UC Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Buddhism Beyond the Nation and the Empire: Transnational Geluk Buddhism in Modern East and Inner Asia

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/70w5z341

Author

Duoer, Daigengna

Publication Date

2024

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

Buddhism Beyond the Nation and the Empire:
Transnational Geluk Buddhism in Modern East and Inner Asia

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Religious Studies

by

Daigengna Duoer

Committee in charge:

Professor Vesna A. Wallace, Chair

Professor José I. Cabezón

Professor Kate McDonald

Professor Xiaowei Zheng

June 2024

The dissertation of Daigengna Duoer is approved.

_____

José I. Cabezón

_____

Kate McDonald

_____

Xiaowei Zheng

_____

Vesna A. Wallace, Committee Chair

June 2024

Buddhism Beyond the Nation and the Empire:

Transnational Geluk Buddhism in Modern East and Inner Asia

Copyright © 2024

by

Daigengna Duoer

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the continuous support from my academic mentors, colleagues, friends, family, and the generosity of various funding institutions.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Professor Vesna Wallace, for her unwavering guidance and encouragement throughout my Ph.D. journey. She always firmly believed in me, even when I doubted myself. Navigating academia and its hidden curricula as a first-generation international Ph.D. student in the United States has not been easy, especially when the world was turned upside down during the COVID-19 pandemic. In these times of uncertainty and anxiety, my advisor always offered compassion and clear guidance, assuring me that I belong, championing me as I learned new skills, and connecting me to scholars and Buddhist communities around the world. Her mentorship has been incredibly invaluable, shaping both my academic path and personal growth as a junior scholar. Her wisdom, compassion, resilience, and passion for the study of Buddhism never failed to inspire me to strive for excellence while empowering others.

I am also immensely grateful to the members of my dissertation committee, Professor José I. Cabezón, Professor Kate McDonald, and Professor Xiaowei Zheng, for their insightful comments, constructive criticism, and generous advocacy. With their help, I was not only able to discover a much larger world full of fascinating histories and eye-opening intellectual debates, but I was also able to cultivate my own interests and passions with confidence. Their expertise on Tibetan Buddhist monasticism and modern East Asian history have significantly

shaped the direction and quality of my research. I am honored to have been mentored by them.

I am deeply appreciative of the financial support from the Joseph-Armand Bombardier Doctoral Scholarship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in Canada, the Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius Beyond Borders Dissertation Completion Scholarship, and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Program in Buddhist Studies Dissertation Fellowship, which provided crucial funding for me to complete the writing of the dissertation. I am greatly thankful to my Religious Studies Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara, for the Rowny Fellowship, and to the Steve and Barbara Mendell Graduate Fellowship in Cultural Literacy. These supports have made it possible for my partner and me to live and study in Santa Barbara, and for me to complete my doctoral program in a timely manner. I am grateful for the Japan Foundation and the UCSB Graduate Division for the Research Accelerator Award, the Mongolia Foundation for the Mongolia Foundation scholarship, the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation (CCKF) for the East and Inner Asia Council Grant, Stanford University for the Stanford East Asian Library Travel grant, and UCSB for the China Studies Ph.D. Student Award and the Center for Taiwan Studies Mainstreaming Taiwan Studies Graduate Research Grant. These grants and scholarships have significantly assisted me in conducting the necessary archival and field research in East Asia and the United States required for this dissertation.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to the many professors, colleagues, and friends in the Religious Studies Department, the History Department, and the East Asian Languages & Cultural Studies Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Their

mentorship, generosity, and collaboration have made this Ph.D. program enjoyable, memorable, and intellectually stimulating. I am incredibly grateful to Professor Fabio Rambelli for teaching me about Japanese religions and including me in his groundbreaking Gagaku projects; to Professor Sabine Fruhstuck for welcoming me into her mind-opening graduate seminars on modern Japanese culture; to Professor Suma Ikeuchi for her wonderful seminars on transnational Asia and invaluable advice; to Professor Thomas Mazanec for deepening my understanding of digital humanities; and to Professor Gregory Hillis for modeling what changing the world through teaching in the classroom looks like. Special thanks to my good friends and colleagues Baatra Erdene-Orchir, Michael Ium, William Chavez, Kaitlyn Ugoretz, Jed Forman, Patrick Lambelet, Uudam Baoagudamu, Mason Johnson, Mariangela Carpinteri, Yiming Ma, Kandra Polatis, Keita Moore, and many more, for their friendship.

I also benefited greatly from the guidance and support of many professor and scholars outside of UCSB. I am forever grateful for the continuous mentorship and guidance from Professors Francis Garrett, Amanda Goodman, Rory Lindsay, and Matthew King, who knew me from when I studied at the University of Toronto in Canada. They are my cherished teachers and model scholars who inspired me to initiate a career in Buddhist Studies. Special thanks to Professors Khohchahar E. Chuluu, Toshihiko Kishi, Naoji Okuyama, and Kikuko Hirafuji, for their assistance and guidance as I navigated archives, libraries, and field sites across Asia. My profound thanks to Professors Christopher Atwood, Uranchimeg Tseltemin, Johan Elverskog, Loretta Kim, Soeren Urbansky, Erik Schicketanz, Orion Klautau, Clinton Godart, Aike Rots, Ben Schonthal, Tom Ginsburg, and many more, for taking the time and effort to review my research and offer indispensable feedback.

I am deeply indebted to my family for their tireless support, love, and understanding. Without my parents' courage, determination, and countless sacrifices, I would never have been able to pursue my dreams and become the first person in my family to receive a Ph.D. degree. Without my partner's unconditional love and companionship over the past seven years, I would not have been able to navigate the ups and downs of this long journey. My deepest gratitude goes to my grandfather, whose vivid storytelling of his childhood and youth ignited my endless curiosity and passion for the study of Buddhism in Mongolia. I hope I have made him proud.

Lastly, I want to express my heartfelt appreciation for the many individuals who have contributed to this dissertation in various ways. From the librarians who helped me acquire the books that I needed to the generous people in my fields who shared their stories, I thank each of you from the bottom of my heart.

VITA OF DAIGENGNA DUOER
June 2024

EDUCATION

Honors Bachelor of Arts in Buddhist Studies, University of Toronto, November 2012
Master of Arts in Buddhist Studies, University of Toronto, November 2017
Doctor of Philosophy in Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2024 (expected)

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2018-2023: Instructor of Record and Teaching Assistant, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara

PUBLICATIONS

"Thoughts on the University of Toronto's Department for the Study of Religion's Buddhist Studies Numata Reading Group with Dr. Constantino Moretti." *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 11 (2016): 56–59.

"From 'Lama Doctors' to 'Mongolian Doctors': Regulations of Inner Mongolian Buddhist Medicine under Changing Regimes and the Crises of Modernity (1911-1976)." *Religions* 10, no. 6 (2019): 373. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10060373

"Making the Esoteric Public: The Ninth Panchen Lama and the Trans-ethnonational Rituals of the Kālacakra Initiations in Early Twentieth-Century East Asia." *Acta Mongolica* 18, no. 532 (2019): 131–175.

Review of *Buddhism and Modernity: Sources from Nineteenth-Century Japan*, by Orion Klautau and Hans Martin Krämer. *Global Intellectual History*, 8:2 (2022): 241-244.

"Governing 'Lamaism' on the 'Frontier': Buddhism and Law in Early Twentieth-century Inner Mongolia." In *Buddhism and Constitutional Law*, edited by Benjamin Schonthal and Tom Ginsburg, 305–325. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

AWARDS

Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarships Program – Doctoral Scholarships, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), 2017

Rowny Fellowship, Department of Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2017

Professor Charles H. Long Memorial Award for Academic Achievement in the Study of the History of Religions, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2019

Japan Foundation and University of California, Santa Barbara Graduate Division Research Accelerator Award, 2019

Research Award, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2019

Graduate Advisor's Exceptional Service Award, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2020

Research and Dissertation Writing Award, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2020

China Studies Ph.D. Students Award, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2021

Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius Beyond Borders Dissertation Completion Scholarship, 2021

Mongolia Foundation Scholarship, The Mongolia Foundation, 2021

Wilbur M. Fridell Memorial Award for Academic Achievement in the Study of Japanese Religions, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2021

Chair's Distinguished Service Award, Religious Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2021

American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Program in Buddhist Studies Dissertation Fellowship, 2022

East and Inner Asia Council Grant (formerly known as China and Inner Asia Council Grant), Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation (CCKF), Association for Asian Studies, 2022

Center for Taiwan Studies Mainstreaming Taiwan Studies Graduate Research Grant, 2022 and 2023

Steve and Barbara Mendell Graduate Fellowship in Cultural Literacy, Walter H. Capps Center for the Study of Ethics, Religion, and Public Life at the University of California, Santa Barbara, 2023

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Buddhist Studies

Studies in Mongolian Buddhism with Professor Vesna Wallace

Studies in Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism with Professor José I. Cabezón

Studies in the transnational history of the Japanese empire with Professor Kate McDonald

