



MONGOLICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MONGOL STUDIES

Vol. 54, 2019



MONGOLICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MONGOL STUDIES

Vol. 54, 2019

Secretariat of the International
Association for Mongol Studies

Ulaanbaatar

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MONGOL STUDIES

President	Birtalan, Ágnes (Hungary)
Honorary Presidents	Bira, Sh. (Mongolia) Sagaster, Klaus. (Germany) Tumurtoogo, D. (Mongolia)
Vice-Presidents	Atwood, Christopher P. (USA) Bazarov, B.V. (Russia) Enkhtaivan, Ch. (Mongolia) Oyunbileg (China) Tumur-Ochir, S. (Mongolia) Uradyn Bulag (UK) Konagaya, Yuki (Japan)
Secretary-General	Chuluun, S. (Mongolia)

The International Association for Mongol Studies (IAMS) is an international non-governmental scholarly organization uniting Mongolists, centers of Mongol studies and associations on a voluntary basis.

The IAMS aims at encouraging Mongol studies, assisting scholarly activities of Mongol study centres and Mongolists, promoting mutual understanding and cooperation among scholars from different countries of the world. (From the IAMS Constitution)

This “Mongolica” was prepared by the IAMS Secretariat

Editor-in-chief	Chuluun, S.
Executive Secretary	Purevjav, E.
Peer Review	Birtalan, Ágnes
Designer	Sambuunyam, Ch.

Editorial Address: Sukhbaatar Square-3
Ulaanbaatar-11, P.O. 20A Mongolia
Office of the IAMS Secretariat
E-mail: iamsmongolia@gmail.com
Website: www.iams.org.mn
Phone/Fax: 976-51-261328
Phone: 261328, 262491

The views expressed in the materials, contributed for the Mongolica are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily reflect views of the editors or the IAMS Secretariat.

ISSN 1024-3143

CONTENTS

Birtalan, Ágnes (Hungary), Editorial Preface4

Bilegsaikhan, Tamirjav (Mongolia), A Retrospective
Outlook on Pastoralism.....7

Byambaragchaa, Ganbold (Mongolia), Sacralization of an
Archaeological Site (Shamanism and Mining
Development around Noyon Uul in Mongolia).....12

Maholiya, Ramkishor (India), A Cultural and Textual Heritage
of India in Mongolia18

Namuun, Gantumur (Mongolia), An Institutional Analysis of the
Impact of the Abundance of Natural Resources upon
Political Stability and Economic Prosperity. A Comparative
Study between Mongolia and Norway24

Naresh, Shakya (Nepal), Newar/Nepalese Buddhist Art
Influence in Mongolia.....66

Obrusánszky, Borbála (Hungary), Sworn Brotherhoodship in the
Georgian Chronicle.....80

Soni, Sharad K. (India), Evolution of Pan-mongolism as a Common
Cultural Identity: the Contribution of Buryat Intellectuals.....86

Teleki, Krisztina (Hungary), Tibetan Lamas in Urga from the
17th–20th Century96

Tuguldur, Erdenebileg (Mongolia), Cultural Diplomacy:
The Best Option for Mongolia? 117

Udaanjargal, Chuluunbaatar (Mongolia), Confucian Principles
Promoted among Mongolian Women during the Qing Period125

New Stylesheet for Mongolica 144

EDITORIAL PREFACE

Ágnes Birtalan (Hungary)
Department of Mongolian and Inner Asian Studies
Eötvös Loránd University,
President of the IAMS

Lectori salutem!

Following the footsteps of our *erdemten* masters, the previous generations of Mongolists, we continue the best traditions of the journal *Mongolica* published yearly to provide the opportunity for representatives of various fields of Mongolian studies to present their newest results. *Mongolica* was established with the purpose to offer an overview on new research trends, traditional and innovative approaches of experts involved in different topics connected to the Mongolian people, their history, language, culture, also economics and politics of countries where Mongols live, as well as other, newly emerging subjects.

For shortening the sometimes quite long process of editing and publishing, we decided to unify and simplify the stylesheet, which also serves the aim of making the content of the articles more plausible, clear and comparable. Starting with this volume (Vol. 54), the content of *Mongolica* has become a peer-reviewed publication. However, according to the editorial policy, the authors' views differing from the mainstream assessment of international scholarship can be also displayed on the pages of the journal. Nevertheless, non-scientific papers and ideas or topics lacking the academic background are not accepted.

The present volume of *Mongolica* – similarly to previous ones – shows a variegated palette of the themes. The content embraces Buddhist studies, analysis of historical sources from various periods, cultural interactions in art and literature, and articles that deal with contemporary and globally intriguing problems of natural resources, sustainable development, and cultural diplomacy.

Five papers are based on interpreting historical and literary sources and offer overviews or case studies on religion, traditional society, literature and art.

With her article Krisztina Teleki (Hungary) continues one of her research topics aiming to investigate the Buddhist life in Urga. Based on archival documents, she discusses the role of the Tibetan monks in the Mongolian capital city during the Manchu period. The ways and means of Tibetan impact have changed during the

centuries, and the article does not only summarise the monks' roles, but introduces their instructional background as well.

Borbála Obrusánszky (Hungary) examines Georgian historical sources focusing primarily on the *Kartlis Tschkhovreba*, a composition of chronicles from the 18th century dealing with the history of the Mongolian occupation as well. She examines in detail the institution of *andaship* as it is reflected in it from the Georgian viewpoint. The data analysed in the historical context of the institution add some interesting new aspects to its significance.

Udaanjargal Chuluunbaatar (Mongolia) discusses the women's role in the Manchu period, when Confucian principles influenced the traditional Mongolian nomadic society. The author refers to a large number of sources, among them the various translations of the *Ačilaltu nom*. The analysis of widely quoted documents called "certificate of honour" is the back-bone of the article.

Naresh Shakya (Nepal) traces the impact of the Newar style in Mongolian Buddhist art. In his article, he reveals in detail the historical context of the cultural exchange between Himalaya and Inner Asia. The renowned Newar artist, Anige's life and activity found its place in the article as well. The author offers remarkable data on persons (as Dzanbadzar) who came into contact with Newar style and artistic monuments as stupas and the Ranjanā script representing the Newar art among the Mongols.

Ramkishor Maholiya (India) dedicated his article to summarising some milestones of the Indian–Mongolian literary connections. Starting with the canonical works (*Tripitaka*), the author enumerates several texts rooting in the Indian cultural milieu that became of crucial importance in the Mongolian literary tradition such as the *Kāvyaśāstra*, Pañcatantra, Stories of King Bbhoja (i. e. Arji Burji/Borji), etc.

In five papers the traditional and contemporary ideologies and views are discussed in the context of studies on nomadism, foreign policy, cultural diplomacy and sustainable development.

Sharad K. Soni (India) focuses on a politically and historically sensitive topic of Pan-Mongolism in his article. The early idea of *xamag mongol* and its later echoes still need to be investigated from various aspects. The author discusses the significance of the leading Buryat intellectuals in the process of changing the ideas of Pan-Mongolism. The problem of cultural identity – introduced in the article – emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries and is a quite relevant topic today as well.

Tuguldur Erdenebileg (Mongolia) opens a discussion about the possible ways of image-building for Mongolia. The arguments on the benefit of using the images of „Mongolness” in Mongolian foreign policy are analysed in an international context.

Byambaragchaa Ganbold (Mongolia) examines the vital question of industrialisation versus (?) the preservation of national heritage. His case study aims

to reveal the possibilities of bringing together economic needs and preservation of the world-famous archaeological excavations at Noyon uul. His article is based on fieldwork results.

Namuun Gantumur (Mongolia) touches upon a globally intriguing question of natural resources. In the article, two different country's policy and institutions are compared from various points of view focusing on the correlation of the resources and prosperity. The analysis is a well-defined contribution to the largely discussed problems of the possibilities of sustainable development.

Bilegsaikhan Tamirjav (Mongolia) returns in his brief article to the problems of "migratory pastoralism" and "mobile pastoralism". Discussing the terminology and the content behind it, he tries to bring some examples from the Mongolian natural and social resources. His opinion – without a doubt – will be the basis of further negotiations.

Dear Colleagues!

At the end of the present volume a detailed stylesheet is included, please become acquainted with its instructions and we are eagerly waiting for your papers on the pages of the renewed *Mongolica*!

