – while Buddhist publications enthusiastically advertised the tantric empowerment ritual, other more non-religious periodicals remained highly critical. This created an interesting arena of public discourse on religion and modernity.

The initiation began on April 28, 1934 at the Lingyin temple in the city of Hangzhou. The entire ritual took seven days to complete and involved a similar ritual procession to that of the Beijing ritual.<sup>48</sup> The event was extremely well-advertised with posters, banners, and signs plastered throughout the city of Hangzhou and especially in the more commercial areas; information about the ritual was printed on street lamp boxes that lit up the city at night; even buses were decorated with bills about the empowerment rite.<sup>49</sup> It was reported that many of these signs promoted the event with the slogans: “great merits; protect the nation” (C: *gonghong huguo* 功宏護國), and “benefit the nation; subdue disasters” (C: *fuguo xiaozai* 福國消災).<sup>50</sup> While the event was open to the public, it was heavily guarded with armed police.<sup>51</sup> For the general public, it seemed that admission tickets or mandatory donations at either one *yuan* or ten *yuan* were required to enter the grounds of the temple, which also allowed the admitted attendee to have an ancestor tablet set up in the main hall where the Kālacakra initiation was to be performed.<sup>52</sup>

The railway department of the Republic of China and the lines that ran between Beijing, Suiyuan (Inner Mongolia), Tianjin, and Shanghai were responsible for the transportation of the Panchen Lama.<sup>53</sup> Similar to the management of the Kālacakra initiation in Beijing, the organizers for the Hangzhou event were also mainly comprised of chief politicians and social elites, such as Wang Yiting (王一亭),<sup>54</sup> Qu Wenliu (屈文六),<sup>55</sup> and Zhang Xiaolin (張嘯林).<sup>56, 57</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局, “Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao” 時輪金剛法會專號, *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊(1934), in *Minguo mizong qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國密宗期刊文獻集成 [Complete Collection of Republican-Era Esoteric Buddhist Periodical Literature], ed. Yu Ruihua 于瑞華 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2008), Vol. 41: 366. The multi-volume source *Minguo mizong qikan wenxian jicheng* will be referred to as MMQ in this paper.

<sup>49</sup> Hu Shuibō 胡水波, “Shilun jingang fahui xunli” 時輪金剛法會巡禮 [Attending the Kālacakra Initiation], *Xinsheng zhoukan* 新生週刊, Vol. 1:14 (1934), 269-270.

<sup>50</sup> Hu, 270.

<sup>51</sup> Hu, 270.

<sup>52</sup> Bing 冰, “Shilun jingang fahui gongfeng ji” 時輪金剛法會躬逢記 [Attending the Kālacakra Initiation], *Shehui zhoubao* (Shanghai) 社會週報 (上海), Vol.1:6 (1934), 110.

<sup>53</sup> “Xiaoping: Shilun jingang fahui” 小評: 時輪金剛法會 [Comments: The Kālacakra Initiation], *Shehui xinwen* 社會新聞, Vol. 7:1 (1934), 1.

<sup>54</sup> Wang Yiting was also known as Wang Zhen 王震; prominent businessman, artist, and Buddhist patron in Shanghai.

<sup>55</sup> Qu Wenliu was also known as Qu Yingguang 屈映光; politician and Buddhist.

<sup>56</sup> Zhang Xiaolin was a well-known mob boss in Shanghai.

<sup>57</sup> “Banchan dashi li neidi hou gongjian jiuci miaode shilun jingang fahui [biaoge]” 班禪大師蒞內地後共建九次妙德時輪金剛法會 [表格] [The Nine Kālacakra Initiations Constructed by the Master Panchen during His Visits in the Mainland], *Xichui xuanhuashi gongshu yuekan* 西陲宣化使公署月刊 1(7/8)(1936):190.

In a pictorial issue covering the event and its attendees, photographs of the main organizer Wang Yiting, as well as those of Dai Jitao (戴季陶)<sup>58</sup> were printed.<sup>59</sup> The same pictorial also featured photos of the Panchen Lama during the initiation. One photo depicts an elderly woman dressed in a white robe praying beside the Panchen Lama – the caption says this was the mother-in-law of Wang Jingwei (汪精衛)<sup>60</sup>.<sup>61</sup> Foreign dignitaries such as Matsumura Yūzō (松村雄藏) from the Hangzhou Japanese Consulate and professors from the Université de Paris were also said to have been present.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to politicians, members of various Buddhist communities in south China, and foreign dignitaries, the Hangzhou initiation also drew attention from movie stars and cultural celebrities. A weekly magazine named *Linglong*, which was mainly marketed towards “modern” young women in the urban centers, reported that Hu Die (胡蝶) and Xu Lai (徐來), two of the most popular actresses in 1930s Chinese cinema, were scheduled to attend the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou.<sup>63</sup> Both of these women were prominent socialites and enjoyed incredible public interest both on and off the silver screen. In addition to celebrities that represented the “modern female,” esteemed performers of traditional arts were also on the guest list of the Buddhist empowerment. The same source reported that Mei Lanfang (梅蘭芳), the “Queen of Peking Opera,” was to attend the Buddhist ritual and to give theatrical performances during the initiation along with the two movie stars Hu Die and Xu Lai.<sup>64</sup>

Donations to the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou were encouraged in various popular print media months before the ritual took place. The organizers of the initiation urged the Republican government, members of the army, civil servants of various provinces, institutions, and Buddhist organizations to contribute financially for the “peace praying” services administered by the Panchen Lama.<sup>65</sup> According to the

<sup>58</sup> Dai Jitao was the president of the Examination Yuan 考試院院長 and prominent Buddhist patron. On Dai Jitao and his Buddhist activities, see Gregory Adam Scott, “The Buddhist Nationalism of Dai Jitao,” *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 39:1 (2011), 55-81.

<sup>59</sup> Xu Yanying 徐雁影, “Shilun jingang fahui zhong suojian: shilun jingang fahui zhong zhong lama songjing qingxing” 時輪金剛法會中所見：時輪金剛法會中眾喇嘛誦經情形 [Witnessing the Kālacakra Initiation: Lamas Chanting Sutras during the Kālacakra Initiation], *Liangyou* 良友, 89 (1934), 26.

<sup>60</sup> Wang Jingwei was a politician for the KMT and later collaborator with Japanese imperialists.

<sup>61</sup> Xu, 26.

<sup>62</sup> “Banchan lianri dengzuo shuofa” 班禪連日登座說法 [The Panchen Lama Teaches Dharma for Days], *Shen bao* 申報, May 9, 1934. No. 7.

<sup>63</sup> “Haolaiwu huaxu: Hu Die Xu Lai jiang canjia shilun jingang fahui” 好萊塢花絮：胡蝶徐來將參加時輪金剛法會 [Hollywood Highlights: Hu Die and Xu Lai will be attending the Kālacakra Initiation], *Linglong* 玲瓏, Vol.4: 14 (1934), 890.

<sup>64</sup> *Linglong*, Vol.4: 14 (1934), 890.

<sup>65</sup> Kālacakra Initiation 時輪金剛法會, *Shilun jingang fahui cuoyao* 時輪金剛法會撮要 [Summaries of the Kālacakra Initiation], in *Minguo shiqi fojiao ziliao huibian* 民國時期佛教資料彙編 [Compilation of Buddhist Archival Materials of the Republican-Era], ed. Tian Qi 田奇 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 13: 444. The multi-volume source *Minguo shiqi fojiao ziliao huibian* will be referred to as MFZ in this paper.

donor lists published (possibly for the visibility of merit-making) in booklets made to commemorate the historic Buddhist ritual, there were more than 6,000 named individuals who donated to the initiation, many of them were in fact women.<sup>66</sup> Out of the 71,197 *yuan* collected from all the donations, 10,000 *yuan* was donated by Cheng Linsheng (程霖生);<sup>67</sup> 4,000 *yuan* was donated by Du Yuesheng (杜月笙);<sup>68</sup> another 4,000 *yuan* was donated by Zhang Xiaolin (張嘯林).<sup>69</sup> These three were the most prominent donors of the event and were listed conspicuously in the ritual-related publications.