Studies in the history of modern China with Professor Xiaowei Zheng

ABSTRACT

Buddhism Beyond the Nation and the Empire: Transnational Geluk Buddhism in Modern East and Inner Asia

by

Daigengna Duoer

This dissertation is a history of religion on the "peripheries" of the modern Chinese state, the Japanese wartime empire, and the Tibetan Geluk Buddhist world. Using a transnational history approach, the project uses multilingual source materials collected from archives located in China, Japan, Taiwan, and the United States and challenges traditional disciplinary categories in postwar Religious Studies and Area Studies. Focusing on interwar Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, an understudied region within the postwar academic disciplines of Buddhist Studies and Areas Studies, my dissertation explores the history of transnational Buddhist networks in the region that both supported and challenged the nation-building and empire-building efforts of modern China and Japan (1912-1949). The specific temporal scope of this project is between the fall of China's multi-ethnic Qing Empire in 1912, and the retreat of the Chinese Nationalists and their Republican government to Taiwan in 1949 after their defeat in the Chinese Civil War. This period also saw the rise and fall of the Japanese Empire in 1945 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. During this period, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, the continental regions of Northeast Asia and the "frontiers" of the Qing Empire, became the new "borderlands" that both the modern Chinese Nationalist Republican State and the

expanding Japanese Empire competed to take control of. The two regions were administratively disciplined through the laws of Republican China (albeit often nominally) and effectively occupied by Japanese settler colonization as well as military and industrial annexation. Both regions also eventually saw the births of two modern states, the states of Mengjiang United Autonomous Government (1939-1945) and Manchukuo (1931-1945), although both are often referred to as "puppet states" of the Japanese Empire. At the same time, local Buddhists, both monastic and lay, in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria positioned themselves differently and beyond the spatial and temporal limits of the modern nation and empire. Using Buddhist networks connecting Manchuria in the East to Tibet in the West that have existed since the eighteenth century, Buddhists negotiated agency and mobility in this volatile interwar period marked with various crises of modernity. In this dissertation, I identify three types of Buddhist networks operating in early twentieth-century Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, namely, 1) a transregional Inner and East Asian monastic and intellectual network formed in the Qing period, 2) border-crossing Buddhist networks informed by old lineages in Inner Asia and new patronage in modern China that responded to Buddhist sacred geography, historiography, and apocalyptic time, and 3) transnational networks paved by Japanese Buddhists and Mongol monks that promoted an Esoteric Buddhist Pan-Asianism in the Japanese wartime empire. I argue that these Buddhist networks not only engaged in various overlapping nation-building and empire-building projects in the interwar geopolitical landscape of Northeast Asia, but they offered cross-border access to Buddhist and non-Buddhist individuals to exercise agency and mobility to extend and maintain landscapes of their own that challenged the spatial-temporal orders of the modern nation-states and empires.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction 1

A. Introducing the Topic and Research Questions 1

B. Literature Review and Conversations in the Field(s) 4

C. Contributions to the Field 15

D. Chapter Overview 18

II. Mapping the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist Network in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria 21

A. Becoming A Part of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist World 21

B. Formation of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist Network in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria 26

C. Mapping the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in the Early Twentieth Century 38

D. A Changing Landscape 61

III. Governing "Lamaism" on the Frontiers of the Nation and Empire 68

A. Making Sense of "Lamaism" for the Nation and the Empire 69

B. Qing Regulation of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia 76

C. Republican China's Regulations of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia 78

D. Manchukuo Regulations of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia 84

E. Mengjiang Regulations of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia 90

G. Situating "Lamaism" in a Time and a Place.....98

IV. Performing Tantric Rituals to Save the Nation.....102

A. Making the Esoteric Rituals Public.....102

B. The 9th Panchen Lama (1883-1937) in Exile.....107

C. The Lama and His Rituals.....114

D. Of Old and New Lineages and Alliances.....136

E. "Lost Tantras" and Esoteric Rituals to Save the Nation.....142

F. Making the Esoteric Rituals Public.....151

G. Esoteric Rituals as Places for Public Discourse.....157

H. Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism in Transition.....161

V. Towards an Esoteric Pan-Asianist Buddhism.....166

A. "Manchuria-Mongolia" as the "Lifeline" of the Empire.....168

B. Knowing "Lamaism" for Japan's Continental Policies.....173

C. The Great Ideological Wall of the "Lamaist Sphere".....178

D. Towards a Buddhist Pan-Asianism.....181

E. Solving the "Lama Problem" through Transnational Monastic Reform.....187

F. Educating Mongol Lamas to Form the "Great Wall of Esoteric Buddhism".....189

G. Lamas Adrift in the Currents of Changing Times.....206

VI. Conclusion.....218

References:.....225

Appendix: A List of Buddhist Monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria 238

I. Introduction

A. Introducing the Topic and Research Questions

As one of the world's major religions, Buddhism has long been transregional, transnational, and global. Contrary to the popular *imaginaire* in the West, Buddhism has never been a tradition solely dedicated to meditational practices in solitude. Amongst the Inner Asian Buddhist traditions of Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria, Buddhists actively took part in the political lives of their local societies and sustained various types of alliances with the ruling elites throughout history. In the early twentieth century, these Inner Asian Buddhists even became highly engaged with transnational geopolitics and empire-making on a global stage. This is particularly true in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, regions described by Owen Lattimore as a "cradle of conflict" sandwiched between the expansionist ambitions of Republican China, the Japanese Empire, and the Soviet Union.

Focusing on interwar Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, an understudied region within the postwar academic disciplines of Buddhist Studies and Areas Studies, this dissertation explores the history of transregional and transnational Buddhist networks in the region that went beyond the nation-building and empire-building efforts of modern China and Japan (1912-1949). I argue that these Buddhist networks not only engaged in various overlapping nation-building and empire-building projects in the interwar geopolitical landscape of Northeast Asia, but they exercised agency and mobility to extend and maintain landscapes of their own that challenged the spatial-temporal orders of the modern nation-states and empires.

This dissertation is a history of religion on the "peripheries" of the modern Chinese state, the Japanese wartime empire, and the Tibetan Geluk Buddhist world. Using a transnational history approach, the dissertation uses multilingual source materials collected from archives located in China, Japan, Taiwan, and the United States and challenges traditional disciplinary categories in postwar Religious Studies and Area Studies, such as "Tibetan Buddhism," "Mongolian Studies," "Modern Chinese History," and "Modern Japanese History."

By "transnational," I mean two things. First, by locating religion on these disputed "peripheries," the dissertation bypasses national discourses and highlights the limits of using national categories to study religious networks, which Buddhists often tapped into to exercise agency and mobility during wartime. Second, by tracing religious networks that operated on and beyond the infrastructures of the modern nation and empire, this project engages with recent scholarships on Asian forms of colonialism and highlight modern China and Japan's empire-building at their "ethnic frontiers," but also approach the expansion of Buddhist networks as a kind of religious empire-building in its own right. The target audience of this project is thus diverse – it would converse not only with scholars of Buddhism and modern Asia, but also with anyone interested in the relationship between religion and colonialism.

The specific temporal scope of this project is between the fall of China's multi-ethnic Qing Empire in 1912, and the retreat of the Chinese Nationalists and their Republican government to Taiwan in 1949 after their defeat in the Chinese Civil War. This period also saw the rise and fall of the Japanese Empire in 1945 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. During this period, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, the continental regions of Northeast Asia and the "frontiers" of the

Qing Empire, became the new "borderlands" that both the modern Chinese Nationalist Republican State and the expanding Japanese Empire competed to take control of. Since Outer Mongolia (today's nation of Mongolia) declared political independence from the Qing and the rest of China in 1911, Inner Mongolia in the south and its adjacent region of Manchuria became not only a literal battleground for the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), but also a theater for modern China's multi-ethnic nation-building and Japan's Pan-Asianist empire-building projects. The two regions were administratively disciplined through the laws of Republican China (albeit often nominally) and effectively occupied by Japanese settler colonization as well as military and industrial annexation. Both regions also eventually saw the births of two sovereign modern states, the states of Mengjiang United Autonomous Government (1939-1945)[1] and Manchukuo (1931-1945), although both are often referred to as "puppet states" of the Japanese Empire.

However, local Buddhists, both monastic and lay, in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria positioned themselves differently and beyond the spatial and temporal limits of the modern nation and empire. Using Buddhist networks connecting Manchuria in the East to Tibet in the West that have existed since the eighteenth century,[2] Buddhists negotiated agency and mobility in this volatile interwar period marked with various crises of modernity.

---

[1] Formed in 1939 under the Inner Mongol prince Demchugdongrub (1902-1966), the name of the regime is *Monggol-un obertegen jasakhu kholbogatu jasag-un ordon*. Also often known as Mengjiang 蒙疆 in Chinese and Mōkyō 蒙疆 in Japanese. The regime bordered Manchukuo and consisted of the central part of Inner Mongolia, with its capital city in Kalgan.

[2] Scholars such as Brenton Sullivan and Wu Lan have recently published on these early modern transregional Buddhist networks that extended from Tibet to Manchuria beginning in the eighteenth century. See Brenton Sullivan, *Building a Religious Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021) and Lan Wu, *Common Ground: Tibetan Buddhist Expansion and Qing China's Inner Asia* (Columbia University Press, 2022).

B. Literature Review and Conversations in the Field(s)

Although Buddhism in Mongolia has a robust history and has developed diverse local practices, it has not received the sufficient scholarly attention that it deserves. Until recently, Buddhism in Mongolia has often been glossed in socialist and non-socialist scholarship alike as being a passive recipient and somewhat "degenerate" outpost for the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. In addition to being marginalized vis-à-vis the study of Tibetan Buddhism, the study of Mongolian Buddhism has been further limited by nineteenth-century hierarchies of religious sophistication, which privilege canonical Buddhist traditions to localized practices, and by social evolutionist projections about nomadic culture.

There has been a number of remarkable scholarly works published in recent years to correct these views (e.g. Elverskog 2006; Wallace et al. 2015; King 2019; Uranchimeg 2020).[3] Most of these works center on Mongolian Buddhism during the Qing period (e.g. Elverskog 2006), or on the developments in Outer Mongolia, the northern half of traditional Mongolia that fell under Soviet control after declaring independence from China in 1912 (e.g. King 2019). Amongst the works published in English in the United States that do center on Inner Mongolia, they generally tend to focus on single case studies of monastic culture[4] or

---

[3] Such as Johan Elverskog's *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism, And the State in Late Imperial China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), Vesna Wallace et al.'s *Buddhism in Mongolian History, Culture, and Society* (Oxford University Press 2015), Matthew King's *Ocean of Milk, Ocean of Blood: A Mongolian Monk in the Ruins of the Qing Empire* (Columbia University Press, 2019), and Uranchimeg Tsultemin's *A Monastery on the Move: Art and Politics in Later Buddhist Mongolia* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2020).