TIBETAN LAMAS IN URGA FROM THE 17TH–20TH CENTURY

Krisztina Teleki (Hungary)
Research Centre for Mongol Studies,
Eötvös Loránd University

Abstract

From the 17th century on the connections between Mongolian and Tibetan monks livened up. The article attempts to reveal different positions held by Tibetans in Urga to demonstrate the various roles Tibetan lamas played in Mongolia from the 17th century until the 20th century. The visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the district of Tibetans with a Tibetan temple in Urga are mentioned as well as an archival document naming the most influential nine Tibetan inhabitants who lived in the Mongolian capital city in 1929. Some oral narrations illustrate Tibetan monks' manifold activities in the countryside in the 1920–1930s.

Key words: Mongolian Buddhism, Tibetan-Mongolian relations, Urga, eminent lamas

Introduction

As it is widely known that present-day Mongolian Buddhism is with Tibetan origin. In the study of the history of Mongolian Buddhism the relationship of the great Mongolian *khans* with eminent Tibetan lamas has been thoroughly studied including the fruitful relationship of Möngke Khan (1209–1259) and the Second Karmapa Lama, Karma Pakshi (1204–1283) of the Kagyü Stream, Khublai Khan (1215–1294) and Phagpa Lama (1235–1280) of the Sakya Stream, and Altan Khan (1507–1582) and the Third Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso (1543–1588) of the Gelug Stream. However, less sources are available about the activities of Tibetan monks who arrived at the present area of Mongolia in the last 350 years.

Connections between Mongolian and Tibetan monks had livened up from the 17th century. Mongolian monks visited Tibetan monasteries to study in monastic schools (Khal. *datsan*, Tib. *grwa tshang*) at famous monasteries or monastic universities (Tib. *gdan sa*), especially at Ganden, Drepung, Sera, Tashilhunpo, Kumbum, and Labrang, or went for pilgrimage to worship the Dalai and Panchen Lamas or get special empowerments in the holy Tibetan land. Meanwhile, Tibetan lamas visited Mongolia to assist the introduction of religious services and rituals, to give empowerments for certain deities' cult, and to explain the Buddhist doctrine. Written sources about their visits are rare, though chronicles, foreign travellers' notes, and the archives and

libraries of Mongolia contain some scattered information. Although we have precise data on some Tibetan lamas fulfilling high positions in Urga, the *Bogd jawdzandamba khutagts*' (Tib. *rje btsun dam pa*, 'venerable saint') monastic city (known also as Ikh Khüree, Da Khüree, Bogdiin Khüree, etc.), only a handful of sources are available regarding Tibetan monks being active in the countryside. The present article attempts to reveal different positions held by Tibetans in Urga from the 17th century until the 20th century. A list of the most eminent nine Tibetan inhabitants who lived in the Mongolian capital city in 1929 will be detailed, and some Tibetan monks will be mentioned who lived in the countryside in the 1920–1930s.

Tibetan Monks accompanying Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar

Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar, Luwsandambijantsan (Tib. blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1635–1723) was the key figure in spreading the Gelug tradition in Mongolia. After studying in the most prominent Tibetan monastic universities he received initiations from the Fourth Panchen Lama, Lobsang Chökyi Gyaltsen (1570–1662) and the Fifth Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso (1617–1682) who recognized him as the reincarnation of Tāranātha (Tib. kun dga' snying po, 1575–1634), the famous Tibetan writer and historian, and the last great representative of the Tibetan Jonang Stream (Tib. *jo nang pa*). Öndör Gegeen was given the title of *jebtsündamba* or *jawdzandamba* (Tib. *rje btsun dam pa*) by the Fifth Dalai Lama, so he became the first Mongolian member of that reincarnation lineage. He received a seal and various gifts, a *datsan* lama (Tib. *grwa tshang*, 'monastic school'), a *shandzodwa* (Tib. *phyag mdzod pa*, 'treasurer' or main administrator) and others, altogether 50 Tibetan monks to support him in the initiation and organization of religious life and establishing monasteries in his homeland.¹ The chronicle, *Erdeni-yin erike* mentions the same story² saying³ that Öndör Gegeen returned to his homeland in 1651 together with a

¹ Lokesh Chandra 1964: 79r–93r. Tib. *dgon pa 'debs pa'i grogs ram du/ grwa tshang bla-ma/ phyag mdzod pa sogs grwa pa lnga bcu phyag g yog la gtong gnang zhing/ rje btsun dam-pa hothogtu'i cho lo dang ja sa tham ka sogs gzings bstod rgya cher gnang/*

² Pozdneev 1883: 3. Mong. *mön kü jil Töbed Botala-yin yajar dalai blam-a Nawanglubsangjamču-ača jibčundamba qutuvtu kemekü čola: sira torγan-u šikür kereglegülbe: mön bančin erdeni dalai blam-a ekilen olan mergen-eče vačir dar-a erke-yin wang abisiγ gün nom-ud-i qumqa-yin usun jегүlekü adali büridken abuγad: In that very year he was titled as Bogd by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, and received also a yellow silken umbrella. Besides, from such eminent masters as the Panchen Lama and others he received in their entirety the empowerment and deep doctrines of the power of Vajradhara, like water being poured out of a vase. Cf. Bawden 1961: 44. footnote 6.*

³ Pozdneev 1883: 3–4. Mong. *baysi šangγodba gebküi soyibon-ača uručud (?) terigüten tabiyad tangγud quwaray dayayulun čayayčin tulai jil jalarajū iregseger öber-ün muturiyar uralayγsan vačir dar-a tabun iγayur-tu terigüten sitügen keyid oron-i olanta bariγulju: tendeče nom-un yeke küriy-e ribogejiling-dür erte jamiyan čorji-bar Breyibung-dür doloyan dačang bayiyulγsan metü: amdaunar: jisa: šangγai: jooγai: keüken noyan-i: darqan emči: örlüüd ayimay doloy-a terigüten-i bayiyulju šasin-i delgeregülbei.*

treasurer (*shandzodwa*, Tib. *phyag mdzod pa*), a disciplinary master (*gewkhüi/gesgüi*, Tib. *dge bskyos*), an attendant (*soiwon*, Tib. *gsol dpon*) and others, altogether 50 Tangut monks (here it means Tibetans). Then, Dzanabadzar established seven districts (*aimag*, Tib. *khang tshan*) in his camp (*örgöö*, Urga):⁴ *Amduunar* or *Anduunar* (Tib. *a mdo*, region in North-Tibet) for Tibetan monks, *Jas* (Tib. *spyi gsog* or Tib. *spyi sa*) for the administration, *Sangai* for the treasury (*san*), *Dzoogoi* for catering (*dzoog*), *Khüükhen noyon* ('the Noble Lady') and *Darkhan emch* ('doctor with oblidges') for his honoured people, and *Örlüüd* for his military or for his nanny. This structure followed the sample of Jamyang Choge Tashi Palden (Tib. `jam dbyangs chos rje bkra shis dpal ldan, 1397–1449) who founded seven monastic schools in Drepung Monastery.⁵ As other eminent Mongolian monks studied in Tibetan monasteries similarly to Dzanabadzar, their deep connections with Tibetan monks also might have been remained after returning home.

The *Bogd Jawdzandamba Khutagts*

Apart from Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar and his next incarnation, the Second *Bogd*, Luwsandambiidonme (Tib. blo bzang bstan pa'i sgron me, 1724–1758), the next incarnations were all with Tibetan origin: the Third *Bogd*, Ishdambiinyam (Tib. ye shes bstan pa'i nyi ma, 1758–1773), the Fourth *Bogd*, Luwsantüwdenwanchügjigmedjamts (Tib. blo bzang thub bstan dbang phyug 'jigs med rgya mtsho, 1775–1813), the Fifth *Bogd*, Luwsantsültimjigmeddambiijaltsan (Tib. blo bzang tshul khriims 'jigs med bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1815–1841), the Sixth *Bogd*, Luwsanbaldanjaltsan (Tib. blo bzang dpal ldan rgyal mtshan, 1843–1848), the Seventh *Bogd*, Agwaanchoijiwanchugprinleijamts (Tib. ngag dbang chos kyi dbang phyug 'phrin las rgya mtsho, 1849/50–1868/70), and the Eighth *Bogd*, Agwaanluwsanchoijinyimadandzanwanchüg (Tib. ngag dbang blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma bstan 'dzin dbang phyug, 1869–1924) who after the collapse of the Manchu empire in 1911 became the theocratic king of Mongolia, bearing the title *bogd khaan* ('holy king').⁶ They were all acknowledged by the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and the

⁴ Urga moved 28 times until it finally settled down in the current area of Ulaanbaatar. Dzanabadzar founded more monasteries including *Baruun khüree* (current Öwörkhangaï province, Kharkhorin district) and *Sar'dagiin khiid* (current Töw province, Mönghönmor't district), where he spent several years. *Baruun khüree* is still a functioning monastery, and the ruins of *Sar'dagiin khiid* has been excavated.