On the other hand, the cost of the rite was quite significant. The total cost of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou was 68,376 *yuan*, which included expenses for ritual implements (6,889 *yuan*), Buddhist images and texts (8,937 *yuan*), precious mineral substances for the sand mandala (2,636 *yuan*), offerings to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (1,966 *yuan*), print media (3,134 *yuan*), transportation (4,533 *yuan*), amongst others. The largest expenditure was offerings (26,843 *yuan*) made to the Panchen Lama (4,000 *yuan*) and his retinue of monks (4,000 *yuan*), which also included gifts, meals, accommodations, and the construction of the Panchen Lama's residence at the Yonghe Temple in Beijing (2,400 *yuan*).<sup>70</sup> Subtracting the expenses of the ritual from the total amount of donations received, 2,820 *yuan* was the remainder amount. According to the donation lists, this leftover amount was to be spent on printing Buddhist texts such as the *Lamrin chenmo* (C: *pu ti ci di dao* 菩提次第道), as well as on commissioning and consecrating a bronze statue of Sitātapatrā (C: *bai san gai* 白傘蓋), a popular Vajrayana Buddhist deity that offers protection against supernatural danger.<sup>71</sup>

According to a news report published in *Shenbao* on May 17, 1934, the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou began on April 28, 1934 in the main hall of the Lingyin Temple. The Panchen Lama was seated inside on a raised platform and was accompanied by his monastic disciples. Purification rituals were performed on the first day and teachings about the *Kālacakratantra* were taught. On the second day, the Kālacakra *mandala* was revealed, followed by a *tsam* dance. The third day involved more teachings and received thousands of attendees arriving on frequently scheduled buses coming from various parts of the Zhejiang province. On the fourth day, it was said that the Panchen Lama retired to his private practices and received only the donor Dai Jitao and his family. Monks from the Lingyin Temple gathered exclusively for the Panchen Lama's teachings on the fifth day and chanted *sūtras*. On the sixth day, Dai Jitao invited the Panchen Lama and his retinue to a banquet attended by more than forty major politicians of the Zhejiang province, as well as the major donors of the Kālacakra initiation. The Panchen Lama taught publicly three times in

<sup>66</sup> MFZ Vol. 13: 475-660.

<sup>67</sup> Cheng Linsheng was a real estate tycoon in Shanghai.

<sup>68</sup> Du Yuesheng was a famous mob boss in Shanghai.

<sup>69</sup> MFZ Vol. 13: 475.

<sup>70</sup> MFZ Vol. 13: 475-660.

<sup>71</sup> MFZ Vol. 13: 659-660.



the next few days and received many members of the international audience: twenty-four members from the American Navy Young Men's Christian Association, the secretary to the Governor-general of Annam, the vice-president of the Bank of Hanoi, and the Ngachen Khutukhtu and his retinue of fifty monks. The *abhiṣeka* ceremony took place on the thirteenth and fourteenth of May and was attended by more than 20,000 individuals. The initiation ritual was interpreted and translated by Liu Jiaju from Tibetan to Chinese and was filmed by the Mingxing film company. *Homa* was performed on the seventeenth and the Kālacakra *mandala* was sent away on the eighteenth, marking the completion of the entire Kālacakra initiation ceremony.<sup>72</sup>

Similar to the initiation that took place in Beijing, many women, both monastic and lay, participated avidly in the Kālacakra empowerment rituals in Hangzhou. According to a witness who attended the event on April 29, 1934, Buddhist nuns and pious elderly women even prepared glass bottles beforehand for taking home some of the barley grains scattered by the Panchen Lama in the ritual; young women on the other hand, fit the “blessed millets” in their purses.<sup>73</sup> On the last day of the Kālacakra initiation, the Panchen Lama reportedly performed the higher initiations and blessed many attendees by touching their heads.<sup>74</sup>

Another account published in the *National Zhejiang University Magazine* paints a lively picture of the various kinds of activities that took place at the site of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou: lamas from Tibet were seen trading *mālā* prayer beads and incense, photographers took memorabilia photos and sold them to the attendees, hosts from the local tea houses hailed for customers, and farmers from outside of the city vended water chestnuts for coppers.<sup>75</sup> The same student source further discloses that the ritual was communicated through radio communications equipped at the Lingyin temple; regular announcements about the procedures of the initiation as well as translations of the Panchen Lama's teachings were broadcasted to the public audience through loudspeakers in Chinese.<sup>76</sup>

One unique aspect of the Hangzhou Kālacakra initiation was its commercialization – in addition to well-promoted donation drives and advertisements about the ritual, memorabilia items and ritual-related merchandise were sold. In the special issues of the *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly* dedicated to the Hangzhou Kālacakra initiation, merchandise such as photographs of the Kālacakra *mandala* used in the ritual, Buddhist images made in Tibet, “authentic” Tibetan saffron, as well as chebulic myrobalan fruits

<sup>72</sup> “Zai hang juxing zhi shilun jingang fahui yuanman” 在杭舉行之時輪金剛法會圓滿 [The Kālacakra Initiation in Hangzhou Completed in Success], Shen bao 申報, May 17, 1934, No.8.

<sup>73</sup> Hu, 270.

<sup>74</sup> Bing, 110.

<sup>75</sup> Qiang Sheng 強生, “Shilun jingang fahui zai lingyin” 時輪金剛法會在靈隱 [The Kālacakra Initiation at Lingyin], Guoli Zhejiang daxue xiaokan 國立浙江大學校刊, 173(1934), 1805.

<sup>76</sup> Qiang, 1805.



from the Himalayan region were advertised alongside information about the ritual.<sup>77</sup> The items are described as “efficacious” and “necessary” for attendees of the ritual and interested practitioners of tantric Buddhism. For example, although photographs of the Kālacakra *mandala* costed one *jiao* per copper-plate print and four *jiao* per original, they were “necessary for attendees in general but more necessary for attendees who attended late”.<sup>78</sup> “Authentic” saffron from Tibet was priced at three *yuan* per box (18.9 grams); the ad explains that it could be used both for “making offerings to the Buddha and as medicinal ingredients.”<sup>79</sup> “Tibetan green fruits” (C: *Xizang qinguo* 西藏青果) or chebulic myrobalan fruits shipped directly from the Himalayas were sold at five *jiao* per box; consuming these fruits were encouraged before attending the ritual to “cleanse the mouth.”<sup>80</sup> For those who wished to offer incense at the temple where the Kālacakra initiation took place, “authentic Tibetan incense” was recommended and can be bought through various venders of Buddhist goods.<sup>81</sup>

From August 13 to August 15 in 1935, the eighth Kālacakra initiation performed by the ninth Panchen Lama was held in the Kumbum Monastery in Amdo. The Panchen Lama had just finished his tour in Inner Mongolia, north, and south China, and was preparing for his official return to Tibet. The patrons of the initiation were said to be the abbot of Kumbum and the monastic population there; the ritual reportedly drew around 50,000 attendees, including both the entire monastic population at Kumbum and many lay attendees from nearby.<sup>82</sup> A news article published in *The New York Times* on February 14, 1936 describes the event: “Half a million tribesmen, gathered from all parts of Tibet, Mongolia and West China amid Oriental pomp and magnificence, have paid tribute at the famed Kumbum Monastery, near here, to the Panchen Lama.” The American photographer and journalist Harrison Forman was quoted saying that the “Living Buddha” planned to travel to Lhasa within a few weeks, whence he was exiled eleven years ago by the Dalai Lama. The article also reports that an unnamed high Chinese official arrived at the Kālacakra initiation with 500 Chinese troops at the height of the ceremony.<sup>83</sup> It is unclear who this individual might be, although Jagou notes that Dai Jitao was one of the major donors of the Kumbum initiation.<sup>84</sup>

In June of the following year, the Panchen Lama was invited by the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa (T: Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) and his older brother, Losang Tséwang (T: Blo bzang tshe dbang; also known as C: Huang Zhengqing 黄正清), who was

<sup>77</sup> Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局, “Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao” 時輪金剛法會專號, *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊78(1934), in *MMQ* Vol. 41: 348-371.

<sup>78</sup> *MMQ* Vol. 41: 348.

<sup>79</sup> *MMQ* Vol. 41: 353.

<sup>80</sup> *MMQ* Vol. 41: 355.

<sup>81</sup> *MMQ* Vol. 41: 357.

<sup>82</sup> Zhang, 81-82.

<sup>83</sup> “500,000 in Tribute to Panchen Lama: Oriental Tribesmen Gather to Pay Homage to Spiritual Leader of Tibet,” *The New York Times*, February 14, 1936, 10.

<sup>84</sup> Jagou, 259.

the *chakdzö* (T: *phyag mdzod*), or treasurer to the Jamyang Zhépa, to stay at the Labrang Monastery in Amdo.<sup>85</sup> In July 1936, the Ninth Panchen Lama performed his last Kālacakra initiation at Labrang for a public audience made up of monastics and laities who traveled from other parts of Tibet and Mongolia totaling at 60,000 people.<sup>86</sup> Photographs taken on site at the ritual show that the courtyard of the monastery was completely filled with tens of thousands of sitting and standing attendees, many of whom seem to be non-monastic. Women and small children can also be spotted.<sup>87</sup>

The Kālacakra initiation at Labrang began on the fourth of July in 1936 with the construction of the sand Kālacakra *mandala*, which allegedly took ten days. On the fourteenth, initiations were performed, and teachings were given; it was said that all who were present to hear were able to be reborn in Śambhala. On the eighteenth, many attendees offered money and precious items to the Panchen Lama and a celebratory feast was held. The Kālacakra *mandala* was ritually taken down on the twenty-first, wrapping up the entire initiation ritual which took eighteen days to complete.<sup>88</sup>

### **Tibetan Rituals Outside of Central Tibet:**

From the above descriptions of the nine Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia, Beijing, Hangzhou, and Amdo between 1928 to 1936, we can see that these were highly popular and public events. This series of Kālacakra initiations were offered with a high frequency of almost once every year, and yet each event was attended by tens of thousands without fail, even in places like Hangzhou where Tibetan Buddhism was not traditionally practiced.

