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5. HERITAGE, DEVELOPMENT, AND CONCERNS OF MONGOLIA'S MONASTERIES

Krisztina Teleki

Introduction

The present article describes the character of revival of Buddhism in Mongolia. Despite contemporary problems related to funding of monasteries and training of monks, there is evidence of linkage and cooperation among monasteries within Mongolia as well as those outside Mongolia. In recent years the authority of Gandan monastery has been a well-publicized affair and the monks seem to play a significant role in the everyday life of the society. Buddhism is not only related to the aspect of Mongolian identity but is also a policy matter because the government is sincerely involved in the aspect of protection of national heritage.

Buddhist Tradition in Mongolia

According to the Mongolian people, Buddhism spread to their homeland in three waves—before the period of the Mongolian Empire, during the period of the Mongolian Empire (1206-1368), and after the period of the Mongolian Empire. Though Buddhist vocabulary preserves the memories of the first two conversions, the third propagation was the most large-scale one when the Mongols adopted Tibetan Buddhism. The first Monastery, Erdene zuu was built in 1586 by Awtai khan (1534-89), and the Mongolian khans and monks often visited Tibetan monasteries. Soon, Öndör geegen Zanabazar (1635-1723) was acknowledged as the reincarnation of the Tibetan historian, Tāranātha (1575-1634), and was nominated as the first *Bogd jewtsündamba khutagt* (T. *rje btsun dam pa*) by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82) and the Fourth Panchen Lama (1570-1662). As the Manchu

emperors supported the spreading of the Yellow Stream (T. *dge lugs*) from the 17th century, numerous monasteries came to exist in the territory of the Mongols. A few Red Stream monasteries (including Nyingma, Sakya and Kagyü) also existed (e.g. Yegüzer khutagt's Monastery, Khüükhen khutagt's Monastery, Noyon khutagt Danzanrawjaa's Monastery), and there were small communities of individual Tantric practitioners (*zoch*, T. *gcod*) as well. The territory of the Mongols was much bigger than today, including today's Inner Mongolia, Buryatia, and the Kalmük areas, where Tibetan Buddhism was widespread, too.¹ The present article focuses on today's Mongolian traditions.

Due to the activity of Öndör, gegeen Zanabazar, his reincarnations, the *Bogd jewtsündamba khutagts* were the most highly honoured religious figures of the country for almost three centuries. They resided in Urga (Örgöö) or Ikh khüree, which was renamed Ulan Baatar in 1924. The Eighth incarnation (1870-1924), bearing the title *Bogd Khan* was the key figure of the Mongolian sovereignty in 1911, and his theocratical reign (1911-21) was the Golden Age of the Buddhist Church. That time, the country had more than 60 famous reincarnated lamas (T. *sprul sku*) with previous incarnations in Tibet and India, and about 1,100 monastic sites including about 700 big monastic camps (*khüree*) and monasteries (*khiid*), as well as smaller temple complexes, shrines, and yurt temples.² It is said that almost one-third of the male population was monk that time. As the *Bogd jewtsündamba khutagts* (except of the First and the Second) were born in Tibet, the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas nominated eminent masters (*yonzon*, T. *yongs 'dzin*) to accompany them in Mongolia. Moreover, Tibetan geshees gave initiations and teachings in rural monasteries, and Mongolian monks visited Tibetan monasteries, too.

In 1921, the repression of religion started due to the new Soviet ideology. All monasteries were closed and destroyed in 1937-38. Several monks disrobed and lived as herders, whilst the high ranked ones were captured and executed. Novices were enrolled to school or to the army. Religious life was brought to a total halt in 1937.