⁵ Pozdneev 1883: 3–4. Mong. *baysi šangjodba gebküi soyibon-ača uručud (?) terigüten tabiyad tangyud quwaray dayayulun čayayčün tulai jil jalarajū iregseger öber-ün muturiyar uralyaysan wačir dar-a tabun ijayur-tu terigüten sitügen keyid oron-i olanta bariyulju: tendecē nom-un yeke küriy-e ribogejiling-dür erte jamiyan čorji-bar Breyibung-dur doloyan dačang bayiyluysan metü: amdaunar: jisa: šangyai: jooyai: keüken noyan-i: darqan emči: örlüüd ayimay doloy-a terigüten-i bayiylju šasin-i delgeregölbei.*

⁶ For details of their lifestyles and activities see Lokesh Chandra 1964; Bawden 1961; Pozdneev 1880, 1980; Majer – Teleki 2007.

Manchu emperors, and had supreme rights in religious and administrative questions in their monastic camp, Urga. They established new temples in Urga and also possessed subordinated monasteries (e.g. Baruun Khüree, Amarbayasgalant Khiid, Dzüün Khüree, Dambadarjaa Khiid, Dashchoinkhorlin Khiid, Shaddüwlin Khiid), people and lands in the countryside (*ikh shaw*'), who herded the *Bogds*' livestock in the finest pastures. The *Bogds*' commemoration ceremonies (*daichid yerööl*, Tib. 'das mchod smon lam) were held annually in *Wangain aimag*'s temple in Urga.⁷

The *Bogds*' Tutors and Attendants

The Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas nominated Tibetan tutors, high-ranking monks, and attendants to accompany, educate, and support the *Bogd jawdzandamba khutagts*' religious activities in Mongolia: the *jawtüi lam* (Tib. *byabs khrus kyi bla ma*, 'lama who performs purifying rituals') who usually bore the *gachin* title (or *khachin lam*, Tib. *mkhan chen*, 'great learned one' Skr. *mahāpaṇḍita*) was usually appointed by the Panchen Lamas residing in Tashilhunpo Monastery, and the *yondzon lam* (Tib. *yongs 'dzin bla ma*, tutor, spiritual teacher) was appointed by the Dalai Lama residing in Lhasa. The *Bogds* had attendants (*soiwon*, Tib. *gsol dpon*) who might have been also doctors and cooks.⁸ Though the principal task of these Tibetan lamas was to train and support the young *Bogds* after arriving from Tibet to the Mongol land, later, several *jawtüi* and *yondzon* lamas held high religious positions in Urga.

Tibetan monks were (and are) highly respected and honoured in Mongolia thank to their supreme knowledge of Buddhism. *Gachins* also arrived from time to time to help to spread Buddhist practices in the country. For instance, a Tibetan monk called *Öndör khachin* was invited from the Tibetan Tashilhunpo Monastery to teach the *Jakhar tsam* (Tib. *lcags mkhar 'chams*) to the Mongolian monks, and thus the *Tsam* (Tib. 'chams) masked performance was introduced to Urga in 1811.⁹ Mentioning some other *gachins*, Mardzan Sharaw (1869–1939) painted the portrait of Baldan *gachin* Luwsantseren (Tib. *dpal ldan mkhas chen blo bzang tshe ring*) based on a photograph, who was sent by the Panchen Lama, which is preserved now in the Bogd Khaan Palace Museum. The commemoration ceremony (*daichid yerööl*, Tib. 'das mchod smon lam) of the *Khachin lam* was held on the 7th of the middle winter month, which had an own financial unit.¹⁰

Urga's Head Abbots

The head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*, Tib. *mkhan po chos rje* (?), 'learned one, lord of religion') was the highest religious position in Urga. He was the most significant cleric person and the highest ruler in religious affairs apart from the *Bogd*

⁷ Teleki 2012.

⁸ The *Bogds*' family members also arrived together with the *Bogds*, such as in the case of the Eighth *Bogd*, who was accompanied by about one thousand Tibetans.

⁹ Gangaa 2003: 18–19.

¹⁰ Teleki 2012.

himself who appointed him. As we can see below several head abbots' were with Tibetan origin.¹¹

The 1st *Khamba nomon khan*, Luwsanjambaldandzan (Tib. blo bzang 'jam dpal bstan 'dzin) was a Tibetan lama with Sergan¹² *khutagt* rank.¹³ He was the *lowon* lama (Tib. *slob dpon*, 'master') of the Tibetan Namgyal Datsan (*Namjira datsan*, Tib. *rnam rgyal grwa tshang*, palace temple of the Dalai Lamas), who came to the Mongol land for the invitation of Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar and on the request of the Fifth Dalai Lama in the early 1650s. He became the abbot (*shireet lam*, Tib. *khri pa*, 'throneholder, head lama') of the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*, Tib. *tshogs chen 'du khang*), and established the system of religious ceremonies, special rituals and rules of recitation, promoted the Buddha's doctrine, and gave initiations.¹⁴

The 2nd *Khamba nomon khan* Baljorrawdan (Tib. dpal 'byor rab brtan) arrived together with Sergan *khutagt* for the initiative of the Fourth Panchen Lama in the early 1650s. He mainly helped in the use of musical instruments and in the rules of ceremonies to Dzanabadzar. First, he got the title of *mergen tsorj* (Tib. *chos rje*, 'lord of religion' or 'dharma master') and later he became the *khamba nomon khan*.¹⁵

Around 1643, Tibetan lamas including Namkhaisonomdagwa (Tib. nam mkha'i bsod nams grags pa) and Luwsanyarinpil (Tib. blo bzang yar 'phel) were invited to Mongolia, too, to train the 3rd *Khamba nomon khan*, Luwsandandanzaltsan (Tib. blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan) who was with Mongolian origin.¹⁶

The 5th *Khamba nomon khan*, Luwsandarjaa (Tib. blo bzang dar rgyas) arrived for the invitation of Dzanabadzar in 1722. He was one of the abbots of Tashilhunpo Monastery and was sent by the Fifth Panchen Lama, Lobsang Yeshe (1663–1737).¹⁷

The 12th *Khamba nomon khan*, Luwsanshiiraw (Tib. blo bzang shes rab) arrived from Tashilhunpo Monastery. He was sent by the Seventh Panchen Lama, Palden Tenpai Nyima (1782–1853) as a *jawtüi* lama. He fulfilled the head abbot position from 1830–1833 during the period of the Fifth *Bogd* (1815–1841).¹⁸

¹¹ Sereeter 1999: 96–108. However, this list should be compared with another source, which contains the name of the head abbots and the ministers of Ecclesiastic Affairs of Urga in chronological order with different names, without referring to nationality. National Library of Mongolia, 1616/96. *küriyen-ü khambo: šangjodba narun üy-e daray-a*.

¹² Exact meaning unknown.

¹³ Sereeter 1999: 97.

¹⁴ Sereeter 1999: 97.

¹⁵ Sereeter 1999: 97.

¹⁶ Sereeter 1999: 98.

¹⁷ Sereeter 1999: 99. He claims that according to other sources not Luwsandarjaa but Sonomrinchen (Tib. bsod nams rin chen) was the abbot at that time.

¹⁸ Sereeter 1999: 104.