[4] Such as Robert J. Miller's *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (Asiatische Forschungen 2) (Harrassowitz,1959) and Caroline Humphrey and Hurelbaatar Ujeed's *A Monastery in Time: The Making of Mongolian Buddhism* (University of Chicago Press, 2013).

describe Buddhism in Mongolia with a "timelessness" that overlooks the tradition's active responses to modernity, nation-building, and empire-building. Li Narangoa's studies on Japanese imperialism, Chinese colonialism, and Mongolian Buddhism (2009)[5] highlight issues of modernity, although her work concentrates more on Japanese colonial policies and the activities of Japanese missionary Buddhism in Inner Mongolia.

Inner Mongolia's close neighbor, Manchuria, in comparison, has been the topic of discussion in many recent academic publications in Chinese and Japanese studies.[6] Most of these studies are interested in issues of Japanese colonialism and empire-building ,[7] or in social life and memory.[8] In the works that explore religion in Manchuria, they similarly tend to focus on premodern Buddhism in the Qing.[9] Thomas DuBois' 2017 study[10] of religion in twentieth-century Manchuria was one of the first attempt to situate religion in the region

[5] Li Narangoa, "Mongol Nationalism, Chinese Colonialism, and Japanese Imperialism in Inner Mongolia, 1936-1945." In Peter Schweiger (ed.), *Zentral-Asiatische Studien 38,* 2009 [Central Asian Studies 38, 2009]. International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, Halle, pp. 227-251.

[6] Such as Louise Young's *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (University of California Press, 1999) and Prasenjit Duara's *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

[7] Such as Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka's *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932* (Harvard University Asia Center 2003) and Bill Sewell's *Constructing Empire: The Japanese in Changchun, 1905—45* (University of British Columbia Press 2019).

[8] Such as Mariko Tamanoi's *Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan* (University of Hawai'I Press 2009).

[9] Such as Phillipe Foret's *Mapping Chengde: A Qing Landscape Enterprise* (University of Hawai'I Press 2000).

[10] Thomas D. Dubois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia: Manchuria 1900-1949*, (Cambridge University Press 2017).

within a transnational and even global context, albeit largely limited to the interactions between Manchuria and the Japanese Empire.

The state of the field is thus highly divided when it comes to the topic of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. Although Inner Mongolia and Manchuria have historically been an organic region with shared political fates and cultural practices, they either remain unexplored territories in Buddhist studies vis-à-vis Tibetan Buddhism or Chinese Buddhism or are separated in the postwar disciplinary categories of Inner Asian studies and East Asian studies within Western academia. Lying outside of the conceptual and academic categories of "China," "Tibet," and "Japan," Inner Mongolia and Manchuria are the doubly marginalized "Other" in academia.

Although there is a long history of western scholarship on the topic of pre-modern Mongol empires, there is relatively less secondary academic material published in English on the topic of Mongolian Buddhism, let alone Buddhism in modern Inner Mongolia. The earliest of such published works is perhaps by Robert J. Miller, an anthropologist at the University of Wisconsin. He contributed three chapters and co-authored four others in the book *Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region* (1956), edited by the Sinologist at the University of Washington, Helmut Wilhem. This book is a general introduction to the history and culture of the recently founded Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia under the People's Republic of China and contains mentions of the history Buddhism in the region. In 1959, Miller published his monograph *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia*, in which he combined data drawn from field reports and studies in Chinese, Japanese, and Russian, and new readings of archival sources that he had found, especially of Christian missionaries and the accounts of their travels in Inner Mongolia at the

beginning of the twentieth century. For Miller, the Buddhist monasteries were largely studied as sedentary religious structures and he emphasized that "…the monastic system contributed toward a condition which the Mongols of the time needed – a condition of stability and security as against the tradition mobility and chance." This view that prioritizes and hierarchizes the sedentary over the mobile when studying Mongolian Buddhism is still echoed in much Western scholarship produced today.

For a few decades, Miller was really one of the very few Western scholars interested in Buddhism in modern Inner Mongolia,[11] however, even he turned away from the topic in the later years of his research to focus on Indic Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism. It was not until the late 1990s that the topic became the center of academic interest again. Studied from the disciplinary point of view of anthropology, the combined research and fieldwork efforts of British scholar Caroline Humphrey and Inner Mongolian scholar Hurelbaatar Ujeed culminated in the groundbreaking work *A Monastery in Time: The Making of Mongolian Buddhism* (2013). Based on collected data such as oral histories and interviews from their frequent collaborated fieldwork trips since 1992, this book is one of the first books to introduce Mongolian Buddhism, specifically Inner Mongolian Buddhism as local and unique religious phenomena different from Tibetan Buddhist traditions and Buddhist traditions from the Mongolian People's Republic, or the northern half of Mongolia. The focus of their research is the Mergen Monastery, one of the few monasteries in the world that still uses the

[11] Paul V. Hyer was another scholar who wrote on Buddhism in modern Inner Mongolia, especially their relationship with Japanese colonial policy. See his dissertation and published article on the topic: Paul V. Hyer, "Lamaist Buddhism and Japanese Policy in Mongolia" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1953), and Paul V. Hyer. "Politics and Religion in Inner Mongolia: Japan's Plans for the 9th Jebtsundamba 'Living Buddha,'" *The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs*, no. 1 (2013): 64-74, https://doi.org/10.5564/mjia.v0i17.82.

Mongolian language for their religious practices as opposed to using Tibetan, the *lingua franca* of Buddhism across Buddhist Inner Asia. By centering on the Mergen tradition, Humphrey and Ujeed are thus able to discuss issues of religious, political, and ethnic identities in the tradition of Inner Mongolian Buddhism, which are discussions that have been long overdue in the field.

Isabelle Charleux, director of research at the National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris, France, is another scholar that has published on the topic of Inner Mongolian Buddhism. Based on her article published in 2003 entitled, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," Charleux expanded her study into Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia in the form of fieldwork and digitalization of collected data. The rich results of her fieldwork culminated in a groundbreaking catalogue of both historical and extant Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia in the volume *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure*.[12] She made great efforts to recover comprehensive data on the monasteries and she accompanied her book with a CD-ROM that contains high-resolution photographs of the monasteries that are still standing. Using mostly Mongolian and Chinese sources, she was able to situate the monasteries in a larger inter-Asian history.

Recently there has been a small but significant increase of interest in the topic of Mongolian Buddhism, this time not from the disciplines of anthropology nor history but from the perspectives of religious studies. Led by Vesna Wallace, the edited volume *Buddhism in Mongolian History, Culture, and Society* came out in 2015 and showcases a wide array of scholarship from both Western (European and American) scholars as well as Mongolian

[12] Isabelle Charleux, *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006).

scholars. The volume covers diverse topics from Mongolian monastic education to the status of Chingghis Khan in modern Mongolian Buddhist pantheons. In the year before this volume came out, Matthew King of the University of Toronto completed his doctoral dissertation on modern Mongolian Buddhism, which is partially featured in the said volume under the chapter "Modernities, Sense-Making, and the Inscription of Mongolian Buddhist Place." King's dissertation is entitled "Writing True Places in the Twilight of Empire and the Dawn of Revolution: The Buddhist Historiography of the Mongol Zawa Damdin Lubsangdamdin (1867-1937)" and examines the history and historiography of the Khalkha monk. Utilizing methods from literary analysis and discourse analysis, King's dissertation is not only a thematic breakthrough in the field of Mongol Studies, but also an innovation of the application of different theoretical methods in examining Mongolian Buddhism as discursive. Matthew King's dissertation on Zawa Damdin Lubsangdamdin was later published as *Ocean of Milk, Ocean of Blood: A Mongolian Monk in the Ruins of the Qing Empire* (2019), where he challenged the usual "state-centric version of events" that neatly periodizes the marginalization of religious life in the post-Qing world. Instead, he reveals the Mongolian monk's creative agency and a "desperate innovation of intellectual life in monastic colleges" that goes beyond the confines of the modern and the nation. This monograph highlights the "countermodern" and provides an urgently needed approach to expose the multivocal and even paradoxical qualities of power, knowledge, and historicity.

Due to ideological differences, secondary scholarship in Chinese on the topic of Mongolian Buddhism tend to take very divergent approaches as compared to contemporary Western scholarship. It is almost impossible to see scholarship produced in China, especially after 1949 with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, to make any claims

about the region of Inner Mongolia as politically and religiously independent. Writings about the Buddhist traditions in Inner Mongolia often emphasize "ethnic unity" and more recently, "Sinicization," marginalizing local Mongolian practices in the service of the hegemony of Han-centric Chineseness. Discussions about Buddhism and religions in general in China are still very much informed by Marxist lenses. As a result, Buddhism as an institution in Inner Mongolia is often portrayed in Chinese language scholarship as "corrupt," "backwards," and the reason for the "fallen legacies of the Mongol Empire" – in other words, brushing off Buddhism as counter to economic growth and social progress. These tendencies are equally present in almost all secondary scholarships on the matter produced in the Chinese language, regardless of the scholar's ethnicity.

Since the 1980s, there has been a slow increase in the attention to the topic of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia which brought forth works such as Delege's *Mongolian Lamaism in the Yuan*[13] (1985). Delege introduces the history of Buddhism as recorded in Mongolian sources during the Yuan dynasty in this book and uses it to form a foundation for his later and more comprehensive history of Mongolian Buddhism, *History of Lamaism in Inner Mongolia*[14] (1998), in which he provides a detailed anthology of the development of Buddhism from its first inception in Mongolia to the post-Cultural Revolution present. In this unprecedented volume, Delege argues for the unique place of Mongolian Buddhism:

[13] Delger (Delege 德勒格). *Yuwan Ulus-Un Üy-E-Yin Mongġol-Un Lama-Yin Šasin* Angqaduġar keb ed. (Kökeqota: Öbör mongġol-un arad-un keblel-un qoriy-a, 1989).