Special Features of Mongolian Buddhism

Today, some scholars and Buddhists consider Mongolian Buddhism, as the 'degenerated form' of Tibetan Buddhism because monks eat meat, Gelukpa monks get married, and only the minority of them understands the Dharma deeply. Though today's Mongolian Buddhism had originated in Tibet, and its texts, religious vocabulary, ceremonies, education system are all Tibetan, there are some significant differences how the Mongolian nomads, warrior descendants of Chingis Khan adopted Tibetan Buddhism in the 16th and 17th century, and especially the fact that Buddhist traditions, lineages and monastic life were totally broken for 50 years after 1937.

Today, the celibacy of Gelukpa monks depends on monks' vows. Before 1937, it was the same—married monks did not live inside the monasteries. It was not rare that a monk lived with his family in the countryside herding the livestock, and came to the monastery only for big annual festivals. It had economic reasons: there was manpower shortage in the family. Eating meat and drinking kumiss were also allowed for monks. It had physical reasons—the harsh winter (with minus 40 degrees), the lack of cereals, fruits and vegetables, and the free availability of *kumiss* from mares, which is abounding in mineral substances and microelements. Eating meat is forbidden today only in few monasteries (e.g. Amarbayasgalant), and drinking kumiss is normal everywhere.

The mother tongue of Mongolians is Mongolian, thus, devotees could not and cannot understand the recited Tibetan texts' meanings, but believe in Tibetan prayer's power. This is the question of faith. It was very beneficial if there was a monk in their family. Mongolians were very pious: the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1904-05 is still a remarkable event in local people's minds. Though understanding the meaning of Tibetan texts was more difficult for Mongolian monks than for Tibetans, several eminent polymaths wrote thick volumes in Tibetan regarding all subjects of Buddhism.³ Before 1937, there were about two hundred monasteries with philosophical, astrological, or medical schools (*datsan*, T. *grwa tshang*) with high standard education. Though in 1937-38, the most talented masters were executed, high standard education

started again after 1990. Today, monks can deepen their basic knowledge of Buddhism in few medical schools.

Several of the most complex Tibetan rituals such as *Tsam* masked dance (T. *'chams*) were performed. *Tsam* was performed in about 200 monasteries with special Mongolian features. Now, it is performed in three monasteries again. A. M. Pozdneev provided details of Mongolian Buddhism in his books written at the end of the 19th century.⁴ The everyday chanting, monks' robes, melody of certain ceremonies, and the recitation and pronunciation of texts differ from the Tibetan version, thus, Mongolian Buddhism is originated in Tibet, but has some special local features.

In Mongolia, *lam* is a general term used for monks and novices, though in Tibet *bla ma* means a supreme spiritual teacher.

Mongolia's Monasteries Existed Prior to 1937

Erdene zuu was the first monastery built in the area of today's Mongolia in 1586. The following types of monastic sites existed prior to 1937: monastic camp (or monastic 'city', *khüree*) with about 800 to 2,000 monks, monastery (*khiid*) with about 50 to 500 monks, temple (*süm* or *dugan*, T. *'du khang*) with some dozens of monks and assembly (*khural* or *jas*) with only a few monks. In some assemblies (e.g. the ones operating in *yurts*) permanent ceremonies were held by a few monks, while in other assemblies, which were guarded usually by only one monk, ceremonies were held only for some days in a year by monks coming from monasteries of the nearby area. A special type of assemblies was the *örtöö jas* or *örtöö khural*. They were established at relay stations or caravan route stations (*örtöö*), which were located about 30 km far from each other in the Manchu period and later.

The monastic camps (*khüree*) were arranged in \cap shape and usually were divided for residential divisions of monks (*aimag*) surrounding the temples which were situated in the centre. Lay population and merchants settled near the camps in the hope of a better living. Whilst in the beginning these camps had been moving and extending, for the 19th century, almost all of them settled down. Monasteries (*khiid*) were built

on isolated sites, and considerable lay population did not live nearby. Big monasteries and monastic sites usually included philosophical, tantric, medical, or other monastic schools (*datsan*).