The 14th *Khamba nomon khan*, Luwsanjam'yaan (Tib. blo bzang 'jam dbyangs) came as the *yondzon* tutor of the Fifth *Bogd* (1815–1841). He fulfilled the head abbot position from 1838–1840.¹⁹

The 16th *Khamba nomon khan* came as a *jawtüi* lama of the Sixth *Bogd* (1843–1848) nominated by the Panchen Lama. He fulfilled the head abbot position in 1846 for a year.²⁰

The 19th *Khamba nomon khan*, *gachin tsorj* Baldanchoimbel (Tib. dpal ldan chos 'phel, 1830?–1899) arrived as the *jawtüi* lama of the Eighth *Bogd* (1870–1924). Later, he became the *Bogd's yondzon* tutor. He was also the tutor of the Eighth *Bogd's* younger brother, Luwsankhaidaw (Tib. blo bzang mkhas grub, 1872–1918) who was also with Tibetan origin and became the official oracle in Urga (*goliin choijin* or *albanii choijin*, 'main or official oracle') telling prophesies in trans.²¹ Baldanchoimbel became known as *yondzon khamba* ('the tutor abbot'). On the east side of the Choijin Lama's temple complex (present-day Choijin Lama Temple Museum) a temple called *Yondzon khambiin süm* was situated, which was the temple of the *Yondzon khamba*. At the beginning of the 20th century it was also called as *Yondzon lamiin shariliin gadzar* as after 1900 it contained Baldanchoimbel's relics or mummified body. The *Yondzon khambiin süm* started to be built in 1872.²² It became a fenced-off, three-storey Tibetan-Chinese style temple.²³ Jügder's painting of Urga that is on exhibit in the Bogd Khaan Palace Museum was painted in 1913. It represents this imposing temple building to the east of the Choijin Lama's temple complex, simply saying that the '*Yondzon khamba* teacher's' (Mong. *Yongjon khambo baysi tan-i*). B. Jambal, born in 1882 provided an informative account on this temple, as he had been its bookkeeper once (*nyaraw*, Tib. *gnyer pa*).²⁴ He claims that the temple contained the relics (*sharil*) of Baldanchoimbel, who was the *yondzon khamba* prior to Luwsankhaimchog (1873–1937). Baldanchoimbel had been the Tibetan teacher of the young Eighth *Bogd*. Baldanchoimbel *yondzon* bore the title of the head abbot, *khamba nomon khan* from 1865–1899, when he died at the age of 70. His body was dried, mummified and became preserved in this special temple. The Eighth *Bogd* used to venerate it. The Archives for Cinema, Photography and Sound Recording includes a photograph of the mummified *yondzon khamba* in sitting position on his throne, behind glass screens (K–23964), and at present, a mummified body is on exhibit in the Choijin Lama Temple Museum as well as several objects of worship

¹⁹ Sereeter 1999: 105.

²⁰ Sereeter 1999: 106.

²¹ Sereeter 1999: 77–78.

²² Catalogue of Urga's main assembly hall preserved in the National Archives of Mongolia (M–98).

²³ Photos of the temple's exterior and interior are available in the Archives for Cinema, Photography and Sound Recording: K23964, K23983 (the mummy of *Yondzon khamba*); Forbáth 1934: 168, two pictures.

²⁴ Bawden 1997: 57–66, 739–753.

that belonged to his temple until the 1930s. B. Jambal also accounted that the temple was under the authority of the Dalai Lama's treasury (see details below), and added that the Buryad Agwaan (Agwan Dorjiew, Tib. ngag dbang rdo rje, 1854–1938) *lkhaaramba* (Tib. *lha rams pa*, the highest philosophical degree obtained in Lhasa) who arrived in Urga from Tibet accompanying the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso from 1904–1905, had lived in this relics temple, which was shared by the Tibetans and the Mongols. Jambal accounted about the pastures of the relic temple at the River Shariin Gol claiming that most of the properties, herds and flocks of the relics temple were damaged by the Kuo-min-tang army²⁵ entering Urga in 1919.

The 21st *Khamba nomon khan*, Luwsankhaimchog (Tib. blo bzang mkhas mchog, 1873–1937) was the last person who fulfilled this position in Urga: from 1920 until his execution in 1937. He was a *gachin* of Tashilhunpo Monastery and arrived to Mongolia in 1915 as the *jawtüi* lama of the Eighth *Bogd* (or Bogd Khaan). His fenced-off yurt-dwelling residence with trees in its courtyard was situated behind the Yellow Palace (*Shar süm*) of the *Bogd* in the centre of the Eastern monastic district (*Dzüün khüree*) of Urga, east of the Maitreya Temple.²⁶ According to an old Mongolian monk of Urga, Choisüren (1916–?), *yondzon khamba* Luwsankhaimchog lived in a small yurt with his Tibetan attendants. He was sentenced as anti-revolutionist and executed in 1937.²⁷ Another old monk, P. Luwsandandzan (1921–2012) said that “The *yondzon khamba* was my teacher. His dwelling was situated behind the National University of Mongolia. Only a warehouse remained in that courtyard. Everything was confiscated. His younger brother was called Tseren (Tib. tshe ring), the Tibetan (*Tseren töwd*). The *yondzon khamba* was executed far, west of Songino Khairkhan Mountain. I do not know if Tseren, the Tibetan is still alive. He was deported to exile to the Black Sea. I have heard that he married there. If he is still alive he should be more than 90, about 100 years old. He used to visit my father, Tseweenjalba who was an old smith. They used to play knucklebone games. I remember it well as I was a small child.” “Tibetan monks returned home. Those who remained in Mongolia were captured. Many Tibetans lived here before. The *yondzon khamba* was a wealthy man. He was captured.”²⁸

Based on the list above we can conclude that eight of the 21 head abbots of Urga were with Tibetan origin. Most of them arrived for the order of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas to assist the *Bogds*, and some of them fulfilled the head abbot position even for decades.

²⁵ Bawden 1997: 72, 756.

²⁶ Pozdneyev 1971: 63.

²⁷ Majer – Teleki 2020.

²⁸ Majer – Teleki.

Urga's Vice Abbots

Urga's head abbot was assisted by the vice abbot, the *ded khamba*. The only Tibetan *ded khamba* mentioned by Sereeter²⁹ was the same Baldanchoimbel mentioned above, who came as the *jawtüi* lama of the Eighth *Bogd*. He was the vice abbot of Urga from 1862–1865, then, he turned its head abbot until 1899. There is no information about the Tibetan origin of the other vice abbots, so supposedly Mongolian monks fulfilled this duty.

Urga's Ministers of Ecclesiastical Affairs

Luwsangonchog (Tib. blo bzang dkon mchog) came as the *soiwon* attendant of the Fourth *Bogd*. He held the *erdene shandzodwa* position (Tib. *phyag mdzod pa*), minister of administration of ecclesiastical estate from 1807–1811. He was the 8th *erdene shandzodwa*.³⁰ There is no information regarding the Tibetan origin of other *erdene shandzodwas*, so supposedly Mongolian monks fulfilled this position.

The State Oracle

Luwsankhaidaw (Tib. blo bzang mkhas grub, 1872–1918) was the Eighth *Bogd*'s younger brother, so was with Tibetan origin. *Khamba nomon khan* Baldanchoimbel was his tutor, and he recognized him as state oracle, interpreter of the Dharma guardians (*choijin*, Tib. *chos skyong*, Skr. *dharmapāla*).³¹ The oracle was educated by a lama from India or Tibet called *Sotow* or *Setew gürtembe*³² in order to protect Buddhism in Mongolia.³³ Luwsankhaidaw became the official state oracle (*goliin choijin* or *albanii choijin*, 'main or official oracle') telling prophesies in trans. His old residence built from 1899–1901 near the Yellow Palace damaged in a fire in 1903, and a new palace was built from 1904–1908, and has remained for today functioning as the Choijin Lama Temple Museum.

Other High-ranking Lamas in Urga

Apart from the head abbot and the vice abbot, five *tsorj* lamas belonged to the religious board of Urga. However, it seems that they were with Mongolian origin. However, Tibetan monks governed or advised some of the temples, for instance, the Kālacakra Temple or monastic school (*Düinkhor datsan*, Tib. 'dus 'khor grwa tshang) known also as *Dechingalaw* (Tib. *bde chen bskal pa*) which was the *Bogd*'s prominent temple situated within the fence of the Yellow Palace. Ceremonies of Kālacakra were held there. The highest ranking lama of this temple bore the *dorj*

²⁹ Sereeter 1999: 110.

³⁰ Sereeter 1999: 125.

³¹ Sereeter 1999: 77–78.

³² Tib. *bse khrab*, 'hide plates/corset', a guardian deity and *sku rten pa* 'man possessed of deity, body support/representation', that is, oracle.

³³ Bawden 1997: 10, 688.

lowon rank (Tib. *rdo rje slob dpon*), and the very first *dorj lowon* was the Fourth *Bogd* (1775–1813) himself. The second *dorj lowon* was the Tibetan *Ikhaaramba* of *Shüteenii aimag* monastic district of Urga.³⁴ The Russian scholar, A. M. Pozdnev, who visited Mongolia in the second half of the 19th century, claims that Tibetan lamas chanted in *Dechingalaw* on a daily basis. They came to Urga from Tibet to be the attendants of the Eighth *Bogd*, and lived near the *Bogd*'s palace and were his court staff or bodyguards. Public services were occasionally held in this temple though only when the *Bogd* could not go out to the main assembly hall,³⁵ which was situated behind the Yellow Palace.