[14] Delege 德勒格, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi* 内蒙古喇嘛教史 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1998).

> "After the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism into the Mongol regions, it has been at war with shamanism – the indigenous religion of the Mongols. Gaining supports from wealthy and influential patrons, Buddhism won over shamanism; however, Buddhism has also adapted and absorbed from shamanism to form unique customs and rituals distinctive of the Mongols, for this reason, Inner Mongolian Buddhism shares similarities with Tibetan Buddhism however it also has localized and regionalized characteristic."[15]

Another of such scholar is Qiaoji, who produced works such as *History of Mongolian Buddhism*[16] (2008) and *Monasteries in Inner Mongolia*[17] (2003). In these works, Qiaoji turns his focus to the history of Buddhism of the Mongol Empire (1206-1271), the Yuan periods (1271-1634), and the Qing (1636-1911). Apart from scholars such as Delege and Qiaoji, some scholars have questioned since the 1980s the validity of terms like "Mongolian Buddhism" or "Inner Mongolian Buddhism," and argued that these terms should be replaced by the umbrella term of "Tibetan Buddhism" instead. However, scholars such as Delege and Qiaoji see localized change and adaptation of Buddhism in the Mongolian societies and maintain their usage of the terms "Mongolian Buddhism" and "Mongolian Lamaism."

After the 2000s, a few other works on the topic of Mongolian Buddhism were published with new thematic and period-specific interests instead of the general histories of

[15] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi,* p. 2.

[16] Qiaoji 喬吉, *Menggu fojiao shi* 蒙古佛教史 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 2008).

[17] Qiaoji 喬吉, *Neimenggu simiao* 内蒙古寺庙 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1994).

the 1980s. In 2004, Delege published *Modern History of Inner Mongolian Lamaism*[18] (2004), which is a monograph dedicated specifically to the modern and contemporary periods of Mongolian Buddhism. Although this monograph is essentially an expanded version of the last chapters of his previous book *History of Lamaism in Inner Mongolia* (1998), the fact that he included the modern period shows that Chinese language scholarship on the topic of Mongolian Buddhism has certainly developed since the 1980s with more finely tuned scholarly focuses.

In 2013, Huricha published *Studies on the Management Systems of Mongolian Monasteries in the Qing*[19] (2013), which is a monograph that is a first in its kind on the topic of Buddhist monastic economies during the Qing. In this book, Huricha took advantage of the newly translated and opened historical archives from Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu sources to reveal a comprehensively detailed representation of monastic economy. Accompanied also by Japanese primary sources from the modern era, Huricha was able to reconstruct intricate systems of monastic management in the Qing Mongolian monasteries which offered concrete proofs that Mongolian Buddhism did indeed operate in unique ways that were drastically different from those of the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist traditions.

Compared to growing interest in Mongolian Buddhism in the West, there have not been many publications on the topic in the Chinese language since the 1980s. Of the ones available, many focus on general histories of historical Buddhism and Buddhist practices in the modern period are carefully described in politically correct Marxist language. Many of

---

[18] Delege 德勒格 and Wuyun Gaowa 烏雲高娃 eds., *Neimenggu lamajiao jinxiandaishi* 内蒙古喇嘛教近现代史 (Hohhot: Yuanfang chubanshe, 2004).

[19] Huricha 胡日查, *Qingdai menggu simiao guanli tizhi yanjiu* 清代蒙古寺庙管理体制研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning chubanshe, 2013)

the scholarly works on Mongolian Buddhism published recently and especially in the form of journal articles also tend to share the same sources in Chinese secondary scholarship, such as those mentioned above. New discoveries of primary sources in other languages, new uses of presently available primary sources, and new theoretical approaches are still yet to be seen.

Japanese secondary scholarship on the topic of Inner Mongolian Buddhism can be roughly divided into two categories: one, scholarship composed by Inner Mongolian scholars of Japanese institutions writing in the Japanese language; two, Japanese scholars writing about Inner Mongolian Buddhism from the perspective of the Manchuria-Mongolia (*manmō*) histories.

Interestingly, many Inner Mongolian scholars who focus their research on the topic of Inner Mongolian Buddhism or history tend to study and publish in Japan, especially since the 1990s. There is a comparably larger number of such scholars as compared to the number of scholars working on the same topic publishing in the Chinese language in China. The main divide between the two groups seems to be political ideology and methodology. For example, most of these Inner Mongolian scholars publishing in Japan do not operate under Marxist critiques of religion and tend to study religion through history, anthropology and sociology and in larger historical and political contexts. Buddhism is often not the main topic of study, as it might be in Japanese Buddhology, rather, Buddhism as an institution is often studied under the larger focus of modern Mongolian political movements and Japanese imperialist expansions. An example is *Waving Japanese Swords Toward Tibet: A Modern History of Mongolian Cavalry*[20] (2014) by Inner Mongolian scholar Yang Haiying. This monograph

[20] Haiying Yang 楊海英, *Chibetto ni mau nihontō: mongoru kihei no gendaishi* チベットに舞う日本刀:モンゴル騎兵の現代史 (Tokyo: Bungeishunjū, 2014).

explores the role Tibetan Buddhism plays in the military history of the Inner Mongols and the Inner Mongolian riders' roles in the persecution of Tibetan Buddhism staged by the Chinese Communist Party during the 1950s invasion of Tibet. Studies such as this one offer unique approaches to the available primary sources and demonstrate potentials for increasing inter-disciplinary and trans-national studies of Buddhism.

In Japanese scholarship produced by Japanese scholars on the topic of Inner Mongolian Buddhism, there has not been many major works published since World War II. Pre-war scholarship on the topic were often funded by imperialist and colonial projects and they tend to take on the style of pre-war European archaeology and anthropology. However, in the post-war eras and especially since the 2000s, there has been a growing interest in the political histories of the *manmō* region in Japanese scholarship and many such works were produced focusing on policy-makings, militarization, and colonialization. Mongolian Buddhism, again, are not given much priority and agency in these studies, however, new approaches to the study of policies made towards Buddhism offer useful insights into the changing attitudes towards religion in the modern era. An example is Suzuki Nirei's *Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia: From Manmō Policies to the Ruling of the Hinggan Province*[21] (2012). This monograph focuses on the Japanese policies imposed upon Manchuria and Inner Mongolia and how that changed from before the establishment of Manchukuo to after when East Inner Mongolia became the province of Kōan (M: Hinggan) in Manchuria. Suzuki aims to recover in this book the perspective of the Mongols living in the mentioned regions during the time on the said policies. This volume provides another

[21] Nirei Suzuki 鈴木仁麗, *Manshūkoku to Uchi Mongoru: Man-mō seisaku kara Kōan-shō he* 満州国と内モンゴルー満蒙政策から興安省統治へ (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2012).

detailed and in-depth analysis of policies and government during the Japanese imperial rule and offers yet another theoretical approach to the Japanese legal documents produced during this era concerning Inner Mongolia.

C. Contributions to the Field

My solution to the above-mentioned problems is to center and map the robust Buddhist presence in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. In this dissertation, my method does not limit itself to looking at Buddhism within imagined geographical borders of nations and empires, nor within imagined linguistic and cultural confines. It recognizes the instability of such boundaries especially in the post-Qing ruins of modern Asia and on the global stage of World War II. Joining scholars like Hwansoo Ilmee Kim and Jack Meng-Tat Chia who produced groundbreaking studies recently on transnational Buddhism,[22] my project does not limit itself to a dichotomous perspective found in typical transnational studies (e.g. Tibeto-Mongolian or Sino-Japanese). Instead, my project zooms out from the geopolitics of area studies to observe diverse multiplayer Buddhist interactions and networks centering on Inner Mongolia and Manchuria that also involved Buddhist institutions and individuals from Tibet, China, and Japan.

I intend to use the regions of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria as a method and a fresh perspective through which to investigate transnational Buddhist space and movement in modern Asia. Focusing on the organic relationship between these two regions allows me to bridge the intellectual divisions between East Asian studies with Inner Asian studies. Buddhism since the Mongol Empire and the Qing Empire has already established rich

[22] See Hwansoo Ilmee Kim, *The Korean Buddhist Empire: A Transnational History 1910-1945* (Harvard University Press 2018) and Jack Meng-Tat Chia, *Monks in Motion: Buddhism and Modernity Across the South China Sea* (Oxford University Press 2020).

networks of exchange that spanned from Tibet in the West to Manchuria in the East. My project will bring to light this interconnectedness that has been fractured in areas studies and traditional Buddhist studies.

Employing diverse primary sources found in multi-lingual archives, my dissertation aims to make the following interventions and contributions to my home field of Buddhist Studies.

First, it aims to decenter the study of Mongolian and Manchu Buddhism from Tibet. I use Inner Mongolia and Manchuria as a method through which to investigate transnational Buddhist spaces and movements in modern Asia. Focusing on the organic relationship that various kinds of Buddhist traditions engaged in at the location of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria allows me to avoid nationalist narratives and bridge the intellectual divisions between East Asian studies with Inner Asian studies.

Second, building upon Matthew King's "counter-modernism" (2019),[23] I aim to add to the study of religion in the long twentieth century by challenging the "modernization theory" and highlighting counter-modern and non-modernity-centered forces in the Buddhist networks of (dis)enchanted landscapes. The Buddhists examined in my work were not always modern and modernizing ones but were instead operating in alternative temporalities that challenged the linear and evolutionary narratives of the state and the empire.