There were connections between monasteries situated close to each other. In many cases, monks visited each other's monastery, or came for special studies for a period. Itinerant monks (*badarchin*) wandered long distances for pilgrimage, and for collecting alms. They had to experience a lot during their trips. Zoch tantric masters also wandered in the countryside to meditate and do their tantric practices. For periods, they also stopped by monastic complexes and held their ceremonies there or nearby.⁵

The biggest monastic camp, Ikh *khüree* (also known as *Örgöö*, *Daa khüree*, *Bogdiin khüree*) became the capital (*Niislel khüree*) in 1911, known as *Ulan Baatar* today. *Örgöö* moved 28 times, and settled in its present site in 1855. In the beginning of the 20th century, it had about 100 temple buildings of 47 monastic sites. Among them were 2 monastic districts (*Züün khüree* with 20 central temples and 30 *aimag* temples, and *Gandan* with 11 temples), 7 Buddhist palaces, 3 suburban monasteries (*Dambadarjaalin*, *Dashchoinkhorlin*, *Shaddüwlin*), and 36 individual temples (including about six Red Stream temples, one Orthodox Church, nine Chinese temples, seven sanctuaries of local naga spirits). The presence of foreign faith indicates that at the biggest sites (e.g. *Urga*, *Khyagt-Altanbulag*, *Uliastai*, and *Khowd*), foreign merchants lived in large number.

Heritage of Monasteries

Repression of religion that started in 1921 ended in the total destruction of monasteries of Mongolia in 1937-38. Even the monastic capital city could not survive—*Ulan Baatar* came to exist near it and later on its ruins. The wooden temples of the city were burnt or demolished, and the temples made of brick were destroyed. Only buildings of 6 temple complexes are still partially intact (e.g. *Choijin Lama Temple Museum*, the *Palace Museum of the Bogd Khan*, *Gandantegchenlin Monastery*, *Dambadarjaa Monastery*, *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery*), and

other 5 individual temple buildings have remained.⁶ The sacred books were mostly burnt in the courtyard of the present-day Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery. What have remained from the Buddhist culture of the city is preserved now in the local institutes (National Archives of Mongolia, Film Archives, National Library of Mongolia, Gandan Monastery, Ulan Baatar City Museum, Chojjin Lama Temple Museum, Palace Museum of the Bogd Khan, Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, National Museum of Mongolia, Victims of Political Persecution Memorial Museum, Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts, etc.). These institutes include old photos, paintings or drawings of the camp, archival documents written mainly in Mongolian script, survived Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts and blockprints, old artifacts, and facts about the persecution. Several famous artifacts were piled up in Chojjin Lama's temple complex, which became subordinated to the Mongolian Academy of Sciences in 1940, and now it houses the museum of religion. The Palace Museum of the Bogd Khan also exhibits numerous artifacts as well as the belongings of the Bogd Khan and his wife. In the 1940s, written materials were stored in the Avalokiteçvara Temple of Gandan, and later they formed the present collection of the National Archives of Mongolia. Tibetan sutras have been preserved in the National Library of Mongolia and in Gandan Monastery.

Though tremendous materials still are at the researchers' disposal about the capital city, the case is totally different related to rural monasteries. Though two of them remained partially intact (Erdene zuu and Amarbayasgalant), and a very few temple buildings remained in other sites, the destruction was almost complete in 1937-38; even huge monastic complexes with their dozens of buildings were annihilated. The current state of the remnants depends on the material they were made of—more remained of the stone and brick buildings. Apart from some remarkable artefacts or idols (*shüteen*, T. *rten*) and holy books hidden by local monks or devotees, nothing else has left about the flourishing Buddhist culture. The museums of Erdene zuu Monastery and Sainshand preserve old monastic artefacts and accessories, whilst museum of province centres exhibit only a very few remained objects. However,

several families still preserve old accessories, so going round all yurts of Mongolia can result in better findings. In Mongolia, unwritten history has long tradition than the written ones; so, reminiscences of old monks and their descendants are also valuable sources for studying monastic history.