Questions that we need to ask are these: Why were most of these initiations performed outside of central Tibet? Why were the Kālacakra initiations so well-received, especially outside of its usual ritual context? This paper argues that the reasons are twofold: first, the Panchen Lama was exiled from Tibet since 1923 due to disputes with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.<sup>89</sup> Due to being exiled, the Panchen Lama had no choice but to conduct all of his religious practices outside of central Tibet. Second, most of the Kālacakra initiations were performed outside of Tibet because they were requested by donors and patrons who resided outside of Tibet. These different donors came from different backgrounds and religious traditions, and they were in different kinds of priest-patron relationships with the Panchen Lama. This section will look at some of these relationships in detail.

<sup>85</sup> Zhang, 82.

<sup>86</sup> Zhang, 82.

<sup>87</sup> “*Qinghai shilun jingang fahui*” 青海時輪金剛法會 [The Kālacakra Initiation in Qinghai], *Zhonghua* (Shanghai) 中華(上海), 55(1937), 34.

<sup>88</sup> *Zhonghua* (Shanghai), 55(1937), 34.

<sup>89</sup> On the disputes between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the Ninth Panchen Lama, see Fabienne Jagou’s *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*, trans. Rebecca Bissett Buechel (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2011).

Since 1923 until his death in 1937, the Ninth Panchen Lama was displaced from his seat in Tashilhunpo and had to travel extensively across East Asia. Conflicts with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over taxation and further complications brought on by the British invasion prevented him from returning to central Tibet. The Manchu rulers of the Qing empire and loyal patrons of the Tibetan Gelugpa institution were no longer in positions of power after the establishment of the Republic of China, and the Mongol allies to the north in Outer Mongolia became anti-religion socialists in the newly founded nation-state of Mongolian People's Republic. The only possible patrons of the Panchen Lama's Gelugpa tradition outside of the Tibetan regions were in Inner Mongolia and amongst the higher echelons of the Nanking government.

The Mongols have been patrons of Gelugpa Buddhism since the sixteenth century. As one of the most important *tantras* for the Gelugpas, the *Kālacakratantra* and its affiliated traditions have been dominant in the Mongolian regions since the late seventeenth century.<sup>90</sup> Kālacakra temples and *dratsangs* (monastic colleges) were built and Kālacakra teachings were introduced throughout the Mongolian regions. New Kālacakra *dratsangs* were being built even as late as the 1930s, such as the one in the Buyan-I ündüsülegči sūme in Alashan.<sup>91</sup>

Furthermore, Kālacakra teachings and the legend of Śambhala continued to spark interests amongst the Mongols well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The history and prophesy of the victorious kingdom described in the *Kālacakratantra* was included in Mongolian historical works such as the chronicle *Bolor toli* (*Crystal Mirror*), written between 1834-1837 by Jimbadorji.<sup>92</sup> Here, the history of the Mongols were fused with the history of Śambhala – Chinggis Khan became part of the lineage that can be traced to the first king of the legendary kingdom, Sucandra, who was also part of the larger Buddhist lineage that can be traced back to the historic Buddha.<sup>93</sup> There were also numerous wish-prayers composed by various Mongolian authors in hopes of better rebirths in Śambhala.<sup>94</sup> The Buryat Ganzhurba Gegen Danzan Norboev (1887-1935) even wrote a new guidebook to the mythical kingdom of Śambhala in 1927.<sup>95</sup>

In addition to these new textual materials produced by the Mongols through continued interests in the *Kālacakratantra*, there was also the embodiment of the Kālacakra teachings in public performances. In 1830, a *tsam* dance that enacted the “war of Śambhala” (M: *Śambala-yin dayin*) was performed at the Qamar-un Keyid

<sup>90</sup> Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, “Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Cross-Currents*, 31(2019): 36.

<sup>91</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 36.

<sup>92</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 37.

<sup>93</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 39.

<sup>94</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 37.

<sup>95</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 36.

Monastery.<sup>96</sup> Public performances such as this one allowed non-monastic Mongolian Buddhists who did not have access to texts and teachers to be involved in the messianic messages of the *Kālacakrantra*. Other types of visual representations were also common, such as *thangkas* that depicted the narratives of the apocalyptic battle in the *Kālacakrantra* between the Buddhist king of Śambhala, Raudracakrin, and his non-Buddhist enemies.<sup>97</sup>

The Kālacakra practices in Mongolia were important to the Mongolian national, religious, and cultural identities. The idea of an imagined community that is the Mongols, who are the descendants of Chinggis Khan and the children of the mythical kingdom of Śambhala, was crucial to the Mongols of both Outer and Inner Mongolia, especially during the political turmoil of the twentieth century.

On top of that, according to the legends described in the *Kālacakrantra*, the prophesied twenty-fifth king of Śambhala will be a reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, who will accede the throne in 2327 AD and become victorious in protecting the *Dharma* when “barbarians” attack to threaten the transmission of Buddhism in the world.<sup>98</sup> For the Mongols, the Ninth Panchen Lama, the lineage holder who will be reincarnated into the future savior king of Śambhala, was more than the perfect master to carry out Kālacakra initiations. This would partially explain why the five Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia attracted so many attendees who would travel for days just to attend the ritual, despite the rather low population density of the region at the turn of the twentieth century.

Another dimension of the Kālacakra initiations in Inner Mongolia was how public enthusiasm for the Buddhist ritual was utilized in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Movement, spearheaded by the Mongol Prince Demchugdongrub, who was also a major organizer and donor of the Kālacakra initiations that took place in Inner Mongolia. According to his biography written by Sechin Jagchid, who worked closely with Prince Demchugdongrub for many years, one of the main reasons for inviting the Panchen Lama to give Kālacakra initiations at the Beile Temple was because his ritual presence was believed to have the ability to gather and unite Mongol princes and leaders from various leagues and banners.<sup>99</sup> In other words, the Kālacakra tradition carried considerable affective value for the Mongols. By using this once-in-a-life-time auspicious event that most Mongols would want to attend as invitation, Prince Demchugdongrub would be able to mobilize the decision makers of the various banners and leagues to gather together to discuss the political future and sovereignty of Inner Mongolia in an era shadowed by uncertainty and colonial

<sup>96</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 37.

<sup>97</sup> Kollmar-Paulenz, 38.

<sup>98</sup> Jagou, 70.

<sup>99</sup> Zhaqi Siqin 札奇斯欽[Sechin Jagchid], *Wo suo zhidao de De wang he dangshi de Neimenggu* 我所知道的德王和當時的內蒙古[The De wang I knew and the Inner Mongolia of that Time] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2005), 100.

invasions. Such an opportunity would be extremely vital for the preservation of political autonomy of the Inner Mongolians at the time, especially since the region was encroached between hostilities and pressures from socialist Outer Mongolia, Republican China, and the Japanese Empire all at the same time. In a sense, the rituals could have doubled as a ruse to camouflage political subversion for the Inner Mongolians against these foreign aggressions.

On the other hand, politically and economically powerful donors of the Kālacakra initiations in the Republic of China, such as Duan Qirui, Dai Jitao, and Wang Yiting, did not necessarily invite the Panchen Lama out of a shared sense of tradition and lineage based on the Chingissid pedigree. Although the Manchu rulers of the Qing empire officially endorsed Tibetan Gelug Buddhism, it was not popularized outside of the imperial circles and certainly not amongst the Han Chinese Buddhists. The *Kālacakratantra* was also not translated nor included into the Chinese Buddhist canon at this point. However, being aware of the Panchen Lama's status and influence amongst the Tibetans and the Mongols, especially after witnessing the popular reception of the Kālacakra initiations in Inner Mongolia, the Chinese donors saw potential in the highly revered Lama to “propagate” the Nanjing government's policies to the ethnic minorities at the frontiers and to “edify” them of the necessity of pledging allegiance to the new republic.

In an issue of the *Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing Monthly* published in October 1929, an immediacy of having the Panchen Lama carry out *xuanhua* (propagation and edification) missions in Inner Mongolia was expressed:

...Soviet Russia, using its red imperialism, has violently invaded Mongolia, causing its independence. Incidents on the Chinese Eastern Railway [show] that Outer Mongolians have been driven by Soviet Russia to disturb Inner Mongolia, hoping that they will assimilate. The Panchen [Lama] has been a guest to the north for a while, because the religious customs of Inner Mongolia is similar to those of Tibet. The invasions of the reds and the whites are one and the same. Saving Tibet is saving Mongolia... [The Panchen Lama's] tour in Inner Mongolia on the one hand promotes policies of the central government, propagating the Three Principles of the People, teaching them about the Republic, and enlightening them on current affairs. On the other hand, [the Panchen Lama] propagates religion, instructing [the Inner Mongolians] on the causes and effects of karma, encouraging them to follow the *Dharma* and the commands of the central government.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> The Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing 班禪駐京辦公處, “Banchan quandao hou neimeng zhi qingkuang” 班禪勸導後內蒙之情況 [The situation in Inner Mongolia after the Panchen Lama's Persuasions], *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 Vol. 1, 3+4(1929), in MFQ, Vol. 30: 199.