Third, this dissertation brings to the fore Asian forms of imperialism and colonialism through the study of Buddhist networks. Following Brenton Sullivan,[24] I see Buddhism,

[23] See Matthew King, Ocean of Milk, Ocean of Blood: A Mongolian Monk in the Ruins of the Qing Empire (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

[24] See Brenton Sullivan, Building a Religious Empire: Tibetan Buddhism, Bureaucracy, and the Rise of the Gelukpa (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

especially Geluk Buddhism as discussed in this dissertation, as expansionist, as well as the activities of Republican Chinese state and the Japanese Empire in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria.

Lastly, through tracing the lives and activities of individuals who traversed between the worlds of the disenchanted modern states and the enchanted Buddhist realms, this dissertation highlights the limits of the dichotomy between "collaboration" and "resistance," especially in the context of war, colonization, and heightened national sensibilities. Instead, this dissertation is interested in exploring the go-betweenness of the individual historical subjects and the grey zones that come to life under their steps.

My dissertation insists on models of transnational and transregional networks to study religion and history with the help of the tools of digital humanities. Twentieth century Inner Mongolia and Manchuria cannot be neatly separated off from the rest of Asia and the world and cannot be simply zoomed in on without considering the intimately interwoven connections the region had with its neighboring, overlapping, and occupying forces. These links and connections were part of the history of the region and crucial forces that shaped the daily encounters and experiences of their people. I use the lens of religious spatialization to challenge categories of nations, states, and ethnicities, ideas that have dominated the studies of Buddhism in modern East Asia and beyond.

In addition to space and spatialization, the dissertation also inquiries about emic time, specifically about how religion envisioned different temporalities on top of different spatializations in the early twentieth century, a time culminating in (industrial) revolutions, imperial expansions, campaigns for modernization and utopias of progress. I use religion to question assumed linear narratives and show multiple different temporalities and ways that

time was envisioned, nuancing how temporalities were discussed and why, such as in discourses of "progress" and social Darwinism versus narratives of "cyclical time" and "apocalyptic time."

D. Chapter Overview

To bring those layers of negotiations of Buddhist agency and mobility beyond the (modern) nation and the empire to the forefront, this dissertation includes the following four chapters:

Laying the conceptual and spatial groundwork, Chapter II explores how Inner Mongolia and parts of Manchuria were integrated into the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist world and the establishment of thousands of monasteries and hubs across these regions in the Qing (1644–1911). By mapping out some of these monasteries and associated hubs within the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network using data collected from recent archaeological research done by a team of scholars in Inner Mongolia led by Pengju Zhang, the chapter will analyze their operations, dissemination, and the changing landscape from the late Qing Dynasty through the first half of the twentieth century under Chinese and Japanese administrations. The maps featured in this chapter were created via Esri's ArcGIS software.

Even before the Qing Empire's collapse in 1912, Inner Asian Buddhism and its expansive network were already becoming an object of colonial knowledge production known as "Lamaism"[25] in the eyes of modern Chinese and Japanese state makers. With the establishment of the Republican Chinese state in 1912 and the realization of Japanese Empire's *de facto* occupation in Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia in the 1932, attempts

[25] Referred to as *lamajiao* 喇嘛教 in Chinese and *ramakyō* 喇嘛教・ラマ教 in Japanese.

to regulate and discipline the so-called "Lamaism" began to take form. In Chapter III, we will examine how the Chinese and Japanese-supported regimes of Republican China, Manchukuo, and the Inner Mongolian Mengjiang government attempted to regulate Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in the early twentieth century. This chapter is followed by two case studies of how Inner Asian Buddhists exercised transnational mobility both within and beyond these state disciplines.

In Chapter IV, the first case study follows the 9th Panchen Lama (1883-1937) and his Buddhist network-making through public tantric rituals across traditional Buddhist Inner Asia and beyond in response to modern China's esoteric Buddhist revival movements. In the precarious ruins of post-Qing East Asia, the 9th Panchen Lama in exile performed nine large-scale public rituals in places where religious and political capitals were highly saturated to maintain old lineages, such as in Inner Mongolia, while enabling the forging of new alliances across borders to places like Shanghai and Hangzhou. These high-profile rituals brought international attention to the Tibetan Geluk Buddhist institution and its geopolitical value and became arenas for public discourses on religion and modernity.

In chapter V, we turn to the second case study. In this chapter, we delve into the interaction between Geluk Buddhist monks from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria with Japan, exploring their travels, studies, and involvement in Japanese Shingon Buddhists' Esoteric Pan-Asianist projects at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin (Esoteric Academy for Asia's Prosperity). While some Inner Asian Buddhists, such as the 9th Panchen Lama, sought new lineages in modern China, others hesitated to depend solely on Chinese support and looked to expand the Geluk Buddhist network outside China. At the same time, Japanese Buddhists were looking to reform and Japanize Geluk Buddhism by training the Mongol lamas to be the

future leaders of a modernized tradition that could serve as an ideological defense against Communism.

The dissertation ends with an appendix of a list of researched monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria containing their names in Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese, when applicable, as well as their locations and information on monastic population change, when possible. The data is compiled from Isabelle Charleux's 2007 study and Zhang Pengju et al.'s 2012 surveys.

II. Mapping the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist Network in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria

Before investigating how Buddhists in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria responded to the formation of new nation states and empires in the post-Qing with resources provided through the previously existing Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network, how this network was formed needs to be discussed first. In this chapter, we examine how Inner Mongolia and parts of Manchuria became a part of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist world and how monasteries and hubs were formed across the regions. Then, through mapping out these monasteries and related hubs across the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network, this chapter will examine how they functioned, how they spread, and how the landscape changed from the end of the Qing into the first half of the twentieth century under Chinese and Japanese rule.

A. Becoming A Part of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist World

The introduction of Buddhism to Mongolia can be traced back to the first millennium CE, when Buddhist ideas and material culture made their way to the Mongolian steppes from northern India and Nepal via Central Asia. However, Tibetan Buddhism would not become the dominant religious tradition both culturally and politically for the Mongols until the late thirteenth and late sixteenth centuries.

In 1246 CE, the Mongol military leader Köten Khan (1235–1247), the grandson of Chinggis Khan, forged a politico-religious alliance with the Tibetan Buddhist monk and scholar Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyeltsen (1182-1251), which solidified the Mongol Empire's subjugation of Tibet and gave the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism the Mongols'

patronage.[26] After the death of Köten Khan, the Yuan Mongol Emperor Qubilai Khan (1215-1294) appointed the Tibetan monk and leader of the Sakya school, Drogön Chogyal Phagpa (1235-1280), as state preceptor in 1261.[27] At Qubilai's court, Phagpa was tasked to design the 'Phags-pa script, a new writing system for the multilingual Mongol Empire, for which he was promoted to the position of imperial preceptor to the Mongol Khan in 1269.[28] In the late thirteenth century, Buddhism of the Sakya school enjoyed Mongol royal and elite patronage, as marked by Qubilai Khan and his queen's conversions to the tradition. However, with the decline in power and wealth of the Mongol court into the fourteenth century, this patronage relationship weakened, leading to the dwindling of Buddhism in Mongolia, allowing indigenous shamanist practices to regain prominence.[29]

Another Mongol-Tibetan politico-religious alliance occurred again in the late sixteenth century, this time between Altan Khan (1571-1582) of the Tümed Mongols and the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism, which had already emerged as the dominant Buddhist school in Tibet and Inner Asia after Je Tsongkhapa's (1357-1419) founding of the tradition in the early fifteenth century.[30] In this relatively new Buddhist tradition in Tibet, Tsongkhapa and his disciples developed and institutionalized comprehensive and influential systems of

[26] Michael K. Jerryson, *Mongolian Buddhism: The Rise and Fall of the Sangha* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2007), p. 14

[27] Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolian and the Mongol Empire* (Facts on File, 2004), p. 437.

[28] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolian and the Mongol Empire*, p. 437.

[29] Jerryson, *Mongolian Buddhism*, p. 17.

[30] Jerryson, *Mongolian Buddhism*, p. 18.

Buddhist thoughts and practices which spread through the rapid growth of new monasteries in Tibet and later across Mongolia. Known for a strict adherence to monastic discipline and scholastic learning, the Geluk monasteries became major centers of knowledge production in Mongolia, providing Tibetan and Buddhist education for the Mongols that influenced many aspects of Mongolian culture, from language to historiography. The momentous forging of this new Mongol-Tibetan Buddhist alliance took place in 1576, when Altan Khan met with the Tibetan Buddhist scholar Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588), the then leader of the Geluk school, in Kökenuur, and officially converted to Geluk Buddhism.[31] Under this politico-religious alliance between the two men, Altan Khan identified himself as the reincarnation of Qubilai Khan, and Sonam Gyatso would become the first to be named "Dalai Lama" (technically as the third Dalai Lama), with his two incarnation predecessors named retrospectively as the first and second Dalai Lamas.[32] After Altan Khan's death, the fourth Dalai Lama was found within his family, and subsequent reincarnations of the Tibetan Geluk scholar Sonam Gyatso have continued to this day, currently embodied in the world famous 14th Dalai Lama.[33]

If the first conversion of the Mongols to Tibetan Buddhism under the Sakya school can be said to have set a model for Mongol-Tibetan relation based on Mongolian imperial patronage of Tibetan Buddhist lineages, then the second conversion of the Mongols to Geluk Buddhism can perhaps be understood as setting a model for Mongol-Tibetan relation based not only on Mongolian imperial patronage of Tibetan Buddhist lineages, but also the creation

[31] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolian and the Mongol Empire*, p. 490.

[32] Jerryson, *Mongolian Buddhism*, p. 20.

[33] Jerryson, *Mongolian Buddhism*, p. 20.

of one. Under both waves of conversions, Tibetan Buddhist monasticism, texts, material culture, rituals, and other practices took root in Mongolian society, but it was not until in the Qing period (1644-1911) that Tibetan Buddhism, especially through the Geluk tradition and its networks of monasteries, that would become firmly integrated into Mongolian culture.