Manba datsan (Tib. *smān pa grwa tshang*), the medical monastic school of Urga was established in 1760 at the initiation of the Third *Bogd* (1758–1773). The first head of the temple was a Tibetan lama, Luwsannorow (Tib. blo bzang nor bu).³⁶ Referring to the *Erdeni-yin erike* chronicle, Pozdnev claims that the first abbot of the medical monastic school was a lama who was summoned from Tibet and who bore the title of *Erdeni emči* (*Erdeniin emch*), that is, 'precious physician.'³⁷

Pozdnev also claims that during his stay in Urga, the Tibetan "Choindon" (Tib. chos ldan?), the doctor of the Sixth *Bogd* (1843–1848) lived for a while at the Russian Consulate, and after his passing away his notes amounting to twenty enormous volumes went to his favourite student, Luwsangalsan (Tib. blo bzang bskal bzang), who lived in the monastery of *Orombo gegeen* (current Arkhangai province, Öldziit district).³⁸

Tibetan Relevance of Urga's Monastic Districts

To the original seven monastic districts (*aimag*, Tib. *khang tshan*), founded by Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar on Tibetan sample, new *aimags* were added during the centuries, and their number reached the final 30 in 1903. The following districts definitely had Tibetan relevance:

Anduu or *Amduu nariin aimag* or *Anduugiin aimag* (Tib. *a mdo*) was initiated in 1651³⁹ as one of the first seven districts, as dwelling of Tibetans from Amdo, the north-eastern province of Tibet who came to Mongolia with Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar.

Darkhan emchiin aimag was initiated in 1651 as one of the first seven *aimags*⁴⁰ in honour of a Tibetan doctor (*emch*) invited by Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar.⁴¹ According to another source, this *aimag* was named after a very famous doctor, and

³⁴ *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development* 2005: 302.

³⁵ Pozdnev 1971: 59.

³⁶ Sereeter 1999: 66.

³⁷ Pozdnev 1971: 60, footnote 44.

³⁸ Pozdnev 1971: 643.

³⁹ National Archives of Mongolia, M-99, Introduction; Sereeter 1999: 26.

⁴⁰ Sereeter 1999: 38.

⁴¹ National Archives of Mongolia, M-102, Introduction.

some of his famous medicine (*mankhagtai em*, Tib. *smān khug*, 'medicine bag') hung in a bag from the smoke hole of the yurt-shaped temple of the *aimag*.⁴²

Lam nariin aimag was established in 1781: five Tibetan lamas initiated it and donated a painted scroll of the sixteen arhats (*Naidan jüdüg*, Tib. *gnas brtan bcu drug*), a painted-scroll and a sculpture of Śrīdevī (*Baldan lkham*, Tib. *dpal ldan lha mo*), and several religious implements including a bell. Therefore, the name of the *aimag* became *Lam nariin aimag* ('district of lamas').⁴³

Visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama: Tibetan Quarter and Tibetan Temple in Urga

The *khoroos*, despite of being the lay districts of Urga had many small assemblies and temples. There were Gelukpa temples and Nyingmapa or tantric assemblies, too. The Tibetan Assembly (*Töwdiin khural*) had Tibetan monks who formed a community or district (*Töwdiin khoro*) around the residence built for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (Tib. *thub bstan rgya mtsho*, 1876–1933) who arrived at Urga in November 1904 escaping from the British army of commander Younghusband. B. Jambal claims⁴⁴ that when the Dalai Lama had arrived, he was initially installed in a meditation tent and two yurts at Gandan in the courtyard where the Relics Temples of the Fifth and Seventh Bogds were situated.⁴⁵ In addition, 50–60 extra yurts were put up in the fenced-off area (*khashaa*) of the lama dwellings of Gandan for the Tibetans who accompanied him into exile. According to Jambal, these were all men without women and children. He adds that all the expenses incurred by the Dalai Lama and his retinue were covered by the four Khalkha provinces (*aimag*) of Tüsheet Khan, Setsen Khan, Sain Noyon Khan, and Dzasagt Khan as well as the *Ikh shaw'*, the subordinated area of the Bogd, i.e. the five divisions of Mongolian. The Dalai Lama left Urga in 1905 and visited some monasteries in the countryside before returning Tibet.

According to L. Dүgersүren,⁴⁶ a fenced-off building called *Dalai lamiin san* ('Treasury of the Dalai Lama'), with a fenced-off area being called *Dalai lamiin sangiin khashaa* ('the court of the Treasury of the Dalai Lama') was built as a dwelling of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1905. According to the oral narration of N. Dashtseren monk (1923–2012),⁴⁷ who was a young monk in Urga in 1930s, a Tibetan quarter (*Töwdiin khoro*) sprang up around this building, which served as a refuge shelter (*nömörgön*) for the Tibetan inhabitants. As it was situated neither at Gandan nor in *Dziüün khüree*, the monastic quarters, where commerce was not allowed, it became a commercial centre selling Chinese (or Tibetan) goods. In effect it was a free

⁴² Nawaan 1961: 11.

⁴³ Catalogue of this district in the National Archives of Mongolia.

⁴⁴ Bawden 1997: 35–46, 714–726.

⁴⁵ His residence was the *Didinpowran* (Tib. *bde stong pho brang*), which has remained for today.

⁴⁶ Dүgersүren 1999: 53.

⁴⁷ Majer – Teleki 2020.

trade zone. This Tibetan district was situated in the *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*, the southwestern district of Urga occupied by lay population, where also several religious assemblies stood. The exact location of this Tibetan quarter was on the east bank of the River Baruun Selbe, next to the Buryad quarter (*Buryadiin khoroo*), near the present-day State Department Store.

A Hungarian engineer, József Geleta (1895–1965) who lived in Ulaanbaatar from about 1920–1929, claims that for the Mongols the majority of the devotional objects and religious artifacts were ordered from Tibet.⁴⁸ An envoy or representative was appointed to manage and maintain this flourishing commercial connection between Tibet and Mongolia. Thus, “Choini Lussan Chinde” lama⁴⁹ (Tib. chos ? blo bzang ?) represented the Dalai Lama in Ulaanbaatar in the 1920s. He had very good diplomatic skills and commercial acumen and managed to obtain all the commissions for Tibetans rather than using Chinese sculptors and masters, who had a famous workshop in Doloon Nuur.

Nicholas Roerich (1874–1947) mentions his meetings with “Lobzang Cholden” (Tib. blo bzang chos ldan ?), who proposed him to travel through Tibet and who was acting consul. “Konchog” (Tib. dkon mchog), a Tibetan was attached as an attendant by this Tibetan representative to accompany Roerich.⁵⁰

The Tibetan Assembly (*Töwdiin khural*), situated in the Tibetan quarter, was also known as *Undzai lamiin khural*, most probably after its head, Undzai lama (Tib. *dbu mdzad* ? ‘chanting master’). According to N. Dashtseren monk (1921–2012),⁵¹ it occupied a wooden building. He stated that only Tibetan male monks belonged to this Gelukpa temple, about 30 in number, with daily chanting. As far as he remembered some of the monks had wives.⁵² The treasury, *Dalai lamiin san* (‘Fund of the Dalai Lama’) or *Töwdiin san* (‘Tibetan Fund’) for the temple was established with donations of devotees given in honour of the Dalai Lama, which was later managed by a financial office called *Shandzaw töwdiin gadzar* (‘treasury of the Tibetans’).⁵³

An archival document provides details about the buildings of the Tibetan Assembly of the Tibetan quarter⁵⁴ as the *File on the Transmission of the Buildings*

⁴⁸ Forbáth 1934: 172.

⁴⁹ See his photo in Forbáth 1934: 104.

⁵⁰ Roerich 2009: 30.

⁵¹ Majer – Teleki 2020.

⁵² Rinchen – Maidar 1979. The assembly temple must have been situated behind the present State Department Store, which was the north-eastern part of *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*. According to Idshinnorow (Idshinnorow 1994: 34) the Tibetan quarter was situated around the present School No. 24. on the west of the State Department Store.

⁵³ Pürew 1986, 1988: 46.

⁵⁴ National Archives of Mongolia, SKh–1, D–6, 401, p. 15. *Files about the transmission of the temple buildings of Niislel Khüree to the Court, the Ministry of Interior and other places in the catalogue of the cabinet.*

of the Assembly of the Tibetans to the Ministry of Education on 21 October 1938 has remained. According to this source, the complex consisted of the following buildings:

1. enclosure with four gates: 1
2. clay building (size: 1.5 *sanj*):⁵⁵ 2
3. clay building (2 *sanj*): 1
4. clay storehouse (2 *sanj*): 1
5. clay temple building (3 *sanj*): 1
6. clay yurt: 1
7. five-sided wooden storehouse with clay roof (4 *sanj*): 1

We can conclude that the visit of the Dalai Lama was a very significant event in Urga's life. He stayed at Gandan, and a district was founded for Tibetans where a fund from donations came to existence. A Tibetan Assembly run operation there with Tibetan monks. The Tibetan district became a free trading zone, where religious and other items were sold. The Tibetan representative of the Dalai Lama was a kind of "ambassador" or "consul" of Tibet in Mongolia in the 1920s.