This shows that the Nanjing government was more than conscious of the Panchen Lama's political potentials in mobilizing not just the Tibetans, but also the Mongols, in their geopolitical strategies. However, a closer look at the primary source materials produced by the Chinese organizers of the Kālacakra initiations reveals that they were also equally interested in the soteriological aspects of the Buddhist ritual.

In a pamphlet compiled by the organizing committee for the Kālacakra initiations entitled, "Summary of the Kālacakra Initiations," the main organizer and donor, Duan Qirui explains his reasons for holding the ritual:

...The past twenty years has been marked by more than enough humans conflicts; it is now followed by natural disasters spreading in more than ten provinces, starving and drowning millions of people... Thinking about this, [I realize that] the sentiments of heaven and the affairs of men have always been linked. In the past, when disaster and tragedy occur, all would reflect together for ways of salvation. There are many examples of this in the history chronicles. Even countries in Euro-America often turned to religion and prayer during times of national distress... The Panchen *guoshi*<sup>101</sup> [has prophesied] when he arrived in the old capital (Beijing), that he fears for four complications and one flooding in the future. When asked, the master said that the past cannot be undone, but the future can [still] be protected.<sup>102</sup>

Duan then goes on to speak about the specific protective and soteriological functions of the Kālacakra initiations: "If the Kālacakra ritual is performed to release the souls of the dead, it would ensure that the unassisted spirits will be reborn in the kingdom of Śambhala. This corresponds exactly with the wishes of the Buddha."<sup>103</sup> For the living attendees of the initiation, the Kālacakra ritual is even more potent:

Any sentient being of the six realms with the right karma who meditates in concentration within forty *li*<sup>104</sup> of the initiation, will be initiated even without entering the *mandala* and will be reborn in the kingdom of Śambhala. For those with the fortunate karma to be present at the initiation, just by listening to the sound of the bells and seeing the Kālacakra *mandala*, can be reborn as a Buddha even without any knowledge of the *Dharma*.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Guoshi 國師 is an honorific title meaning "State Preceptor" given to the Panchen Lama.

<sup>102</sup> Kālacakra Initiation 時輪金剛法會, Shilun jingang fahui cuoyao 時輪金剛法會撮要 [Summaries of the Kālacakra Initiation], in MFZ, Vol. 13: 436-437.

<sup>103</sup> MFZ, Vol. 13: 437-438.

<sup>104</sup> One li 里 is roughly 500 meters.

<sup>105</sup> MFZ, Vol. 13: 438.



Duan also contrasts the expedience of the Kālacakra tradition to the Pure Land tradition in China, further illustrating the superior potency of the Kālacakra Initiation in an age marked by unprecedented instabilities:

For the Pure Land [tradition], the *Sukhavatī* of Amitābha Buddha is hundreds of thousands of billions [*li*] away. The guiding process must be done in one to seven days without an unbalanced mind. Besides, our lives are usually murky towards the end, the mind easily disturbed, let alone in moments of death. It is not easy to sit peacefully in tranquility. How many of us can have the conviction to wait in calmness for the guidance of the Buddha?<sup>106</sup>

According to Duan, who served four times as the premier of the new modern nation-state of the Republic of China under the Nanjing government, the Kālacakra Initiation also possessed potentials for solving problems that modern science did not:

The *tantra* has extraordinary functions and purposes. It is sublime and cannot be compared to our human mind consciousnesses... It is beyond science and the humanities. Amongst other religions and philosophies, it is something that dissolves all matters of the universe in the past, present, and future. It is relied upon for all problems and predicaments.<sup>107</sup>

The arrival of the Ninth Panchen Lama in China was considered by Duan as an extremely fortuitous opportunity:

The *Kālacakratantra* has not been translated into Chinese and is not transmitted without a teacher. It is not something that common *ācāryas* can easily teach, either. Now, we are fortunate to have the Panchen *guoshi* arrive from the frontier tens of thousands of *li* away to perform the *Dharma* ritual. The *ācārya* attends to the Han and the Mongols right here beside us. This is due to our *karma*.<sup>108</sup>

In a special issue dedicated to the Kālacakra initiation in the *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly*, the ritual event is described as “rare as one drop of water in the ocean.” The periodical then lists three merits of the initiation:

One, out of all the Buddhist traditions, the esoteric lineage promises the fastest and the most meritorious results. On top of that, the *Kālacakratantra* is considered the most supreme in esoteric Buddhism. It is unparalleled and the most mysterious. It is foreseeing and potent.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> MFZ, Vol. 13: 438.

<sup>107</sup> MFZ, Vol. 13: 438-439.

<sup>108</sup> MFZ, Vol. 13: 436-437.

<sup>109</sup> Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局, “Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao” 時輪金剛法會專號, Foxue banyuekan 佛學半月刊78(1934), in MMQ Vol. 41: 359.



Secondly, the initiation was considered to be a historic opportunity:

Although the Panchen Lama was invited to preside over rituals during Qianlong's reign in the Qing, it was mainly for rituals such as Cakrasamvara empowerments.<sup>110</sup> Superior *tantra* empowerments such as the Kālacakra initiation that can protect the nation while subduing disasters was only performed for the first-time [in China proper] last year in Beijing and this year in Hangzhou.<sup>111</sup>

Thirdly, the public nature of the Kālacakra initiation was considered to be karmically auspicious:

In the Tibetan esoteric Buddhist tradition, the *Kālacakratantra* is considered to be the fourth-class *tantra* and the most important *tantra* of the *niruttara-yoga-tantras*.<sup>112</sup> Only the Panchen Lama has the ability to perform its initiations... this kind of initiation was rarely performed in public even in Tibet. Due to the Panchen master's compassion, this initiation is performed in public for the convenience and benefit of all sentient beings. There are no restrictions; all can benefit.<sup>113</sup>

The same periodical also featured writings about the timeliness of Buddhist teachings in 1930s Republican China. One passage quotes the Panchen Lama saying, "Politics and religion must proceed together and are not contradictory. The immediate mission of religion is to teach morality and karma."<sup>114</sup> The text elaborates, "Karma is truth. Discussing politics from the point of view of karma, politics is karma."<sup>115</sup> The view that Buddhist teaching is indeed very much relevant to the new modern nation-state and even global affairs is elucidated:

Various universities in Germany have been teaching Indian and Tibetan philosophy. The British and French governments have been translating many Sanskrit and Tibetan canonical texts and compiling dictionaries for more than a decade... The British, the French, and the Germans are inquisitive nations; they do not consider Indian culture as unusable; they value it. The Japanese Meiji Restoration was not biased against Buddhism; they revitalized it. Dozens of sectarian universities publish periodicals regularly. The literary circle raised more than two million [yen] to compile the *Taishō* canon. Their Buddhist statues, ritual implements, and attires have elegance.

<sup>110</sup> C: Shangle jingang fa 上樂金剛法

<sup>111</sup> MMQ Vol. 41: 360.

<sup>112</sup> C: Di si ji wushang mizong zhi shouyao 第四級無上密宗之首要

<sup>113</sup> MMQ Vol. 41: 360.

<sup>114</sup> MMQ Vol. 41: 378.

<sup>115</sup> MMQ Vol. 41: 378.

Their [affiliated] companies hold tens of millions of capitals. No one has discredited them as ‘superstitious’... [Our] magnificent *Kanjur* canon,<sup>116</sup> on the other hand, shines brightly in the world, as if decorated with precious jewels. It is limitless. Because the Westerners are trapped by the mysteries of science and are constantly baffled, therefore they attempt to seek a way out from Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. [We] possess such treasures and yet we do not recognize [their value]. Why do we starve ourselves as such?<sup>117</sup>

The view that Buddhist teachings, especially wisdom contained in the Tibetan canons are not superstitious but are important for a modern nation-state to recognize as critical cultural heritage was echoed in a speech given by Gao Erdeng (高爾登),<sup>118</sup> at the press conference for the *Kālacakra* initiation in Hangzhou. He said:

Buddha *Dharma* is active; it is not passive. It is engaged with the world, and not detached. The teachings of the Buddha are for the entire nation and society to step into a virtuous cycle. They teach people to use the spirit of self-sacrifice and bravery to fight the *asura* demons... The Buddha’s teachings preserved in the *Kālacakratantra* are especially complex and detailed. They encourage engaged lives and use the wisdom of science to inspire people.<sup>119</sup>

It is clear that the motivations behind the *Kālacakra* initiations in the Republic of China were not completely political in nature; there were actually very strong interests in the soteriological benefits that the ritual can offer, as well as recognitions of the *Kālacakratantra* as important cultural heritage. Many sources show that the Chinese donors and participants not only shared a fascination with the esoteric Tibetan Buddhist ritual, many of them also agreed that Tibetan Buddhism was in fact, *the* much-needed savior and revitalizer for the long-lost Chinese esoteric Buddhist traditions.