In Qing Inner Asia, the Manchu conquerors became the new imperial patrons of Geluk Buddhism and major third power in Mongol-Tibetan relations. The Manchu Emperor Qianlong not only (re)imagined himself as a Buddhist cakravartin (wheel-turning sovereign) for the empire and thus the new royal patrons of the Geluk Buddhist lineages, but also as the emanation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrî, [34] elevating the role of the Buddhist patron to new heights. Under the divide-and-conquer ruling schemes of the Qing Empire, the Mongols' military power weakened, while subjugation of the Qing project strengthened. Sechin Jagchig and Paul Hyer describes this Manchu policy in horizontal/vertical terms: "The purpose of the Manchu policy that instituted a fragmented or compartmentalized system of banners loosely held together in leagues[35] was to weaken the horizontal ties between important Mongols groups and to strengthen the vertical ties between these units and the central government in Peking."[36]

---

[34] Patricia Ann Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), p. 4.

[35] Banners (M. *khosigu,* C. 旗) and leagues (M. *aimag,* C. 盟) were administrative unites used to govern Mongolia under the Qing. The system remained the basis for local administrative units under the Republic of China and later, under the People's Republic of China.

[36] Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder: Westview Press,1979), p. 319

As many scholars of Qing-period Inner Asian Buddhism have discussed, one key tool used by the Manchu court to strengthen "the vertical ties" between the Mongols units and the central government in Beijing, as well as their rule on the Inner Asian frontiers was through the patronage of Buddhism, particularly the highly institutionalized and networked Geluk school. This proved to be highly successful in integrating the Mongols, especially the Inner Mongols who had joined the Manchu imperial project early on, into the Qing. As Johan Elverkog has shown in his study of the relationship between the Qing state, Buddhism, and the Inner Mongols, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Mongols saw Buddhism as a part of the Mongolian identity vis-à-vis the rest of the multicultural Qing: "It helped to define the Mongol *ulus*, both as an independent entity and as a part of the Qing. However, under the influence of *chos-'byung*[37] literature, Buddhism became for the Mongols in the nineteenth century no longer an element of cultural production that signaled differentiation, but its opposite. The Dharma was now the element that undergirded the structural framework of transethnic unification within the Qing."[38]

By the end of the Qing period, being Mongol in Inner Mongolia largely meant being a Geluk Buddhist in a multi-ethnic empire. However, with the fall of the Qing Empire in 1911 amidst drastically changing geopolitical landscapes, being a Geluk Buddhist in Inner Mongolia in the early twentieth century no longer implied Qing subjecthood, as issues of national identity emerges while the Buddhist institution needed to search for new patrons with reliable political resources in the ruins of a fallen empire. On the other hand, the Geluk

[37] *Chos-'byung* refers to literary works on the "origin of Buddhism" or Buddhist historiography in Tibetan.

[38] Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism, and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), p. 10.

Buddhist networks that had exploded and flourished in Inner Mongolia under Manchu patronage still connected the region to the rest of the Qing-era Geluk Buddhist world from Tibet to Manchuria, despite the interventions of new national and imperial regimes such as Republican China and the Japanese Empire.

As the following chapters (chapter 5 and 6) of this dissertation will show, despite losing the political and financial support from the Manchu patrons after the fall of the Qing empire, the Geluk Buddhist network, as exemplified by a network of monasteries, lineages, and pilgrimage routes, still functioned, and provided mobility even across newly established regional, national, and imperial boundaries. In certain cases, this networks sustained old relations, and in others, fostered new connections. Before we can enter into discussions on how Buddhist used these networks in response to a quickly changing political landscape in early twentieth-century Inner and East Asia, we need to first understand what this network looked like on the ground.

B. Formation of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist Network in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria

By the end of the Qing period, a robust network of Geluk Buddhist monasteries that spread across Inner Mongolia connecting east to Manchuria, west to Tibet, north to Khalkha Mongolia, and south to north and central China was formed. Incorporating more than a thousand monasteries and temples maintained by tens of thousands of monks, this network served as a dominant political, religious, social, and economic infrastructure for the region of Inner Mongolia for hundreds of years. This massive grid was made possible and sustained through imperial Qing patronage of Geluk Buddhism, the power of transregional Inner Asian

Buddhist and political elites, and the efforts of the laity, however often at the expense of non-Buddhist local practices and indigenous socio-economics systems.

Imperial Qing patronage of Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and adjacent Manchuria mostly took the form of court sponsorship of reincarnation lineages (M. *khubilgan*) and imperial monasteries. The Manchu emperor personally bestowed titles to the Inner Asian reincarnation lineage holders,[39] such as the Jebtsundampa and the Changkya Khutugtus, who were the most dominant lineage holders in the Geluk tradition in the Mongolian regions. Since the system began in 1691, there were eventually a total of 243 such *khubilgan,* or reincarnated lamas, with 157 in Inner Mongolia, 19 in Khalkha Mongolia, 35 in the Kokonor region in northern Amdo, and 14 in Beijing.[40] Many of these religious leaders enjoyed similar if not superior treatments from the Qing court as Mongol princes, with significant amounts of political and economic privileges conferred.

Under the administration of the Lifanyuan (Court of Colonial Affairs),[41] major *khubilgan* and lineage holders in Inner Mongolia were given the same power and endowments as *jasag,* or the non-religious rulers of Inner Mongolian administrative units in the Qing.[42] After the creation of the lama banners in 1677, a religious administrative unit uniquely applied to the Geluk Buddhist system, there were seven of such lama banners in

---

[39] Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (University of California Press, 1998), p.255.

[40] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p.255.

[41] The Lifanyuan 理藩院 was a government agency that administered affairs in the Qing empire's Inner Asian frontiers in Mongolia, Tibet, Amdo, Xinjiang, and with Russia.

[42] Delege 德勒格, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi* 内蒙古喇嘛教史 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1998), p. 159.

which religious and political authority combined in Inner Mongolia and adjacent regions.[43] Except for having military power, the *khubilgan* and their assistants in these lama banners oversaw local administrative, social, economic, and taxation affairs, in addition to all religious matters.[44] Aside from the lama banners, major monasteries on this Geluk Buddhist network across Inner Mongolia and Manchuria also assumed the dual role of religious and political authority, such as the large monasteries in Hohhot and Dolonor in Inner Mongolia, and the monasteries in Jehol and Mukden in Manchuria.[45]

Along with these political privileges came economic entitlements. Under Qing imperial patronage, the high-powered and charismatic *khubilgan* reincarnate lineage holders often became major estate holders and landowners in addition to receiving salaries from the court. The Qing court granted land, pasture, livestock, and serfs to the *khubilgan*, their lama banners, and major monasteries. In many instances, the number of assets owned by the major Geluk monasteries in Inner Mongolia surpassed those owned by the non-religious local rulers and elites.[46] For example, major monasteries across Inner Mongolia often had in their possession hundreds to thousands of *qing*[47] of land, while the other local elites mostly held

[43] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 159. The seven lama banners in Inner Mongolia were: Siretu Khural Lama Banner, Erdeni Bandida Khutugtu Banner, Zaya Bandida Khutugtu Banner, Koke Süsuketu Nomonhan Banner, Nalu Panchen Khutugtu Banner, Chagan Nomonhan Banner in Amdo, and the Jebtsundampa Khutugtu Banner in Khalkha Mongolia. See Delege, p. 160.

[44] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 160.

[45] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 160.

[46] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 161.

[47] 1 *qing* 頃 = 6.67 hectares = 16.47 acres, see Yi Wang's *Transforming Inner Mongolia : Commerce, Migration, and Colonization on the Qing Frontier* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), p. xv

tens and hundreds of *qing* of land.[48] In terms of livestock such as horses and sheep, which often encompassed the large portion of asset ownership on the Mongolian steppes, the major monasteries often had 20,000 to 50,000, while other local elites had only about 1,000-10,000.[49] Similar to the non-religious ruling elites in the area, major *khubilgan* incarnate lamas and their monasteries also owned serfs (M. *shabinar*), who lived and worked on the estates as both the lay disciples of the Buddhist monastic community and their serving subjects. For example, the *shabinar* of the Changkya Khutugtu in Inner Mongolia were once 183 households, which incorporated 1,153 individuals.[50] In a way, the Geluk Buddhist institution was not only a significant part of Mongolian society in Inner Mongolia, but it also helped create and maintain that very society. As the Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer have commented, "Lamaist Buddhism permeated all aspects of society, and a large percentage of the population was not under the direct administration of the banners, but under an ecclesiastical administration of temples and monasteries."[51]

On the other hand, imperial Qing sponsorship also meant restriction, control, and intervention in the Geluk Buddhist network spanning across Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. Under this top-down regulatory system, all monasteries in Inner Mongolia supposedly followed the regulations set by the imperial seats of power in the Forbidden Palace in

---

[48] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 161.

[49] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 161.

[50] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 162.

[51] Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, p. 333

Beijing, which were exercised through various levels of administrative institutions.[52] As an intrinsic part of the Qing's rule of the northern frontiers of the empire, the Geluk Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria were governed under the Lifanyuan, or Court of Colonial Affairs. Under this large agency that administered the affairs of the empire's Inner Asian territories, detailed administration of the Buddhist monasteries was then under the jurisdiction of the Lama Seal Office (M. *lama tamaga*) located at Dolonor and Beijing.[53] Both agencies managed the number of registered monks through fixed quotas given by the Qing court, and the names of the registered monks were kept both in the local civil government agencies and in Beijing.[54] In turn, these registered monks received certifications of monastic identity (C. *dudie*) which granted them exemption from military conscription and from taxes, in addition to funding and fuel allowances.[55]

The most notable form of Qing court intervention into the Geluk Buddhist network across Inner Asia was perhaps the establishment of the Golden Urn system, which was introduced in Qianlong Emperor's Pronouncement on Lamas (C. *lama shuo*), carved on a stele in 1792. As many scholars have commented before, this quadrilingual[56] imperial pronouncement declared that the process of selecting the reincarnations of future religious leaders of the Geluk school, such as the Dalai Lama in Tibet and the Changkya Khutugtu in

[52] Robert Miller, *Monasteries and Cultural Change in Inner Mongolia* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1959), p. 69

[53] Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, p. 333

[54] Miller, *Monasteries and Cultural Change in Inner Mongolia*, p. 69

[55] Miller, *Monasteries and Cultural Change in Inner Mongolia*, p. 69

[56] The pronouncement was inscribed in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan.