Revival

Although Gandan Monastery in Ulan Baatar was partially reopened in 1944, and has been the centre of Mongolian Buddhism ever since, the majority of the old religious practices could be revived only after the democratic changes of 1990. At the time of the monastery destruction, the monks hid some books and artefacts, and a few monks held secret ceremonies during the Socialist period to preserve Buddhism in this way. In 1990, Mongolian Buddhism was revived by the monks who had to disrobe in 1937. Their activities were supported by local devotees, the Mongolian State, and Gandan Monastery. Foreign Buddhist monks, organisations, and institutes offered help both from Europe and America, and from Asian countries, such as Taiwan, Japan, Nepal, Hong Kong, and India. Rimpoches who embraced the movement of Buddhist revival in Mongolia like Gurudeva or Kushok Bakula (1917-2003)⁷ also had a main part in providing financial means to revive temples and the Buddhist tradition. Several families, mostly those that had monk relatives previously, made one of their sons a monk in the beginning of the 1990s (similar to the old times). The master-disciple tradition was revived (*togoo barikh*) and children lived or spent much time together with a master and learnt the discipline, main texts and Buddhist thoughts in this way (*gariin shaw*). The old, mostly married monks trained the new monk generation well with teaching Tibetan prayers and texts, music and performance of ceremonies, and preparation of offerings. Several temples were revived or newly established not only in the capital city, but also mainly in the countryside in their old sites or in nearby sub-province centres or province centers. Thank to the enthusiastic old monks and pious devotees, one can see again Buddhist events such as the Maitreya procession, *Tsam* dance, and several other ceremonies.

The level of Buddhist knowledge of present-day monks cannot be measured. Even if we knew the number of monks with *gelen* vow (T. *dge slong*, monk with full ordination), and the number of monks with *geshe* (T. *dge bshes*) and *gawj* (T. *dka' bcu*) philosophical degrees, these could not measure Mongolia's Buddhist wisdom. Being nomads living close to nature, the Mongols essentially have patient and tolerant mentality. It can be doubled by Buddhism—monks meditate, receive initiations, listen to religious teachings, and thus, develop their personal knowledge in their own level. Meanwhile, devotees can visit monasteries, give alms and offerings to monks, participate in ceremonies and stupa consecrations, and perform other virtuous deeds. Devotees invite monks to their home to perform rituals to liberate them from illness, bad fortune, hardship, and natural diseases. Monks also perform blessing of devotees' new homes in order to prosper life there, animate new religious objects to protect them, and give advice in wedding, moving to a new campsite, and other life-issues.

Mongolia is a Buddhist country; the revival of religion was successful due to the activities of old monks. However, though in the beginning of the 20th century almost everybody was Buddhist, today other churches also exist in Mongolia. Therefore, the revived Buddhism has to face new challenges and problems.

Revitalisation and Development

In 2007, the old, destroyed monastic sites and the present-day operating temples were documented countrywide.⁸ Until that time, neither the Mongolian State nor Gandan Monastery had a list about the active monasteries of the country. Today, according to personal estimation, there are at most 200 'monasteries' in Mongolia, though their majority consists of only one temple building where a couple of monks chant religious texts.

Keeping the restored temples in operation depends on the calling and education of young monks, as well as the generosity of donors. In the last 22 years, several temples were left abandoned due to the lack of finance and monks. Most of the currently working temples (about 80 to

90 per cent) are revived old temples, but these are mostly in the province centres, and not on the old sites. Few temples were revived on the old site, in partly revived buildings or newly erected temples, or on the foundation of the old main assembly hall but they remained active only if they were very famous sites or if they were situated in easy-to-reach places.⁹

According to Zsuzsa Majer, apart from Gandan, the centre of Mongolian Buddhism, there is no state funding. Thus, temples operate as private 'enterprises' depending on donations of devotees who visit monasteries on daily basis or on great ceremonial days, and on donations from companies and organisations. This is completed by the amount gained from reciting texts on request (*nom ailtgakh*).¹⁰ Since the time of Buddha Cakyamuni, donors (*jandag*, T. *sbyin bdag*) have had a very important role in the maintenance of the monk community. Today, the places situated far away from devotees or other financial sources cannot survive—the sub-province centres and even the province centres, and mainly Ulan Baatar, are favourable places for building a temple than remote places.