Samples of Archival Materials regarding Tibet and the Tibetans

Apart from the few photographs of the Archives for Cinema, Photography and Sound Recording other archives preserve written materials related to Tibet and Urga's Tibetan inhabitants.

As for the Manchu period (1691–1911) the National Archives of Mongolia preserves a document in the second volume of the Catalogue of the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs (*Erdene shandzodwiin yaam*) which among other issues accounts on the signs of war in Tibet in 1896 (M–85, D–2, KhN–863, 1896, 21 pages). The Catalogue of the Main Assembly Hall of Urga includes a list of donors who supported the foundation of the Temple of the Tutor Head Abbot, the *Yondzon khamba lamiin süm* in 1872 (M–98, D–1, KhN–9, 1872, 3 pages). Dambadarjaa Monastery's catalogue mentions a list with the names of donors who financed the journey of a Tibetan lama to return home in 1900 (M–30, D–1, KhN–85, 1900, 2 pages). Regarding Urga's monk districts, *Erkhem toinii aimag's* catalogue (M–123) refers to a book requesting the *Yondzon lam* to give empowerments (*wan*, Tib. *dbang*) in this *aimag* (M–123, D–1, KhN–61, 1863, 5 pages). The catalogue of *Lam nariin aimag* cites more documents related to *yondzon khamba* Baldanchoimbel. There is a folded document related to his decoration and nomination (M–110, D–1, KhN–129, 1875, 6 pages), a list with the names of people who supported "yondzon khamba nomon khan" Baldanchoimbel to have subordinates (*otog shaw*) (M–110, D–1, KhN–132, 1891, 1 page). Moreover, a text includes the number of herds and flocks, names of herders, incomes and expenses of the *Yondzon khamba's* treasury (M–110, D–1, KhN–137, 1903, 13 pages) and there is a document regarding the New Year greetings to religious authorities: the head

⁵⁵ One *sanj* is about 3.3 m.

abbot *Yondzon khambiin nomon khan bagsh*, the vice abbot (*ded khamba*) Balam, and the *gün da lamas* (M-110, D-1, KhN-138, 1908, 2 pages).

As for the Bogd Khaan's reigning period (1911-1921), *Dashdandarlin aimag's* catalogue mentions a document, which was issued in order to prohibit any gossip related to the participation of Tibetan people living in the *aimags* in the internal affairs of the *aimag* without refusal (A-95, D-1, KhN-54, 1915, 2 pages).

Regarding the Socialist period, started in 1921, the catalogue of *Lam nariin aimag* includes the summary of the moveable and immovable properties of the treasury of the head abbot, *Yondzon khamba lamiin san* (Kh-204, D-1, KhN-25a, 1926, 2 pages). The catalogue of Dashchoinkhorlin Monastery, situated north of Urga mentions a text about giving identity cards or passports to foreigners, and related to caravans run by foreigners (SKh-236, D-1, KhN-40, 1926, 2 pages). The catalogue of the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs (*Erdene shandzodwiin yaam*, SKh-179) includes a document sent by monks about L. Gombo-Idshin⁵⁶ (1862-1930), who was the Mongolian ambassador in Tibet from 1926-1927 (SKh-179, D-2, KhN-348, 1927, 6 pages). In 1929 a letter was sent to the Religious Authority requesting to clarify the citizenship of the *Yondzon khamba* and his *soiwon* attendants (SKh-179, D-2, KhN-383, 1929, 1 page), and there is a list about the number of monks of certain monasteries, and about giving passport to foreigners, too (SKh-179, D-2, KhN-455, 1933, 11 pages).

There is a two-volume catalogue (M-224) in the National Archives of Mongolia that lists Tibetan sacred texts and documents written in the Tibetan language, or in the Mongolian language with Tibetan script. The first volume lists the titles of 72 books, namely *sūtras* (1-10), literature (10-49), dictionaries, and table of contents. The second volume lists the titles of 172 documents written in Mongolian, but with Tibetan script for instance in the following themes: Official document about the donation of Gombo-Idshin, Khalkha noble, and Tsewegdorj at the Tibetan Gomang Datsan and other monasteries in 1927 (M-224, D-2, KhN-51); Document about the litigation of Tibetan and Mongolian people on loans (M-224, D-2, KhN-80); List of Buddhist items sent from Tibet to Mongolia (M-224, D-2, KhN-81); Document confirming that the *Bogd's soiwon* attendant bought Tibetan medicine in Mongolia, and 1300 boxes of medicine were sent from Tibet (M-224, D-2, KhN-86); Document about getting money from a Tibetan person living in Mongolia (M-224, D-2, KhN-87); Document about Buddhist items sold in Mongolia by Tibet (M-224, D-2, KhN-115); Document saying that Jamba, the *Bogd's soiwon* attendant had brought the Tanjur to Mongolia and sold it (M-224, D-2, KhN-116); Document sent from Tashilhunpo Monastery to request the *Bogd* to send donations for the rebuilding or renovation of monasteries damaged in war (M-224, D-2, KhN-121); Document requesting the *Bogd's soiwon* attendant to hurry in the receiving of the blocks of the *Tsanid Choir* (Tib. *mtshan nyid chos grwa*) philosophical books (M-224, D-2, KhN-137); Document about

⁵⁶ Gombosüren 2005.

selling broad-cloth and tobacco from Tibet (M-224, D-2, KhN-140); Document about building buildings by Tibetans in Mongolia (M-224, D-2, KhN-158). We can conclude from these document titles that several Tibetan religious implements were sold in Mongolia, and the *soiwon* attendant of the *Bogd* tried to liven up the religious and commercial connection between the two countries, ordering the Tanjur, blocks to print philosophical texts, and also medicines. Loans are also mentioned related to Tibetans living in Urga as well as their buildings. Gombo-Idshin was the Mongolian ambassador in Tibet from 1926–1927. The Panchen Lama asked for financial aid to rebuild the damaged temples of Tibet.⁵⁷

Catalogues of the National Archives related to rural institutes also contain scattered information about Tibetans. Mentioning some examples, the catalogue of the Post Guards of Setsen Khan Province includes a folded document about the passing away of the *Khamba nomon khan*, Baldanchoimbel (M-152, D-2, KhN-557, 1899). The catalogue of *Setsen khanii khoshuu* banner in Setsen Khan Province includes a folded document about ceremonies and lit butter lamps on the day when the head abbot passed away, and also about becoming a monk, providing the meal and other necessities of monks, and other topics (M-34, D-1, KhN-226, 1900, 5 pages). There is a folded document in the collection of *Dalai Choinkhor dzasgiin khoshuu* of Sain Noyon Khan Province about the interest of loans given from the treasury of Samdanchojjig (Tib. *bsam gtan chos* ?), a Tibetan lama to the assistant official, Tseren *tuslagch* (A-60, D-1, KhN-44, Bogd Khaan's reign, 1 page). The catalogue of *Darkhan dzasgiin khoshuu* of TüsHEET Khan Province includes a folded document about donating 2000 *lan* (1 *lan* = 36.6 g) of silver to the *Yondzon khamba* lama's memorial service (A-15, D-1, 1920). The catalogue of Bogd Khan Uul Province includes a document announcing that the Mongolian government conducted an alliance contract with the Tibetan government, and nominated Gombo-Idshin as ambassador to Tibet and Amgalan as secretariat (? , KhN-381, 1926, 1 page). The catalogue of Tsetserleg Mandal Uul Province includes a document issued in order to withdraw a Tibetan doctor and replace him with a Russian doctor (SKh-132, D-1, KhN-260, 1929, 1 page).

The Archives of the Institute of History and Ethnology, Mongolian Academy of Sciences also contains materials especially about the *yondzon khamba*.⁵⁸

The Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) includes several documents dealing with Tibetans after 1921. For instance, the 4th catalogue of the MPRP's Central Committee (F-1, D-4, 1931–1933) includes the following documents: The 21th affair of *Yondzon khamba* and Luwsandandzan (KhN-61,

⁵⁷ Other types of documents are also preserved in this collection such as lists of herds and flocks, and other catalogues of the National Archives also include a few documents written in the Mongolian language and Tibetan script.

⁵⁸ Chuluun 2010.