Inner Mongolia, would no longer be determined by the Inner Asian Buddhists themselves. Instead, the names of potential candidates for future incarnations of the Inner Asian Buddhist lineages would be placed in a golden urn and selected through a lottery.[57] In this way, the Qing court attempted to thwart power away from powerful Mongol (and Tibetan) descent groups by avoiding recognizing reincarnations from them.[58] For example, the direct descendants of Mongol princes and local ruling elites (such as *jasag* and *taiji*) were not allowed to be recognized as reincarnate *khubilgan.* New reincarnation lineages without precedents were prohibited as well.[59] The reality, however, as shown by recent scholarship on the usage of the golden urn by Max Oidtmann, is rather complicated and involved Tibetan and Mongol agency in attempts to consolidate their own authority.[60]

Qing sponsorship (and intervention) alone, of course, did not give birth to the shape of the expansive Geluk Buddhist network in Inner Asia. The inner workings of the Geluk Buddhist monastic institutions, which were comprised of hundreds of thousands of monks and the laity who fully supported them, were the major building blocks of Buddhist Inner Asia, centered in Inner Mongolia. As much recent scholarship on Qing Buddhist Inner Asia has shown, the story of Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia, as it was in Khalkha Mongolia and Tibet, should never be confined to a Beijing-centric narrative of top-down imperial patronage of "lamas on the frontiers." What made Geluk Buddhism and its expansive

[57] Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, pp. 34-35

[58] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p.255.

[59] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 169

[60] Max Oidtmann, *Forging the Golden Urn: The Qing Empire and the Politics and the Politics of Reincarnation in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), p. 5.

network over Inner Asia so deeply rooted in local society and resilient to political change was not imperial support from the Manchu emperors, but the interconnectedness of Geluk mega monasteries and the religious and cultural cosmos that they created through shared intricate bureaucracy and curricula across cultural and linguistic boundaries. For example, a Geluk monastery in Qing Inner Mongolia located thousands of miles away from Lhasa, the center of Tibet and Geluk Buddhism, would still operate under a consistent monastic bureaucratic system and train their monks with the same Geluk monastic curriculum as in Tibet and in Tibetan, the *lingua franca* of the Geluk Buddhist world. Qing imperial sponsorship of the Geluk school helped to expand this network, but the remarkable consistency and vitality within the Geluk network itself was made possible through consistent and uniform knowledge production by the hundreds of thousands of monks from various parts of Inner Asia and beyond.

Moving away from the Qing-centered narrative, Brenton Sullivan in his recent study of the rise and spread of the Geluk school across Inner Asia points out several reasons for Geluk Buddhism's success and expansion into places like Inner Mongolia and Manchuria from the perspective of Buddhist agency. First, by maintaining a uniform monastic institutional framework set first by Je Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) and later by the 5th Dalai Lama (1617–1682), the Geluk Buddhist institution, centered in Lhasa and operating on a comprehensive understanding of Buddhist doctrines and practices, helped to foster a common and rather ecumenical religious identity that is insulated from sectarian divisions.[61] Second, mobility of the monks across Buddhist Inner Asia, made possible through study programs (T.

[61] Sullivan, *Building A Religious Empire*, p. 2.

grwa rgyun) and pilgrimage routes between mother-child monasteries (T. *ma bu*), "both ensured a degree of uniformity among Geluk monasteries and was facilitated by that uniformity."[62] In a way, this mobility of the monks across Buddhist Inner Asia was also more than physical and spatial, as monasticism through the Geluk curriculum in the Qing also offered opportunities for upward social mobility, allowing a son of a common nomad family in places like Inner Mongolia to receive an education and obtain respected socio-economic status as a learned scholar monk. Third, through closer investigations of the monastic constitutions (T. *bca' yig*) widely used in the Geluk Buddhist monasteries to regulate, administer, and discipline all affairs, Sullivan points out that "the key to the Geluk school's expansion and staying power, in any case, is its proclivity for and excellence in bureaucracy, a feature of most empires whether conventional (political) or religious."[63] Through the exporting of Buddhist material culture, massive collections of canonized texts, and the flow of Buddhist teachers and gurus traversing through the landscapes of Inner Asia, knowledge is institutionalized in Tibet but reapplied throughout the rest of the Geluk Buddhist world in places like Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. With Qing imperial support and funding, the spread of Buddhist lineages and knowledge expanded from guru-disciple transmissions to monastery-monastery transmissions. As Sullivan puts it, "The transmission of powerful, esoteric knowledge was no longer just between a master and his select disciple(s) but between monastery and student and between monastery and monastery."[64]

---

[62] Sullivan, *Building A Religious Empire*, p. 2.

[63] Sullivan, *Building A Religious Empire*, p. 24.

[64] Sullivan, *Building A Religious Empire*, p. 90.

In a similar vein, Lan Wu, in her recent monograph on Geluk Buddhism in Qing Inner Asia also stressed Buddhist agency and creativity in addition to the story of Qing patronage of the "lamas on the frontiers." While Brenton Sullivan points out that a shared institutionalized monastic bureaucracy helped to maintain the integrity and consistency of the Geluk Buddhist network, Wu indicates the importance of "Buddhist infrastructural mechanisms" spread across Inner Asia, which include both sedentary monasteries and mobile Buddhist material culture, such as Buddhist texts, images, ideas, and intellectuals that make up the "religious knowledge network."[65] She argues that "…Buddhist infrastructural mechanisms enabled the Buddhist power to thrive. Some were mobile, like peripatetic Buddhists or portable Buddhist images; some were fixed, like monasteries and other built environments; still others moved across regions but not without elaborate planning, like Buddhist pilgrims and some truly enormous offerings."[66] Wu underlines that the Buddhist infrastructural mechanisms, like monasteries, combine with the Buddhist knowledge network in a symbiotic relationship to offer growth and expansion well beyond its center in Tibet: "The working of the infrastructures not only helped define the shape of the transregional Buddhist knowledge network but also set it in motion. These physically grounded monasteries provided the friction necessary to stabilize the mandalic structure."[67]

Both Qing imperial patronage and regulations, as well as the institutionalized Geluk Buddhist bureaucratic monastic systems discussed above, are nonetheless either Beijing-

[65] Wu, *Common Ground*, pp. 5, 18

[66] Wu, *Common Ground*, p. 18

[67] Wu, *Common Ground*, p. 18.

centered or Lhasa-centered. Concerning how the Geluk Buddhist network took shape and root in Inner Mongolia and adjacent Manchuria, it must be noted that the Mongols in the region did not always obey Qing administrative policies and blindly follow the instructions from Tibet. Monasteries across Inner Mongolia, which is a large stretch of land with much diversity, responded to Qing policies and Geluk monasticism differently. For example, the Qing mandated regulations as mentioned above were more strictly observed in the monasteries with closer relations to the Court, both geographically and in terms of lineages, such as the monasteries in Beijing, Jehol (the Qing emperor's summer palace in Manchuria), Dolonnor (where the Lama Seal Office is located), Mukden (the old Manchu capital in Manchuria), and Wutaishan (a major Buddhist pilgrimage site with imperial sponsorship).[68] As Robert Miller has pointed out, in practice, "there was less direct interference in internal affairs the farther a monastery was from the centers of control."[69] Scholars such as Caroline Humphrey and Hurelbaatar Ujeed have also shown through their research how certain Inner Mongolia monasteries, such as the Mergen monastery in the south-western part of Inner Mongolia, consistently insisted on using the Mongolian language in liturgy, instead of Tibetan, which is used throughout other parts of the Geluk Buddhist network. Other monasteries, such as the Gegen Süme in northeastern Inner Mongoila-adjacent Manchuria, have developed a long history of Mongolian Buddhist medicine unique to the region that grew out of the Tibetan Geluk Buddhist medical curriculum.[70]

---

[68] Miller, *Monasteries and Cultural Change in Inner Mongolia*, p. 69

[69] Miller, *Monasteries and Cultural Change in Inner Mongolia*, p. 69

[70] Jiamuyang Kaizhao 嘉木扬・凯朝, *Zhongguo Mengguzu diqu fojiao wenhua* 中國蒙古族地區佛教文化 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2009), p. 317.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the Geluk Buddhist network was made possible and sustained through imperial Qing patronage, the power of transregional Geluk Inner Asian Buddhist and political elites, and the efforts of the laity, however often at the expense of non-Buddhist local practices and indigenous socio-economics systems in Inner Mongolia. Evelyn Rawski noted that the monasteries in Inner Mongolia were established on sites revered in shamanist practices, the indigenous religious practices of Mongolian societies, where "traditional spirits" were coopted into the "new religion" of Tibetan Geluk Buddhism. In this way, "Tibetan Buddhist monasteries became 'the *de facto* centralized state institution' of a decentralized nomadic society."[71] Isabelle Charleux, in her fieldwork studies of the Buddhists monasteries in Inner Mongolia, has also noticed how the Geluk monasteries have turned pre-existing shamanist sites, such as mountain burial sites, caves, rocks, and woods, into reservations where it was prohibited to hunt, pasture, cut trees, build, ride horses and cultivate land.[72] In essence, Charleux reminds us, the Tibetan Geluk Buddhist institution, through its expansionist networks extending over Inner Asia and through Inner Mongolia to Manchuria, "superimposed a new sacred geography upon the old Shamanistic and Buddhist one and took possession of ancient sites.[73] At the same time, this meant that the power and religious authority of the indigenous shamans in Inner Mongolia, many of whom were women, were stripped away and replaced with the authority of the charismatic Geluk monk scholars and reincarnation, who were all men.