However, several young monks heading countryside temples make every effort to preserve the traditions left by their old masters. These samples show that monks with great calling have enough faith and persistence. Even if a few monks would be ready to reside in these temples, financial means should also be available for their catering. Some rural monasteries has already established a school for novices (Betüw, Amarbayasgalant, Erdene zuu), whilst others are planning to do so (Zayaiin khüree, Baruun khüree).

Today, about 50 'monasteries' operate in Ulan Baatar, of which about 10 follow non-Gelukpa teachings. Gandan, Züün Khüree Dashchoilin, and Betüw monasteries are the three biggest Gelukpa ones with a large variety of ceremonies. Small temples do not have such expansive ceremonial life—there are fewer monks, and less devotees and donations.

Today, every monastery is independent, but a central administrator is highly required. A monastic regulation (*jayag*, T. *bya yig*) was to be introduced in all monasteries making clear requirements and discipline what monasteries have to follow. Gandan Monastery has been the centre

of Mongolian Buddhism since 1944, but until now, it was not more than an honorary title. However, in 2011 His Holiness, the Dalai Lama's visit and the acknowledgement of His Holiness, the Ninth *Bogd jewtsündamba khutagt* as the Head of Mongolian Buddhists indicate positive changes in the religious administration of the country.

The Ninth *Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagt*, Jambalnamdolchoijaltsan ('Jam dpal rnam grol chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1933-2012), was a Tibetan monk living in Dharamshala. As the Ninth incarnation of Öndör geegen Zanabazar, he was recognised in Mongolia in 1991. Meanwhile, the abbot of Gandan Monastery was also referred to as the head abbot of Mongolia. This 'duality' also existed in the old monastic capital city as well. His Holiness, the Ninth Bogd passed away on March 01, 2012. Immediately, a committee was formed in Gandan to find his reincarnation soon, who had been predicted to take rebirth in Mongolia.

Uptil today, about 12 reincarnations of the old 60 reincarnated lineages were recognised. The acknowledgment started in the turn of the 21st century. The Dalai Lama confirms these acknowledgements. The young incarnations are educated in Tibetan monasteries in India, and when they return, they spread Buddhism, and are highly honoured by local monks and people.

In a recent development, a few monks can go to pilgrimage, and as a milestone of pilgrimage, a Mongolian temple has been recently built in Bodhgaya. Some Mongolian monks had foreign visits to participate in Kalachakra initiations held by Dalai Lama (Washington, 2011, cc 150 Mongolian monks; Bodhgaya, 2012, cc 250 Mongolian monks). These visits advance monks in their knowledge of Buddhism.

In 2011, the Mongolian State started to support the restoration of temple buildings again. However, neither the Mongolian State nor Gandan support the revival of the existing temples. As the temples are independent from each other, the biggest problem is their maintenance.

Overall, Mongolia makes effort to revitalise all traditions within the framework of the new political and economic systems, and a new society.

Main Concerns

Though researchers, monks, and devotees consider concerns of Mongolian monasteries from different points of view, there are certain core problems to which they all agree.¹¹

The pioneers of the revival, the old monks have been passing away. The ones who are living are older than 85, and their number is extremely low. They trained the recruit well, but without their wise advices, the young abbots have huge responsibilities in making decisions. Several novices disrobed staying without master.