1931–1–1, 1931–12–18, 49 pages); The efficiency of the Party's work among monks in Ulaanbaatar, the 58th affair of the Tibetan lama (*gegeen*) Yeregdelbüü and his attendants, decisions of poor monks, list of disrobed monks (KhN–28, 1931–2–28, 1931–12–13, 100 pages); Documents issued by the Ministry of the Interior, pauperization of the *Yondzon khamba lam*'s treasury (part of KhN–138, 1922 or 1932). Several documents are available related to the head abbot, *Yondzon khamba Luwsankhaimchog* (1873–1937) accused to be anti-revolutionary in 1937–1938 (F–4, D–6, 80, 1937–9–6, 1937–9–17, 112 pages; 106. 1937–9–19), his sentence (1937–1938, 4/6, 80, 1937–10–1, 83 pages), examination (F–1, D–5, KhN–225, 181–4, 1936–7–11), proposal for sentence (F–1, D–6, ? (28, 24), 1937–9–10), and the formation of a committee of decision (F–1, D–6, KhN–50, 4, 1937–10–2). He was executed together with the Mongolian vice abbot Damdin (*ded khamba*).

These documents exemplify the characteristics of Tibetan-Mongolian connections in three periods: the Manchu period, the Bogd Khaan's reign, and the beginning of socialism. Whilst religious connections deepened with the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama from 1904–1905, and even a Tibetan quarter came to existence in Urga representing the Dalai Lama, running commerce and having a Tibetan temple, socialist measures started in the 1920s: a Mongolian ambassador, Gombo-Idshin was nominated to Tibet, foreigners including Tibetans were registered in Urga, and finally even the head abbot was executed due to the anti-religious ideology of communism which resulted in the destruction of all the monasteries, execution of the high-ranking monks, and the dissolution of the whole Buddhist monastic community in Mongolia in 1937–1938.

“Influential” Tibetans living in Ulaanbaatar in 1929

There is a report preserved in the National Archives of Mongolia (Kh–1, D– 6, KhN–219) entitled *The List of Ranked Monks of Ulaanbaatar* in the catalogue in Cyrillic, and *Names and Circumstances of Tibetan High-ranking Monks residing in Ulaanbaatar* in the original Mongolian script. Representative Ishi(n)gambuu and Gombojaw wrote it on 6 April, 1929. It was a report to the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party or to the government which clarified the names, circumstances of arrival, and connections with “political figures” of the nine most influential Tibetan inhabitants of Urga (Ulaanbaatar) in 1929. The text of the report is as follows:

1. *Yondzon khamba lam* [Luwsankhaimchog] lives in *Lam nariin aimag* in *Dzüün khüree*. He came from Tashilhunpo Monastery in 1915 as the Panchen Lama sent him to Mongolia to be the *jawtüi* lama of the *Bogd*. After some years he became the Bogd's *yondzon* tutor, then, the main abbot (*ikh khamba*) of Urga. He has been fulfilling this duty ever since. He has tight connection with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.

2. Samba rinpoche, who is the third most famous reincarnation after the Dalai Lama [in Tibet], arrived in 1914 in personal matters. He is said to have good connections with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.
3. Cha tulku is a reincarnation of the abbot of Ganden Monastery [in Tibet]. He wanted to take the *lkhaaramba* (Tib. *lha rams pa*) exam, and he asked for loans to finance it. To pay back this amount he arrived to Mongolia in 1917, where he gave empowerments (*lün*, Tib. *lung*), and from the alms he was able to refund his debt. At present, he has a building and a courtyard in the 3rd district of the lay population quarter (*khoro*). He is highly respected by the monks of Uрга. Other connections are unknown.
4. Dulamlkhagan (? , Tib. *sgrol ma lha* ?) is the reincarnation of Sonomdagwa (Tib. *bsod nams grags pa*). He arrived alone in 1913 for invitation without any properties. Since then, he has been performing healing rituals (*awral gürem*, Tib. *sku rim*). He is said to be in connection with Choibalsan.
5. Luwsanchoindon (? , Tib. *blo bzang chos ldan* ?), executive of the Dalai Lama's Western treasury. The Dalai Lama and his government nominated him to administer the affairs of the Tibetans residing in Mongolia. He arrived in 1919. He had good connection with the Russian ambassador and the Dalai Lama's government. Originally, he arrived with a clerk, who has already left him.
6. Nyandag (Tib. ?), representative of Tibetan commerce. He is one of the two "assistant ministers" of the Dalai Lama. The other one, Nyamba is well-known in Beijing. Previously, both of them lived in Beijing. They returned to Lhasa in 1922 and 1926. Nyandag became the commercial representative of the inner treasury [probably in Lhasa] last year [1928] and came to Mongolia with six attendants. He lives in *Jadariin aimag* in *Dzüün khüree*. He had connections with the Dalai Lama, the ministry of the Tibetan government in Beijing, and the executive of the court in Amgalan [the area of the Chinese merchant town, *Maimaachen*, present Botanik]. He has good connection with Jamsran and others. Previously he had also connection with Baldandorj, but there is no information about their present relationship.
7. Gendendandzan (? Tib. *dge ldan bstan 'dzin* ?) is the executive of the Dalai Lama's Eastern treasury. He arrived with five or six other people in the year of the collection of alms to establish Nawadunumai (?) [temple?]. Some of his attendants have passed away, so now only he and another person are alive. Their relationships are negligible.
8. *Umdza lam* or Lowonbadam (Tib. *slob dpon pad ma*) is the reincarnation of Būdedgūmjil (?), who was a Tibetan monk living aforesaid, and who used to wear white monk scarf (*orkhimj*). Lowonbadam's chanting master (*umdzad*, Tib. *dbu mdzad*) offered all the properties of that saint to the Dalai Lama in

1916. He is in connection with the Dalai Lama, and is said to be in connection with Dorjpalam of the co-operative, and Baldandorj of the economy factor.

9. Damba (Tib. *bstan pa* or *dam pa*) known also as the Lama of Chingeltei arrived to Mongolia long time ago. He performs healing rituals (*gürem*). He is said to be married with Khosonii (?) Tsewel, the dressmaker of the Dalai Lama. Damba has good connection with Baldandorj and Dorjpalam. The Panchen Lama confirmed with seal that Damba's second son is the reincarnation of Choijin Khamba Lama (?).

This agent report immortalized the name of some Tibetan inhabitants of Urga. The head abbot, Luwsanchoindon, and the head of the Tibetan Assembly have been already mentioned above. The Dalai Lama's treasury included an eastern and a western part for 1929. It also turns out that the "political figures" of the period were the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Ninth Panchen Lama, Thupten Chökyi Nyima (1883–1937), Kh. Choibalsan (1895–1952), Dorjpalam from the co-operative, and Baldandorj from the economic factor.

Tibetan Lamas' Monastic Activities in the Countryside

Almost all famous reincarnation lineages of Mongolia have the same history: the first incarnation lived at the time of Buddha Śākyamuni (560–480 BC) and offered a special offering to him. Due to this virtuous deed, he was reborn several times in India, in Tibet, and finally in Mongolia. The members of the reincarnation lineages of the *Bogd jawdzandamba khutagt*, the Khalkha *Dzaya paṇḍita*, and some other eminent monks have been already studied as a special type of genre (*ug ekh*, 'origin, source') exist in Mongolia that clarifies the origin of famous monks and noble families. The National Archives include various sources about the *Bogd jawdzandamba khutagts*, and both the National Archives and the National Library contain a few sources about other lineages, too.

It also happened that an eminent Tibetan monk arrived to Mongolia and settled in a rural monastery. After his passing away he was reborn in Mongolia. Foreign travellers recorded such cases. For instance, A. M. Pozdnev (1851–1920), who visited Mongolia at the end of the 19th century, mentions that the *Khamba gegeen* or *Khamba lama* (Tib. *mkhan po bla ma*) showed up in Mongolia from Tibet at the beginning of the 18th century and by 1879 had already two rebirths in Mongolia. He came from Tibet without an invitation and in the guise of a simple lama. First he settled down in a small yurt where he also had his temple (*süm*), then, he built a monastery on the bank of the River Tegshbuyant (present-day Dzawkhan province, Ider district).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Pozdnev 1971: 621.