After the fall of the Qing empire in 1911, many notable Buddhists, such as the monk Taixu, became influential in revitalizing and modernizing Buddhism in China through reforms such as more engaged practices and the use of modern print media. At the same time, there was an interest in reviving Chinese esoteric, or tantric Buddhism, whose transmission was believed to have been weakened or even lost since the tenth century. To do this, many Chinese Buddhists first looked to Japan, where the traditions and practices of medieval Chinese esoteric Buddhism was supposed to be best-preserved. As the relationship between the two countries worsened increasingly after imperial Japan’s continued invasions and occupations on Chinese territories, many Chinese Buddhists began to turn to Tibet in their search for the lost *tantras*.

<sup>116</sup> C: *longzang* 龍藏

<sup>117</sup> MMQ Vol. 41: 378-383.

<sup>118</sup> Gao Erdeng was a politician and military commander for the ROC.

<sup>119</sup> MMQ Vol. 41: 362.

In 1915, the Empire of Japan demanded to have the freedom to build Buddhist temples in China in the Twenty-One Demands.<sup>120</sup> This created an outrage amongst the Chinese Buddhist communities, who thought that it was offensive for Japanese Buddhism, the disciples of Chinese Buddhism, to proselytize their practices back to China.<sup>121</sup> The Japanese Buddhists, especially those of the Shingon school, argued that although Japanese Buddhism developed from Chinese Buddhism, tantric Buddhism has been preserved and thriving in Japan, while it has been long lost in China.<sup>122</sup> As a result, many Chinese monks went abroad to Japan to study and in the following decades contributed to a tantric revival movement. With increasing aggression from the Empire of Japan in the 1920s and 1930s, many Chinese Buddhists found instead Tibetan tantrism to be the perfect answer to their revival campaign, especially since the Tibetan tradition was believed to be more closely related with lineages in Indian tantrism, and that Tibetan Buddhism possessed texts on the higher *yoga-tantras* such as the *Kālacakratantra* while the East Asian esoteric traditions did not.

In addition to the Ninth Panchen Lama, the Seventh Changkya Khutukhtu Lobsang Pelden Tenpe Dronme (T: Lcang skya blo bzang dpal ldan bstan pa'i sgron me), the Mongol lama Bai Puren (C: Bai Puren 白普仁), the Norlha Khutukhtu (T: Nor lha ho thog thu), and Gongkar Rinpoche (T: Gangs dkar) were all distinguished lamas of the Gelug tradition that were active in China at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>123</sup> During their stays in China, they not only performed countless rituals and teachings for avid donors, they also helped to establish education centers to cultivate those interested in Tibetan Buddhism, such as the Bodhi Study Center (C: *Puti xuehui* 菩提學會) established in 1935 in Shanghai with the Panchen Lama as the president.<sup>124</sup> Such centers taught the Tibetan language and translated many texts from the Tibetan canons into Chinese.<sup>125</sup>

At the same time, there were also many Chinese monks who traveled to various monastic colleges in Tibet to study, such as Dayong (大勇), Fazun (法尊), and Nenghai (能海).<sup>126</sup> They established education institutions and translated many key texts from the Tibetan Buddhist canons into Chinese to help promote Tibetan Buddhist studies in China. In 1924, Dayong created the Tibetan Language College (C: *Zangwen xueyuan* 藏文學院) in Beijing and managed to send more than thirty of his students to study at the Drepung monastery in Tibet.<sup>127</sup> Fazun, who was fluent in Tibetan and a

<sup>120</sup> J: Taika nijūikkajō yōkyū 對華21ヶ条要求; C: Dui hua ershiyitiao yaoqiu 對華21條要求

<sup>121</sup> Lai Yonghai 賴永海, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi* 中國佛教通史 [History of Chinese Buddhism] (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 15, 373.

<sup>122</sup> Lai, 373.

<sup>123</sup> Lai, 382.

<sup>124</sup> Lai, 383.

<sup>125</sup> Lai, 383.

<sup>126</sup> Lai, 384.

<sup>127</sup> Lai, 385-386.

prolific writer, translated more than two hundred texts from Tibetan, including major canonical texts in the Gelug tradition such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and Tsongkhapa's *Lamrim Chenmo*.<sup>128</sup> He also translated the *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra* from Chinese (C: *Da piposha lun* 大毗婆沙論) to Tibetan.<sup>129</sup>

Nenghai was another influential Chinese tantric master of this period; he studied in Tibet, translated texts, and spent more than thirty years teaching and propagating Tibetan Buddhism in China. After years of work, he developed the Jinci Temple (近慈寺) in Chengdu into a one-of-a-kind Buddhist monastery that is bilingual (teaches both in Tibetan and in Chinese) and comprehensive, embracing both exoteric teachings of the Chinese Buddhist traditions and the esoteric teachings of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions.<sup>130</sup>

Going back to the questions posed at the beginning of this section that asked why most of the Panchen Lama's nine Kālacakra initiations were performed outside of central Tibet, and why they were so well-received outside of their usual contexts, I hope it has been made apparent that it was mainly because the donors who requested these initiations were outside of central Tibet. For the donors in Inner Mongolia, the Kālacakra initiations renewed their faith in the shared myth of Śambhala and gave them opportunities to congregate communally. For the donors in the Republic of China, they saw political potential in the Panchen Lama to unit ethnic minority groups on the frontier through shared faith, but they were equally invested in the soteriological benefits that the Kālacakra initiations can provide as well. This invested interest in the Tibetan tantric practices was part of a larger tantric revival movement that was gaining momentum in 1920s and 1930s China.

As for the motivations of the Ninth Panchen Lama in accepting the donors' requests and performing these series of Kālacakra initiations, Fabienne Jagou suggests that it could be for the purpose of "honoring his debts with the Tibetan government."<sup>131</sup> Although this might be true, it has been shown in previous discussions of the donor lists that the large amounts of donations were often balanced off by the considerable costs of these Kālacakra initiations. Most of the donation money instead went to the local economy. The Panchen Lama and his retinue did receive compensations for the religious services, but it remains unclear if these compensations were to be paid as taxes owed to Lhasa. Jagou also argues that in addition to the possibility that the Panchen Lama was giving the Kālacakra initiations out of altruistic goals, "he could also take advantage of these large gatherings to find supporters who could help him return to Tibet, and through the power of the Kālacakra let his cause be known to a

<sup>128</sup> Lai, 387.

<sup>129</sup> Lai, 387.

<sup>130</sup> Lai, 388.

<sup>131</sup> Jagou, 71.

larger audience.”<sup>132</sup> This seems to be the most appropriate reading, as we will see when we explore the public features of the Kālacakra initiations and how making the esoteric public in fact was able to increase considerable political, social, and religious capital and visibility for the Panchen Lama to prepare him for his return to Tibet following the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as a well-connected leader.

### **Making the Esoteric Rituals Public:**

The nine Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama were allegedly the first higher *yoga-tantra* initiations held outside of central Tibet. Tantric initiations of that nature were also widely understood to be rarely performed to the public even in Tibet. Why was this ritual based on the highest level of *yoga-tantra* performed to such large audiences? Why were they so well-received by the masses? Are esoteric rituals like the Kālacakra initiation theoretically allowed to be given to large public audiences? In this section, we will look at the public dimensions of the Kālacakra initiations and explore what making the esoteric public entails. But first, we will briefly discuss what “public” means.

Jürgen Habermas conceptualized the term *Öffentlichkeit*, or “public sphere” in his seminal work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962).<sup>133</sup> The German term *Öffentlichkeit* can be understood as carrying the connotations of openness, public, and publicity. For Habermas, public spheres emerged as places for public discourse from Western European bourgeoisie societies. They may be conceived “...as the sphere of private people come together as a public.”<sup>134</sup> In *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres* (1999), G.A. Hauser adds that, “A public sphere may be defined as a discursive space in which individuals and groups associate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgement about them.”<sup>135</sup> In addition, the public sphere may be potentially subversive. As Habermas has pointed out, once congregated as a public, the people “...soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves...”<sup>136</sup>

Although both theorists are writing about the “public sphere” based on their observations of the bourgeois society in the West, the idea can still be useful to help us understand the public presentations of the nine Kālacakra initiations, especially the idea that “public spheres” are places and instances that enable popular engagement, discussion, and debate. Habermas’ observation on the subversive potential inherent

<sup>132</sup> Jagou, 71.

<sup>133</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991).

<sup>134</sup> Habermas, 27.

<sup>135</sup> G. A. Hauser and Thomas W. Benson, *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres* (University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 61.

<sup>136</sup> Habermas, 27.

in the creation of public spheres are also insightful. For our purposes of exploring the Kālacakra initiations, we can take “public” (adjective) as both a characteristic of the “public sphere,” as well as the congregation and association of individuals (noun), or as Hauser puts it, “the interdependent members of society who hold different opinions about a mutual problem and who seek to influence its resolution through discourse.”<sup>137</sup>

In our case of the Kālacakra initiations, they can be considered as events involving the public in the public sphere in the sense that they were open to the general population; they involved the gatherings of individuals and groups to negotiate matters of mutual interest and to participate in collective discourse. The Panchen Lama’s Kālacakra initiations were performed to a general and modern audience for the first time, and they created new types of spaces where politics and religion can be practiced towards the achievement of mutual interests. They were public also because they engaged with widely circulated modern print media, film, radio, modern transportation, and popular culture to promote visibility, relevance, and influence. In this aspect, the Kālacakra initiations were made public through not only texts and images, but also sound and film that were directed at a mass audience. Finally, the Kālacakra initiations were also public in the sense that they engendered a considerable amount of debate that went beyond the controls of the authorities – in other words, the esoteric rituals became places of public discourse.