There is only a couple of big monasteries (e.g. Betüw Monastery in Ulan Baatar founded by Bakula rinpoche, Gandan, Amarbayasgalant, Delgeriin Choir, Khamriin khiid); the others consists of only one or two temple buildings without residential possibility for monks. Therefore, the majority of monks lives with their families, and shares their problems, thus do not have the chance to live normal monastic life.

According to a personal estimation, there are about 2,000 monks in Mongolia today—Gandan has about 500 monks. Several temples have only 10-20 monks, whilst in smaller temples, there are only one adult monk and few novices. Nowadays, the number of children who wish to become monks is extremely low compared to the 1990s and the 2000s. Though five years ago some researchers thought that being a monk is a normally paid job, it is not considered as a permanent subsistence anymore. Moreover, novices are not parallely educated in state schools, which cause problems in finding a job if they decide to leave the monk community. Monks need many acquaintances to have an income from donations. Monk teachers' are also badly paid.

Due to lack of state subsidy, the operation of the temples relies on donators. The main incomes of a monastery consist of a monk's family or devotees cover the costs (catering, offerings) of a certain ceremony; a devotee gives herds, flocks, kumiss, money or other staff; devotees require the recitation of a holy text for health, success, or other life issues.¹²

As it is prescribed by law, the temples had to pay tax to the Mongolian State according to their income. Moreover, as every 18-year old man has

military liability for a year, it is also relevant for monks, though their vows are against killing.

Today, the marriage of Gelukpa monks who did not take full-ordination is allowed and accepted. It is an unwritten social rule—if a girl is pregnant from a monk, he has to marry her. The monk can decide whether he disrobes or not. There are very few monasteries with good accommodation for monks (e.g. Amarbayasgalant, Delgeriin Choir with foreign support), and which are isolated from the lay population. Monks consider this stage with marriage as a transitive period of Buddhism after the revival and before reflowering. A few Red Stream monasteries exist (e.g. Erdene zuu, Khamriin khiid), but they are few in number.

Problems of monasteries situating in Ulan Baatar and in the countryside are different. In the countryside, it is difficult to collect donations for the building of a temple and the catering of a couple of monks, and it often happens that the monks who leave their rural temples to study in the monasteries of Ulan Baatar do not return. The temptation of the modern consumer society in Ulan Baatar is big. Sometimes, monks' calling is not enough if they have a big family. Some monks trained in Tibetan monastic universities in India also disrobe when they have a wife, as they consider themselves less than the exemplary Tibetan monks do. However, others who saw the Tibetan example get full-ordination, and devote their whole life to help all sentient beings.

According to the monks, the Mongolian State or Gandan as the Buddhist centre of the country should give salary to monks. For a constant moderate salary, monks could go back to their home area, and help local devotees in the local temple. Nowadays, it depends on the abbots' decisions, or more precisely, to the income of the monasteries for the monks to get a monthly salary. Apart from reciting texts and conducting other services such as stupa consecration, several monks also have a small job (e.g. teacher, translator, and researcher).

According to the devotees, the monks are not involved enough in charity. Some of them say that the prescribed price of chanting texts is expensive, and this service has to be free or for donation. As the monasteries do not make it clear officially on what they spend their

incomes, the reputation of the monks is not good enough. Some monks have big jeeps and nice flats, and the society cannot handle these cases. The devotees say that the morals and education of the monks have to be developed. They add that Tibetan prayers and basic texts should be translated as devotees want to improve their knowledge in Buddhism. Based on this request in the latest years, the basic Buddhist texts had been translated into modern Mongolian, and several were published. Monks hold lectures for devotees explaining the Dharma, and there is a temple with Mongolian chanting as well. In 2010, the translation of the Kanjur and the Tanjur to modern Mongolian has been started by the monks and the researchers of Kalachakra Culture Centre.¹³

Connecting Spaces

In Mongolia, there are big gaps in monks' education. Smaller temples lack the basic Buddhist education, and only larger monasteries, such as Gandan, Züün khüree Dashchoilin, Betüw, and Amarbayasgalant have their own schools, colleges or classes. The oldest and the most famous one is Zanabazar Buddhist University in Gandan, which started its operation in 1970. Gandan is the only place where Tibetan Buddhist philosophy is taught in its three monastic schools. Geshe and *gawj* degrees can be obtained only in its Dashchoimbel monastic school. In Gandan and in a few temples traditional Buddhist medicine, astrology, and tantra are taught as well. Monks meditate and hold fasting or if they want and if they have time at home.