Oral history has remained about the monastic life of certain monasteries of the 1920–1930s,⁶⁰ some of which had Tibetan masters. For instance, according to T. Altangerel monk (1918–2012), Tibetan monks gave initiations (*tangarag*) in Yaruugiin Khüree (Dzawkhan province, Aldarkhaan district), and D. Renchinsüren monk (1912–2014) accounted that the old *Ari gegeen* and *Tsan' gegeen* from Labrang Monastery visited Nayan Duutiin Khüree (Dzawkhan province, Tsagaankhairkhan district) from time to time as they were the abbots of the monastery before *Dilow khutagt* Jamsranjaw (1884–1965). M. Menddawaa monk (1920–?) claimed that Sain Noyon Khanii Khüree (Öwörkhongai province, Uyanga district) had a residential Tibetan *gachin* lama in the 1930s who ensured the well-being of the *Sain noyon khan* and his monastery by reciting sacred texts. He was the master of the whole monastic community. Sh. Tügj monk (1923–2014/15) said that the eminent monk, *Orombo gegeen* (Tib. *rims pa* ?) was with Tibetan origin and had a monastery, Deed Khüree also known as Orombiin Khüree (Arkhangai province, Öldziit district). The nearby Ööld Beisiin Khüree (Arkhangai province, Öldziit district) also had a Tibetan master with *gachin* title. R. Perenleijamts monk (1922–2011) remembered that Lu Güinii Khüree had a Tibetan master who had already passed away before the 1920s (Arkhangai province, Battsengel district). The representative of the Dalai Lama, Lodoi, the Tibetan (Lodoi töwd) lived in Dzayaiin Khüree (Arkhangai province, Tsetserleg city) even in the 1930s as Tibetan envoy with one or two other Tibetan monks.

It is obvious that the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama from 1904–1906 had a great significance in the religious life of the Mongols. Several Mongolian monks, aristocrats, and devotees invited, paid homage, and highly worshipped him during his journey in Mongolia. Before arriving and after leaving Urga he visited significant monasteries including Amarbuyantiin Khiid (Bayankhongor province, Bayan-Öndör district), Khand Chin Wangiin Khüree (Bulgan province, near Bulgan city), Dzayaiin Khüree (Arkhangai province, Tsetserleg city), Sain Noyon Khanii Khüree (Öwörkhongai province, Uyanga district), and others. Several sacred sites commemorate this significant visit including the legends on the origin of the brook *Jamganii bulag* (Tib. *skyabs mgon*, in Arkhangai province, Tsetserleg city) and a sacred site (Bulgan province, Büreghangai district centre).

All in all, it seems that before and after the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama more Mongolian monasteries had intensive connections with Tibetan monasteries or Tibetan monks. Tibetan monks visited monasteries in the countryside for invitation in order to give commencements, empowerments, and explanations to the Buddhist doctrine. Usually, they did not live permanently in these monasteries, but in certain monasteries such as Sain Noyon Khanii Khüree it could happen that they lived there for more years.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Majer – Teleki 2020; Teleki 2020; www.mongoliantemples.org.

⁶¹ In parallel, Mongolian monks visited Tibetan monasteries for shorter periods as pilgrims,

Conclusion

In 1651 when Öndör Gegeen Dzanabadzar returned from Tibet, about 50 monks accompanied him to Mongolia in order to help to organize religious and monastic life in his camp, from which Urga, the monastic capital city of Mongolia grew up. Apart from the Second *Bogd* (1724–1758), Öndör Gegeen's reincarnations were all recognized in Tibet (until the 9th incarnation, 1936–2012). The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama nominated eminent lamas to support the *Bogds'* spiritual development and religion building activities in the far Mongol land. During the centuries Tibetan lamas resided in Urga bearing various titles (head abbot, tutor, assistant, etc.). When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama visited Urga, a treasury was established to handle donations, and a district of Tibetans came to existence, which became a free trading zone, and had a Tibetan temple. We can suppose larger Tibetan population in the following sites in Urga: 1. continuously around the *Bogd jawdzandamba khutagts* in their palaces, 2. around the Choijin Lama oracle and his temple complex (in the 1870–1920s), 3. in the Tibetan quarter with the Tibetan temple (cc. 1904–1930s), 4. around the residence of the head abbot, Luwsankhaimchog (*Lam nariin aimag, Dzüün khüree*, 1920–1930s).

The Dalai Lama made visits in rural monasteries, which vividly remained in local memory. Other Tibetan lamas spent days, weeks, months or even years supporting Mongolian monasteries or giving teachings and initiations to local monks, and some of them were even reborn in Mongolia. The article confirmed the old, vivid connections of Tibet and Mongolia which livened up again after the 1990s.

Bibliography

- Bawden, C. R. 1961. *The Jebtsundamba khutukhtus of Urga. Text, Translation and Notes*. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- Bawden, C. R. (transl. and ed.) 1997. *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhca Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K.
- Chuluun, S. (ed.) 2010. *Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiniin Tüükhiin Khüreeleengiin tüükhen barimtiin bürtgel, I*. [Catalogue of the Historical Documents in the Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, I.]. Ulaanbaatar.
- Dügersüren, L. 1999. *Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükhees* [Views about the History of Ulaanbaatar]. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar.
- Gangaa, D. 2003. *Khüree tsam* [Khüree Tsam]. Ulaanbaatar.
- Gombosüren, D. 2005. *Khicheengüi Baatar L. Gombo-Idshin (1862–1930)* [Diligent Hero, L. Gombo-Idshin (1862–1930)]. Ulaanbaatar.

and for longer periods, especially to deepen their philosophical knowledge in Tibetan monastic schools, though perhaps Tibetan sources tell more about their number.

- Forbáth, L. 1934. *A megújhodott Mongólia* [The New Mongolia]. Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest.
- Idshinnorow, Sh. 1994. *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui* [Short History of Ulaanbaatar]. Ulaanbaatar.
- Lokesh Chandra (ed.) 1964. *The Golden Annals of Lamaism. Hor chos- 'byung of Blo bzang rta-mgrin. 'Dzam-gling byang phyogs chen-po hor-gyi rgyal-khams-kyi rtags-pa brjod-pa 'i bstan-bcos chen-po dpyod-ldan mgu byed ngo-mtshar gser-gyi deb-ther zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 34, New Delhi.
- Majer, Zs. – Teleki, K. 2007. *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin khüree, Ikh khüree, or Urga, the Old Capital City of Mongolia in the First Part of the Twentieth Century*. www.mongoliantemples.org
- Majer, Zs. – Teleki, K. 2020. *Öndör nastan lam nariin yaria. XX dzuunii ekhen üyeiin khüree khiidüüdiin talaar awsan yariltslaguud I (2005–2009)* [Reminiscences of Old Monks. Interviews recorded about Mongolian Monasteries existed at the beginning of the 20th century, I. (2005–2019)]. Ulaanbaatar.
- National Archives of Mongolia, Catalogues
- Nawaan, D. 1961. *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal* [Reminiscence of Old Dendew]. Shinjilekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar.
- Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*. 2005. Ulaanbaatar.
- Sereeter, Ö. 1999. *Mongoliin Ikh khüree, Gandan khiidiin tүүкhen бүтєtsiin towch. 1651–1938* [Short History of Ikh Khüree and Gandan Monastery, 1651–1938]. Ulaanbaatar.
- Pozdneev, A. M. 1880, 1980 (repr.). *Urginskije hutuhty. Istoričeskij očerk ih prošlago i sovremennago byta. Travaux de la Troisième Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*. Sankt-Peterburg.
- Pozdneev, A. M. 1883. *Mongol' skaja letopis' "Erdeniin erihe."* *Materialy dlja istorii halhi 1636–1736*. Sankt-Peterburg.
- Pozdneyev, A. M. 1971. *Mongolia and the Mongols*. Edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank. Indiana University. Bloomington.
- Pozdneyev, A. M. 1978. *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in late 19th-century Mongolia*. Ed.: Krueger, J.R. The Mongolia Society. Bloomington.
- Pürew, O. 1986, 1988. *Mongoliin uls töriin töw* [Centre of the Mongolian State]. Ulaanbaatar.
- Pürew, O. 1999. *Ulaanbaatar 360* [The 360-year old Ulaanbaatar]. Ulaanbaatar.
- Rinchen, B. – Maidar, D. (eds.) 1979. *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaatsnii sudlal, khelnii shinjileiin atlas* [Ethnographic and Linguistic Atlas of the Mongolian People's Republic]. Ulaanbaatar.

Roerich, N. 2009. *Heart of Asia*. Ulaanbaatar.

Teleki, K. 2012. *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Institute of History, Ulaanbaatar.

Teleki, K. 2020. *Öndör nastan lam nariin yaria. XX dzuunii ekhen üyein khüree khiidüüdiin talaar awsan yariltslaguud II (2007–2017)* [Reminiscences of Old Monks. Interviews recorded about Monasteries existed at the beginning of the 20th century, II. (2007–2017)]. Ulaanbaatar.

Mongolian temples project. www.mongoliantemples.org

(last retrived on 20.11.2019)