But why were these rituals made public? What does the publicity entail?

In the Republic of China, the Kālacakra initiations were organized by military and political elites to be public for the optics of ethnic unity between the “five nationalities”; for donors to display their merits; for the spectacle of a Buddhist ritual on a national scale that advocated public morality; and for rallying the public against aggressive enemies, such as imperialists from Japan and the West. For the Ninth Panchen Lama, the Kālacakra initiations’ publicity meant validation and accumulation of political, religious, and social capitals; the visibility created by the public gaze allowed him to draw attention from, and form networks with, potential donors and allies so that he could return to Tibet with more political leverage.

Additionally, through commercial advertisements (of the initiations and related merchandise) in print media and public notices installed around the cities, the publicity and openness of the Kālacakra initiations contributed significantly to the local economies of the hosting sites. From the donor lists of the initiations we can see that, besides the larger and more established shops that were commissioned to supply Buddhist images and offerings, there were also many smaller vendors and artisans who profited from the events.<sup>138</sup> The public sphere of the Kālacakra initiations thus has an essential public economic expression that must not be overlooked.

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<sup>137</sup> Hauser, 32.

<sup>138</sup> MFZ Vol. 13: 475-660.

It is also interesting to see that regardless of what the donors and the Panchen Lama's political stakes were in the Kālacakra initiations, the general attendees and the media did indeed express a considerable interest in the religious expressions of the Kālacakra initiations. Many members of the audience attended on their own without official invitations and even traveled for days just to be in proximity to the ritual. The question then is: what attracted tens of thousands of people of various ethnicities, nationalities, and social backgrounds to attend the Kālacakra initiations?

The answer to that question seems to lie in the messianic message contained in the *Kālacakratantra*, as well as a popular desire for the continuity of Buddhist (mythic) history and tradition. What drove tens of thousands of attendees to participate in the Kālacakra initiations was perhaps that many of them felt connected to both the apocalyptic future that the *tantra* describes and the promising solutions that the Panchen Lama can offer, especially in desperate times of war, disasters, political instabilities, and increasing global conflict.

José Cabezón has pointed out, "it is not uncommon [at least in Tibetan tantric ritual practices] to find nonmonastic, institutionally unaffiliated, and illiterate individuals, including women, engaged in highly specialized, complex enlightenment-directed practices."<sup>139</sup> For Buddhists, Tibetan, Chinese, or Mongolian, rituals have been magical and pragmatic technologies used to solve problems in everyday life. Cabezón explains, "rituals are not only considered useful, but they are also often seen as indispensable to success in a variety of human affairs. They are enacted not only once calamity strikes, but also to avert mishap in the first place."<sup>140</sup>

It may be that many simply believed in the extraordinary ritual potency of the *Kālacakratantra* heralded by esteemed members of society and the unequalled pedigree and religious authority of the Panchen Lama to perform its initiations. Gray Tuttle confirms this reading in his article, "Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China" (2008). He says that the Ninth Panchen Lama and his writings on the benefits of the Kālacakra initiations were influential precisely "because these teachings offered salvation to a people literally desperate, hopeless, about their situation."<sup>141</sup> In his reading of the Panchen Lama's writings, Tuttle identifies "a powerful psychological position" that the Panchen Lama occupied in the Chinese imaginations of Tibet.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>139</sup> José Ignacio Cabezón, "Introduction," in *Tibetan Ritual*, eds. José Ignacio Cabezón (Oxford University Press, 2010), 19-20.

<sup>140</sup> Cabezón, 21.

<sup>141</sup> Gray Tuttle, "Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra," in *Images of Tibet in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries Volume I*, eds. Monica Esposito (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 320.

<sup>142</sup> Tuttle, 320.



The power of the messianic message of the *Kālacakratāntra* was felt perhaps even stronger amongst the Mongols in Inner Mongolia, who revered the Panchen Lama not only as one of the top leaders in the Gelug Buddhist tradition, a tradition that the Mongols have shared with the Tibetans for centuries, but as the future king of Śambhala. If the people of the Republic of China were mainly concerned with aggressions from Japan and the Western imperial powers, then the Inner Mongolians were increasingly feeling threatened by not only the imperialists, but also forced colonization and agriculturalization of the steppes under the Chinese warlords, not to mention also the hostility coming from socialist Outer Mongolia and Soviet Russia. The ritual magic of the unusual but superior Kālacakra empowerments delivered by one of the most powerful Lamas in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition would have been indeed incredibly empowering.

Tradition, pedigree, (mythic) history, and their uninterrupted continuation was integral to ensure the authenticity and efficacy of the Kālacakra initiations. The popular audience, both in Inner Mongolia and China, reacted to this continuity and the Panchen Lama delivered. Gray Tuttle remarks that, "... the Panchen Lama embraced traditional patterns of interactions, in which Buddhist unity with Chinese or Mongols was paramount, and what was good and desirable was judged by Buddhist standards and not modern enlightenment schemes."<sup>143</sup> Tuttle explains that rather than offering his audience new interpretations or revisions of Tibetan Buddhism as modern or as part of pan-Asian Buddhism, the Panchen Lama instead insisted on the continued significance of previous models of identity and social relations.<sup>144</sup> Tuttle argues that the reason why the Panchen Lama made the choice to insist on continuity and was immune from Western-originated discourses of modernity was "because their homeland had not been compromised by colonization... few of these [modern] expectations were fulfilled or even deemed desirable, whether by the elite or the populace at large."<sup>145</sup>

While this might be the case, Fabienne Jagou reminds us in her studies on the Ninth Panchen Lama that the Tibetan monk and leader was not as "immune" to modernity as we might have assumed. In a proposal that the Panchen Lama sent to Huang Musong (黃慕松), the new director of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission at the time in March 1935, the Lama requested material aid and funding of no less than 100 million *yuan* for a development project involving educational infrastructure and communication networks for Tibet.<sup>146</sup> For education, the Panchen Lama wanted his young fellow Tibetans to learn Tibetan and Chinese, which was understood by him as the synonym for industrial development and economic and social progress.<sup>147</sup> He also proposed the creation of post offices equipped with radio

<sup>143</sup> Tuttle, 308.

<sup>144</sup> Tuttle, 308.

<sup>145</sup> Tuttle, 307.

<sup>146</sup> Jagou, 126-127.

<sup>147</sup> Jagou, 127.

transmitters in all the main districts in Tibet along with the assistance of Chinese technicians and experts to supervise over these projects.<sup>148</sup>

It seems possible that the Panchen Lama's choice to insist on the continuity of tradition and identities especially in the Kālacakra initiations was less based on his own disposition towards modernity, but more on the popular demand for the optics of tradition. The Lama was not completely uninterested in engaging with modernity, as we have seen; the Kālacakra initiations were actually quite revolutionary in their engagement with the general population as a public sphere of communal experience and discourse. The use of modern technology and media to promote, record, and broadcast the Kālacakra initiations were also not opposed by the Panchen Lama himself. Tradition, lineage, and temporal and spatial continuity (both going backward to the historic Buddha in India and also forward to the future triumph of the kingdom of Śambhala) were emphasized over more “modern” takes on Buddhism because these are essential to the integrity and efficacy of the messianic metanarrative and its success with the masses.

### Esoteric Rituals as Places for Public Discourse

On the other hand, the messianic promise of the *Kālacakratantra* was not the only thing that attracted popular attention. Many who attended were not practicing Buddhists nor individuals interested in seeking refuge under the Three Jewels. Many of the commentators who wrote publicly about the Kālacakra initiations participated to observe; they reported on the spectacle of the ritual and often commented with a modernist critical stance. This means that the Kālacakra initiations also served as public spheres for discussions, debates, and even critiques on Tibetan esoteric Buddhism. Some of these discussions centered on the authenticity of Buddhist *tantras*, some explored the efficacy of the Kālacakra initiations, some doubted the motives of the organizers, while others questioned the place of religion in the public sphere in general. These discussions and critiques reflect not only a level of public engagement with the Tibetan Buddhist ritual, but also a distrust with the new Republican government, as well as a kind of anxiety towards the popularity of such a religious activity on a national scale and its place in the new modern nation.