There are six or seven Tibetan monks in Ulan Baatar to train and help the Mongolian monks, and give explanations to the lay population. They have good reputation. The necessity of revitalising the connections with the monasteries of the Trans-Himalayan region seems inevitable. For several years, there have been possibilities for Mongolian monks to deepen their knowledge in Tibetan monastic universities in Dharamshala, in Drepung Monastery and Ganden Monastery in Mundgod, in Sera Monastery and Namdrooling Monastery in Bylakuppe, in Sakya Monastery and Mindrooling Monastery in Dehra Dun, and in the universities in Agra and Varanasi. Though in the turn of the 21st century

Mongolian monks studied in China (Kumbum and Labrang), and nuns in India (Dharamshala) and Nepal (Kopan Monastery), it seems that they do not have connection with Bhutan, maybe because there the Drukpa Kagyü (T. *'brug pa bka' rgyud*) Stream is dominant, which does not have any followers in Mongolia. A few monks reside in the Russian monasteries, mainly in Buryatia, and a very few in Japan and Korea. The connection with Mahayana Buddhist countries exist in this way, but could be extended.

The monks completing about 10 years' studies in India and obtaining geshe or higher degree have the biggest chance to spread Buddhism in Mongolia after they return. This possibility is highly requested as monks returning home understand their tasks better, and share their knowledge with local monks and devotees.¹⁴

Tibetan rinpoches are invited to Gandan or other big monasteries to give teachings and initiations to the monks and to a wider audience. As the Rinpoches visit only the capital city, or at least one or two historically famous monasteries in the countryside, for a simple rural temple it is difficult to make connection with foreign monasteries. This is a local administrative problem of Mongolian monasteries. Gandan Monastery might be a mediator to handle this issue. The connection of monasteries could also be enlivened.

There are a couple of temples for Buddhist 'female monks', although there is only one authentic nunnery with about 10 novices led by nuns from India and Nepal. In Mongolia, nunneries do not have tradition. Nunneries did not exist in the country; only female zochs hold rituals. Today, female monks who are married hold Tantric rituals mainly in Red Stream temples, whilst nuns belong to the Yellow Stream.

Summary

Though after 50 years of repression the revival of Buddhism was successful in Mongolia in 1990, the monasteries cannot educate their disciples properly, as even the maintenance of their communities is not ensured being lack of constant income. The cooperation of monasteries with other monasteries inside and outside Mongolia seems to have been revived

only in a small scale. In the recent years, reincarnations of Mongolian saints have been acknowledged, and the authority of Gandan has been formed better. Today, monks have significant role in the everyday life of the society, though not everybody is a Buddhist. Buddhism is part of the Mongolian identity again, and the protection of the national heritage and Buddhist values are important issues of the government. Today, 20 years after the revival, Mongolia needs better monastery facilities and financial means as well as determined and well trained monks to work for the benefit of all sentient beings.