In Luo Tongbing's article, “The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China” (2008), he illustrates the debate between Jing Changji (景昌極) of the China Institute of Buddhism and the reformist monk Taixu (太虛) on the authenticity of *tantras* and the Kālacakra initiations. As a proponent of exoteric Buddhism, Jing believed that *tantras* are “a mélange of superstition and deceptive metaphysics, which led to strained interpretations and

<sup>148</sup> Jagou, 127.

false analogies.”<sup>149</sup> In defense of esoteric Buddhism, Taixu emphasized faith before historical facts, he argued in response, “Examined with common understanding and according to the history of the human world, the esoteric *mantras* are just as unreliable as are the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* with their unverifiable myths. However, Buddhism is grounded on the inconceivable fruit of Buddhahood and other saintly fruits. Only those who have attained the fruit of Buddhahood can judge the authenticity of the Buddhist Dharma.”<sup>150</sup> Taixu continues, “If we can accept with faith the doctrines and then practice, sooner or later we can attain the fruits.”<sup>151</sup>

While Buddhists like Jing Changji and Taixu debated on the authenticity of *tantras* from exoteric or esoteric positions from within the tradition, non-Buddhists called into question the validity of religious rituals in the “age of science.” A writer named You Qing (又青) challenged official publications of the Kālacakra initiations on the efficacy of the rituals in an article entitled, “Oh! Kālacakra Initiations” published in the *People’s Weekly*. The author writes,

Apparently the Kālacakra initiations were believed to summon gods to dispel disasters, and to protect the nation from humiliation. Ah! Humans have already evolved from the age of the gods to the age of science; the Japanese enemies are relying on the newest weapons and have invaded us, while our outdated elites and dull scholars are here indoctrinating us with their esoteric Buddhism, performing tricks revering spirits and gods. They are cursed by time, laughed at by science, made fun of by our enemies – this is the most unwise!<sup>152</sup>

Following these series of accusations, the author continues and counts the times that the Panchen Lama’s ritual magic had failed. The first time was when the Nanking warlord Sun Chuanfang (孫傳芳) and his military clique lost the battle during the Northern Expedition in 1926; they had been blessed by the Panchen Lama prior at the Zhaoqing Temple (昭慶寺) in Hangzhou. The second time was when the territory of Jehol was lost to the Japanese soon after the Kālacakra Initiation took place in Beijing. The author laments, “This third time [in Hangzhou], what kind of disaster would he bring!”<sup>153</sup>

In another article published in the *People’s Weekly*, the Kālacakra initiations’ donors and their motives were heavily criticized. In the piece “Perspectives on

<sup>149</sup> Luo Tongbing, “The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China,” in *Images of Tibet in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries Volume I*, eds. Monica Esposito (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2008), 451.

<sup>150</sup> Luo, 451.

<sup>151</sup> Luo, 451.

<sup>152</sup> You Qing 又青, “Minghu shilun jingang fahui” 嗚呼時輪金剛法會[Oh! Kālacakra Initiations], *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934), 10.

<sup>153</sup> You, 10.

the Kālacakra Initiations,” a writer named Shen Bozhan (沈伯展) questioned the intention behind the rituals:

Last year, the Panchen Lama set up a ritual in Beijing for the sake of world peace and the elimination of national disasters using the power of the Buddha. But the result on world peace and national disaster was miniscule and irrelevant. This year, Duan Qirui and these liars wish to deceive yet again under the slogans of “peace,” “ending suffering,” “praying for fortune,” “eliminating disasters,” and “praying better rebirths for the deceased.” This is nothing but another scam enabling our ignorant and degenerate countrymen to lie to themselves.<sup>154</sup>

As for the “true” motive behind Duan Qirui’s organization of the Kālacakra initiations, the writer claims that Duan aimed to use the Kālacakra initiations to “reverse the progress of the evolution of society,” and that this act is “counter-revolutionary.”<sup>155</sup>

Moreover, there were public voices that interrogated the effects that the Kālacakra initiations had on public life, as well as the role religion should (or should not) play in the public sphere. Shen Shanhong (沈善鉉) commented in an article called “The Absurdity of the Kālacakra Initiations”:

Subjectively speaking, the Kālacakra initiations do not involve conspiracies and they support religious freedom. Objectively speaking, however, how many people in our under-educated nation today have enough knowledge to make [sound] judgements? For the common uneducated citizen, concepts such as “scientification” (C: *kexuehua* 科學化) and “new lifestyle” (C: *xinshenghuo* 新生活) have not yet taken roots. Sirs and gentlemen, [such as Dai Jitao] who are important politicians, educators, and military leaders, should be models for the rest of us. However, they have subconsciously influenced so many people’s mentalities [through participating in the Kālacakra initiations] and have led us onto the path of degeneration.<sup>156</sup>

Continuing their remarks on the intrusion of religion in the supposedly secular, scientific, and modern public sphere, the author further doubts the function of religion in the fight with imperialist aggressions. Shen writes: “For these cold-blooded imperialists, can you sway them with humanitarianism? Will you be able to call on “gods” or “Buddhas” to subdue them?... The only path in our future is to disengage

<sup>154</sup> Shen Bozhan 沈伯展, “Shilun jingang fahui di toushi” 時輪金剛法會底透視[Perspectives on the Kālacakra Initiations], *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934), 3.

<sup>155</sup> Shen Bozhan, 6.

<sup>156</sup> Shen Shanhong 沈善鉉, “Huangmiu jue lun de shilun jingang fahui” 荒謬絕倫的時輪金剛法會[The Absurdity of the Kālacakra Initiations], *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934), 13.

their weapons through “iron” and “blood.” Then can we put down our weapons and drive the world into a cycle of peace.”<sup>157</sup>

It is not difficult to see that many of these discussions and criticisms directed at the Kālacakra initiations were made with the assumption that modern nation-states, such as the Republic of China, should have a certain kind of separation between religion and politics, and this is based on another assumption that a modern secular society is necessarily a more “progressed” one. Due to the high-profiled nature of the Kālacakra initiations, they became obvious and accessible arenas for public discourses on religion and modernity. It seems that while there was a critical awareness of the esoteric Tibetan Buddhist ritual, what is really revealed in these modernist critiques is a sense of disappointment and disillusionment with the new modern Republic, the corruption of their leaders, and the ineffectiveness of the government at addressing imperialist aggressions and invasions.

### Can Esoteric Rituals be Public?

But in an emic sense, can the esoteric ritual of the Kālacakra initiation be public? What does it mean to make the esoteric public?

The *Kālacakratantra* and its commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā* do warn potential practitioners of the high stakes of not having the appropriate prerequisites for tantric initiations. For example, studying under a tantric teacher without the necessary qualifications can lead to sufferings in hell.<sup>158</sup> The pledge of secrecy was also one of the necessary prerequisites for the appropriate practice of *tantras*. Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim points out that in the *Vajrāvalī*, for example, the pledge of secrecy is repeated four times and fearsome threats are issued for those who fail to do so.<sup>159</sup>

However, even if secrecy had been important to the Kālacakra tradition, it has certainly evolved to be more open and flexible. In the chapter “Kālacakra in transition: From the Apocalypse to the Promotion of World Peace,” Katja Rakow clarifies that the Kālacakra initiation is actually meant for the public. She says,

This contradiction may at first sight seem rather irritating in the light of the esoteric character of those *annutara-yoga-tantras* and their required preliminary practices and preparations. Yet there is a sort of ‘mass initiation’ in the Kālacakra scriptures themselves when King Yaśas taught an abridged version of the *Kālacakratantra* to all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Śambhala and thereby unified all the Brahman families within one single Buddhist *vajra* clan.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Shen Shanhong, 13-14.

<sup>158</sup> Wallace, 10.

<sup>159</sup> Yoeli-Tlalim, 435.

<sup>160</sup> Katja Rakow, “Kālacakra in Transition: From the Apocalypse to the Promotion of World Peace,” in *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, eds. István Keul (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 425.

It therefore seems that the Kālacakra texts do not clearly oppose the opposite of secrecy. However, Rakow adds, “Although public tantric initiations could be found as early as in the eleventh century, the mass initiation into the *Kālacakratantra* are probably a recent phenomenon.”<sup>161</sup>

Regardless of what the *Kālacakratantra*’s prohibitions might have been for mass/public tantric initiations, secrecy certainly was not a commonly debated issue for the nine Kālacakra initiations given by the Ninth Panchen Lama. On the contrary, the openness and public nature of the rituals were often applauded as indications of the Lama’s compassion and altruism. This opinion is echoed in more contemporary Kālacakra initiations given by renowned Tibetan teachers such as the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

In Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim’s studies of contemporary Kālacakra empowerments, she has observed a series of changes that the ritual has taken on. These include: a redefinition of secrecy, a move from personal initiations to group initiations, initiations for lay practitioners, and the interpretation of various physical aspects of the ritual as symbolic.<sup>162</sup> With the appearance of more publications on Kālacakra teachings in various Western languages, Yoeli-Tlalim notes, the restriction of revealing texts only to the initiated has in effect become less plausible.<sup>163</sup> The Fourteenth Dalai Lama has also adopted similar pragmatic approaches to esoteric teachings. Yoeli-Tlalim argues that “his policy maintains a preference to publicize accurate and authentic teachings rather than to face the proliferation of teachings which are fundamentally wrong.”<sup>164</sup>

It is interesting that many of the observable changes made in contemporary Kālacakra practices, such as the redefinition of secrecy, group initiations and initiations for lay practitioners were in fact key features in the Kālacakra initiations that the Ninth Panchen Lama performed in the early twentieth century. What does this say about the role Tibetan Buddhism played in the post-imperium spaces of early twentieth-century East Asia? What does this tell us about Buddhist tantric rituals in the modern?

### **Tibetan Gelug Buddhism in Post-Imperium Modern East Asia:**

Through investigating the case of the Ninth Panchen Lama’s Kālacakra initiations, it has been revealed that the tantric rituals were sponsored by politically affluent donors and were highly visible public events that garnered considerable media publicity. This tells us that there were immense interests in the Panchen Lama, the Kālacakra rituals, and Tibetan Buddhism in general. These interests were there for three main reasons: the geopolitical significance of Tibet in early twentieth-century East Asia; Tibetan

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<sup>161</sup> Rakow, 425.

<sup>162</sup> Yoeli-Tlalim, 435.

<sup>163</sup> Yoeli-Tlalim, 435.

<sup>164</sup> Yoeli-Tlalim, 435.

Buddhism's believed proximity to Indian Buddhism; and the promised soteriological benefits of Tibetan tantric Buddhism in messianic metanarratives.

In the post-Qing ruins of Inner and East Asia, Tibet played a crucial role in geopolitics. Being the heartland of Gelug Buddhism, Tibet was both the guru and the ally to the Buddhist Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Having the Ninth Panchen Lama, who had considerable religious and political capital, on their side meant having the ability to assemble and mobilize populations. Recognizing these historic ties between the Tibetans and the Mongols, the Ninth Panchen Lama and the Tibetan Buddhist institution that he stood for were seen as keys to the construction of the new nation-state for the Republic of China, who replaced the Qing empire but still sought ways to retain the territorial claims of the fallen supremacy. Tibetan Buddhism and its expressions were thus tools that could be used to promote the allegiance of ethnic minorities and for making territorial claims at the frontiers.

Tibetan Buddhism was also part of a larger pan-Asian tantric revival movement mainly propelled by modern Chinese Buddhists and Japanese Buddhists, who were to a large extent inspired by both modernity and the academic studies of Buddhism in the West. In this revival movement, Tibet came to be known as the last stronghold that preserved the most complete and the most sublime tantric teachings of the Buddha. In the movement's search for the "lost *tantras*," Tibet and its comprehensive esoteric Buddhist traditions became desirable and arguably superior to the "incomplete" esoteric Buddhist traditions of China and Japan. Tibetan Buddhism was seen as more authentically close to the legacies of Indian Buddhism. The continuity of "uninterrupted transmission" from India gave Tibetan Buddhism a pedigree that held substantial religious capital for the tradition.

Tantric texts that were preserved in Tibetan Buddhism, such as the *Kālacakratantra* and its associated practices, provided metanarratives using Buddhist cosmology to explain suffering, war, disorder, and even imperialism in the post-imperium spaces of modern East Asia. These metanarratives summoned Buddhist understandings of time and space. Through the *tantra*'s unique trajectories and locations of history, the causes of modern suffering were articulated through *karma* and *Dharma*, while the future was prophesized through the messianic promise of the victorious kingdom of Śambhala. Rituals that embodied these metanarratives, such as the Kālacakra initiations, provided arenas for the soteriological and intellectual concerns of the public.

On a broader level, these nine Kālacakra initiations unveil the fact that Tibetan Buddhism, especially Gelug Buddhism, was highly transregional, trans-ethnonational, and even international in the first few decades of the twentieth century. More specifically, while the Kālacakra initiations were conducted as "national" rituals serving the spiritual needs of imagined communities, at the same time, their purpose and efficacy were meant to be directed across and beyond borders and frontiers. These "borders" were physical; for example, borders that mark the divide between Inner



Mongolia and Outer Mongolia, and margins that trace the contours of the Republic of China. In order to promote harmony between the “five nationalities” and ethnic minorities, the ritual function has to cross these physical boundaries to reach their diverse audiences.

The “borders” can also be abstract, such as the demarcation between the private and the public. For the publicity of the Kālacakra initiations to be established so that they can serve various purposes and engender different opportunities, traditional limits of the tantric relationship between teacher and disciple must be removed and secrecy redefined. These changes enacted by the Nine Panchen Lama and his donors were exactly what assisted the inclusivity of the Kālacakra initiations – the rituals were able to offer various kinds of benefits to different groups of people, transcending social confinements and class categories. Without the publicity and openness of the Kālacakra initiations, groups of people that would normally be excluded from tantric initiations, such as women, common citizens, non-Buddhists, children, and international attendees would not be able to participate like they did.

In this sense, the agents of Tibetan Buddhism were diverse, and they had the agencies to participate and interpret its practices, such as the Kālacakra initiations, in their own creative ways. Regardless of what the *Kālacakratantra* and other canonical sources teach, participants of the rituals with different language and religious backgrounds often interpreted the initiations in their own unique ways. Some expressed a firm belief in the cosmological analysis and soteriological guarantees of the *Kālacakratantra*; some raised questions about its authenticity. Some advocated for the Kālacakra initiations as timely solutions for geopolitical problems and national moral crises; while others argued against the Kālacakra initiations, challenging its place in a modern society marked by “progress,” “enlightenment,” and “science.”

The agents that were involved with Tibetan Buddhism in this period were diverse also in terms of gender and ethnicities. Tibetan Buddhism, especially Gelug Buddhism, was not an essentially “Tibetan” Buddhism, but really a rich tradition shared amongst many ethnicities and races. The Kālacakra initiations were supported by Tibetans, Mongols, Han Chinese, Japanese, and interested individuals from the West. Women played major roles in early twentieth-century Tibetan Buddhism as well. As we have seen from the descriptions of women’s participations in the Kālacakra initiations, although they rarely appeared as monastics or established tantric yoginis, many of them contributed financially as avid donors and participated passionately as lay devotees. Again, without the enabled visibility of the religious rituals, the presence of these women would easily have been erased in official, canonical histories and writings.

Just as the diverse attendees of the Kālacakra initiations had creative agencies of interpretation and participation, the rituals themselves had agencies of their own in terms of affective power. Beyond the agencies and powers of the Panchen Lama and

the donors, the rituals often took on lives of their own, especially when made public. This agency of the rituals lies in a kind of affective power that had the ability to evoke all kinds of imaginations and interpretations about what esoteric Buddhism is and what its powers are, as well as nostalgic imaginations about what the “lost esoteric Buddhism” used to be. The rituals invoke the participants to feel the intimacy of shared lineages and the patriotism of protecting one’s country. They elicit from the audience desires of a peaceful nation safeguarded by legendary tantric masters of the past, and the hopefulness of an auspicious suffering-less future in victorious Śambhala.

The affective power that Tibetan Buddhist rituals had over large modern audiences in the twentieth century shows that contrary to the orientalist image of secluded monastic communities up in the Himalayas, Tibetan Buddhism very much engaged with modernity on the ground. Modern warfare and colonialism were rationalized through Buddhist cosmology, and the souls of dead citizens and soldiers sent into better rebirths through Buddhist rites of passage. Buddhist ritualists such as the Panchen Lama insisted on the continuity of Buddhist rituals such as the Kālacakra initiations to be technologies of statecraft for even modern states founded upon Western notions of democracy, science, and progress. For many Buddhist agents involved in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, the nature of harm and conflicts might change with the turns of history, the potency of Buddhist rituals, especially tantric rituals with esteemed lineage connections to India and the magical kingdom of Śambhala, perseveres.

At the same time, it has been shown in our previous discussions that although the donors and participants of the Kālacakra Initiations were citizens of modern nation-states, most of them were not secular moderns. Indeed, there were also demands for the continuity of tradition, lineage, and narratives of a Buddhist cosmological time. These demands reflect desires for the assurance of authenticity, efficacy, and potency. The Ninth Panchen Lama and the Kālacakra practices responded to these demands for continuity and still managed to be revolutionarily inclusive with regard to their audience. Modern technologies and media were also embraced and strategically applied in ways that did not contradict with the immutability of continuity.

Lastly, the Kālacakra initiations served as great case studies of how Tibetan Buddhist rituals functioned as public spheres that facilitated public discourses on religion and modernity. The Kālacakra initiations became topics of fascination and objects of heated debates. The Tibetan Buddhist rituals drew out anxieties from all levels of society about national “progress” and aroused concerns about the mixing of religions with politics. The Panchen Lama’s exiled presence raised awareness for ethnic diversity and alliance, while also sparking state-sponsored programs to boost ethnic “unity” and “harmony.” Following this point on rituals as a place of public discourse, it is necessary to address the fact that although many women did participate in the Kālacakra initiations and might have written on the rituals anonymously or

using pen names to contribute to the larger conversation, the rituals themselves as well as the public discussions seem to remain mainly male-oriented and elitist. The lack of inclusivity of women and individuals from lower socio-economic classes should challenge the definition of the “public” in our context, as Nancy Fraser has pointed out in her critique of Habermas’ “public spheres.”<sup>165</sup>

Although this paper has attempted to offer a comprehensive discussion on the Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama in the early twentieth-century, there are still many things that this paper was not able to touch on, given the dearth of primary materials that I had access to, such as how the Kālacakra initiations were carried out in Inner Mongolia, the details of these ritual processes and their economics. Sources are also lacking with regard to the Ninth Panchen Lama’s personal opinions about the rituals and their unprecedented attendance and public attention. I anticipate with excitement for future scholarships on these points.

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