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4. Aleksei Matveyevich Pozdneyev, *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in late 19th-century Mongolia*, edited by J.R. Krueger, *The Mongolia Society*, (Bloomington, 1978); Aleksei Matveyevich Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by J.R. Krueger, translated by J.R. Shaw and D. Plank, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1971).
5. For further details see Zsuzsa Majer –Krisztina Teleki, 'On the Current Condition of 190 Old and Present-Day Monastic Sites in the Mongolian Countryside', *Zentralasiatische Studien*, (Bonn, 2011).
6. For details, see Krisztina Teleki, 'Sources, History and Remnants of the Mongolian

- Monastic Capital City' *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques*, LXV.3, 2011, pp. 735-765; Krisztina Teleki, *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*, Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, (Ulan Baatar, 2011).
7. Zsuzsa Majer, *A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries*, PhD dissertation, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2008), p. 26. footnote 24. A Geshe Lharampa (T. *dge-bshes lha-rams-pa*, holder of the highest academic degree in Buddhist philosophy) from Drepung Losaling Monastery, the former Indian ambassador to Mongolia from 1989. As ambassador, he contributed immeasurably to the revival of Buddhist institutions in Mongolia. Apart from regular teachings in Ulan Baatar, he spent his time with travelling all over the country giving teachings. In Ulan Baatar, he founded the only temple fully residential by now" (Betüw Monastery).
 8. For details see the website of the Arts Council of Mongolia, www.mongoliantemples.net. The number of old and new monasteries, as well as the number of monks will be clear when this database will be finalised. Based on the documentation project a book was published in 2009, S. Tsendendamba, L. Lkhagwa, Sh. Soninbayar, E. Luwsanbaldan, R. Otgonbaatar, N. Amgalan (eds.), *Mongoliin süm khiidiin tüükhen towchoon* [Brief History of Mongolian Monasteries], (Ulan Bataar 2009).
 9. For details see Zsuzsa Majer-Krisztina Teleki, 'On the Current Condition of 190 Old and Present-Day Monastic Sites in the Mongolian Countryside', *Zentralasiatische Studien*, (Bonn, 2011); Krisztina Teleki, 'Building on ruins, memories and persistence: Revival and survival of Buddhism in the countryside', *Silk Road* vol. 7, (Seattle, 2009), pp. 64-73. (also www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol7/srjournal_v7.pdf).
 10. Zsuzsa Majer, *A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries*, PhD dissertation, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2008), p. 27.
 11. For further details, see Zsuzsa Majer, *A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries*, PhD dissertation, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2008); Zsuzsa Majer, 'Buddhism in Mongolia Today: Continuation or Disjuncture with the Past and the Tibetan Buddhist Tradition', *Silk Road*, vol. 7, (Seattle, 2009), pp. 51-63. (also www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol7/srjournal_v7.pdf).
 12. In the majority of temples, these texts have prescribed prices, and only in a few temples, devotees can give donations according to their own will.
 13. www.chakra.mn (Accessed on September 01, 2011).
 14. In the recent years, getting or extending Indian visa for monks is not easy.

6. MEDICAL INSTITUTION BUILDING IN INDIA: FOLLOWING THE TIBETAN CASE

Somraj Basu

Introduction

I propose to examine the unique course of development of Tibetan medical worldviews in India, which 'display variety of strategies with regard to attempts at place making' (cf. Basu 2009), to indicate the developing status of this displaced rank of population. Such attempts also help to extend the ongoing nature of their displacement. By allowing typological time, using the phrase of Johannes Fabian (23), be characterised not through binaries but a coevalness scholars have been careful in suggesting that strivings to preserve, which is referred as the 'paradigm of preservation' (cf. Diehl 2002) has been strongly present as a motive pursued by the Tibetan state in exile as much has been the reformist agenda. I would like to propose that this preserving motive for Tibetan community has also been uniquely informed by a strong appeal to define themselves in terms of how they have been imagined in the 'western accounts' (Diehl, 63). It is through a sense of appeal that the Tibetan community have been principally left to regain themselves, since 1959. After a near complete appropriation by the western accounts of the political narrative of Tibet, Tibetan self-identity building has become as much an exercise in regaining past as gratification. Romantic literatures available of such kind have some difference with those available of Indian accounts, provided by Arnold's (2009) work on 19th century British travel writing among others. There is a clear sense of what Arnold held as an improving notion in those narratives, based on strong opinions about racial purity and pollution, in which lay germane the social engineering