---

[71] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p. 254.

[72] Isabelle Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," in *The Buddhist Monastery: A Cross-Cultural Survey*, ed. Pierre Pichard, Lagirarde F., and École française d'Extrême-Orient (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2013), p. 17

[73] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 17

Such is the formation of a transregional religious network facilitated by Beijing-centered Qing imperial patronage and frontier administration, the consistency and charisma of the expansionist Geluk Buddhist monastic institution, and the faithful support of the Mongols across Inner Mongolia. This transregional Buddhist network offered the Mongols a new cosmopolitan identity in the multiethnic Qing empire, as well as mobility, both spatially and socially. Spatially, Mongols were afforded the ability to receive a cosmopolitan education, travel across the empire, and conduct pilgrimages south in China beyond the Great Wall. Socially, the Geluk Buddhist monastic network provided education, literacy, chances to form relationships and alliances with new patrons and thus upward social mobility, all through the identification with the Geluk Buddhist monastic institution. The end result, as summarized by Robert Miller, is a "hierarchical clerical organization with its own complex economic-political-ideological system, and the necessity for a sedentary life for the majority of its adherents."[74] In the next section, we will take a closer look at this "hierarchical clerical organization with its own complex economic-political-ideological system" and how the Geluk Buddhist network looked like on the ground in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria from the end of the Qing to the early twentieth century before moving onto a closer examination on how Inner Asian Buddhists navigated the changing geopolitical terrain via the infrastructures of the Geluk Buddhist network.

[74] Robert Miller, Antoine Mostaert, Martin Yang. *A Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1956, Subcontractor's monograph HRAF-60 Wash-7), p. 289

C. Mapping the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in the Early Twentieth Century

How many Buddhist monasteries were there in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria? Due to the absence of any all-encompassing official census surveys in the area produced during the Qing (when most of the sites were built), and later mass destructions of these sites through war, colonial occupation, and the Cultural Revolution, it is difficult to obtain precise numbers. Various sources have provided different numbers, but the total number of Buddhist monasteries built in the region seems to range from 1200 to 1800, with the total monastic population at these sites reaching up to 150,000.[75] The exact number of the monasteries that are still standing today after the Cultural Revolution is also unclear, but scholars have pointed out that the vast majority of the previously existing monasteries have been completely wiped out, with those barely remaining numbering approximately 100.[76] For example, only seventy-four monasteries managed to reopen for operations in 1995 after receiving national recognition from the Chinese Communist government, while twenty-seven of them were in severely damaged conditions.[77] The number of monks in the region has also drastically dwindled down to about 5000 in 1984, perhaps even less now given the fact that 3854 of these 5000 monks from 1984 were elders at the time.[78]

---

[75] Walther Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 1.

[76] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 10

[77] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 10.

[78] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 779.

For the purpose of our study, the more precise question is, how many Buddhist monasteries were there in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria at the end of the Qing in the early twentieth century? In her book *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure*, one of the first comprehensive studies of Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia, Isabelle Charleux suggests a total number of 1,354 monasteries at the beginning of the twentieth century.[79] Citing numbers from on-the-ground Japanese surveys conducted in the area in the late 1930s, contemporary Inner Mongolian historians suggest a total number 1,262 monasteries in operation at the time, with a total number of 68,688 monks.[80] This number is a combination of an 1936 survey report from the Mongolian Affairs Ministry of Manchukuo on eastern Inner Mongolia,[81] and a 1938 study of natural resources and economics of western Inner Mongolia done by the Japanese economists Jō Wakatake and Isao Hayashida.[82] It is worth noting here that while the eastern part of Inner Mongolia was under *de facto* Japanese control in the 1930s, the western part was still under the *de jure* rule of the Republican Chinese state. So, from the Chinese side, the Republican scholar Fensheng Huang's studies from 1936

[79] Isabelle Charleux, *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006), p. 125.

[80] See Zhang Zhihua 张植华, "Qingdai zhi Minguo shiqi Neimenggu diqu Mengguzu renkou kaikuang 清代至民国时期内蒙古地区蒙古族人口概况," in *Neimenggu jindaishi luncong: Di er ji* 内蒙古近代史論叢−第二輯 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 233-234; Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, pp. 452-453.

[81] Manshūkoku mōseibu chōsaka 滿洲國蒙政部調查科, *Rama-byō oyobi rama-sū* 喇嘛廟及喇嘛數 (Shinkyō: publisher unknown, 1936), p.2. This survey reports 662 monasteries and 28,985 monks in the Mongol regions within the borders of Manchukuo as of 1936.

[82] Jō Wakatake 和加竹城 and Isao Hayashida 林田勲, *Mōkyō no shigen to keizai* 蒙疆の資源と經濟 (Tokyo: Fusanbō, 1938).

reports a total of 589 monasteries and 47,174 monks in western Inner Mongolia.[83] Combining this number with the numbers from the 1936 Manchukuo government survey, we get a total number of 1,251 monasteries and 76,159 monks in the region as of 1936.

Recent archaeological fieldwork on the Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria give us a more detailed insights into the monasteries, especially their current conditions. However, since the vast majority of the previously existing monasteries have been destroyed, only a fraction is extant and can be studied. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Isabelle Charleux surveyed 156 monasteries across Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and the adjacent Amdo region.[84] Later, building upon the local histories on the various Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia compiled by the Inner Mongolian historian Tangjisi,[85] a large team of scholars from various universities in Inner Mongolia University conducted an extensive architectural survey of Buddhist monasteries and sites across Inner Mongolia, lasting six years. The result is a three-volume compendium featuring detailed information, history, architectural plans, and photographs of 110 monasteries published in 2012.[86] This body of work remains the most comprehensive study of the Buddhist monasteries in Inner

[83] Fensheng Huang 黃奮生, *Mengzang xinzhi* 蒙藏新誌 (Guangzhou: Zhonghua shuju, 1938), pp. 723-727

[84] Charleux, *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure,* p. 125.

[85] See Tangjisi 唐吉斯, *Mengguzu fojiao wenhua diaocha yanjiu* 蒙古族佛教文化調查研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2010).

[86] See Zhang Pengju ed. 張鵬舉, *Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu* 內蒙古藏傳佛教建築, Vol. 1, 2, and 3 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2012).

Mongolia to date. The volumes suggest that a total number of 1,196 monasteries existed in today's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (excluding western Manchuria). [87]

Although around 1,200 to 1,800 monasteries once marked the steppes of Inner Mongolia, due to destruction and a lack of historical sources that provide exact coordinates, only those that have been studied in recent archaeological surveys can be relatively precisely mapped. Using geospatial data provided in Zhang et al.'s 2012 survey, supplemented by Charleux's research, as well as Japanese sources from the occupation period, this chapter has mapped the 110 monasteries and their spread (see the Appendix for a list of these monasteries and their details). More intensive historical research is needed to recover the exact locations and other details of the rest of the 1,000 or so monasteries that have vanished.

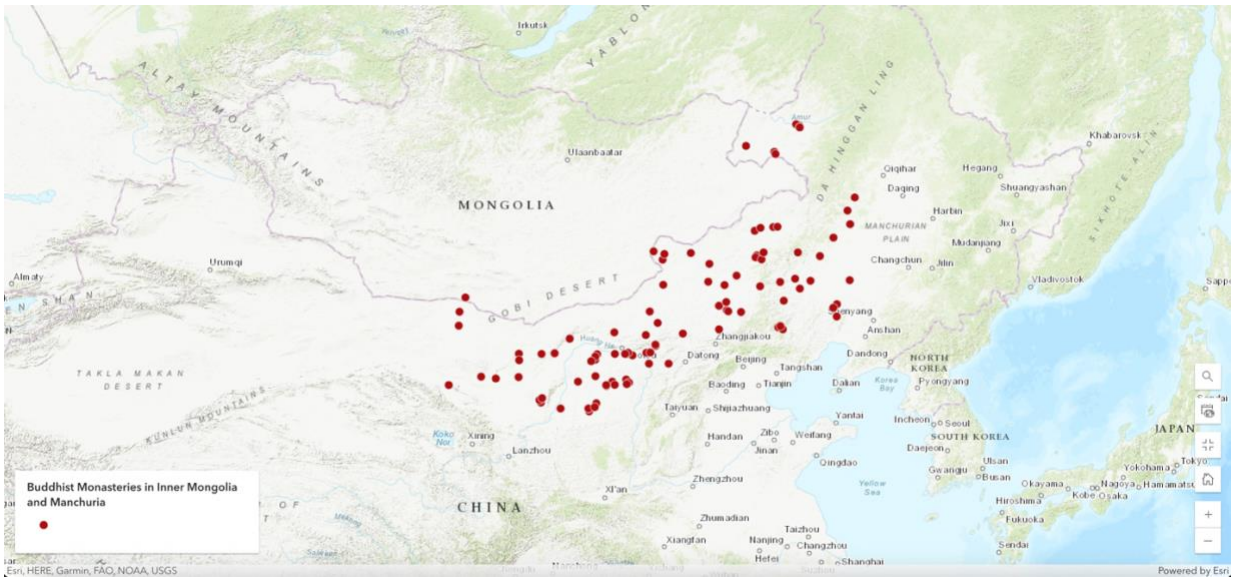


Figure 1. The spread of the 110 extant Buddhist sites in Inner Mongolia surveyed in Zhang et al. (2012). Created by Daigengna Duoer.

[87] Zhang, *Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu*, Vol. 1, p. 549

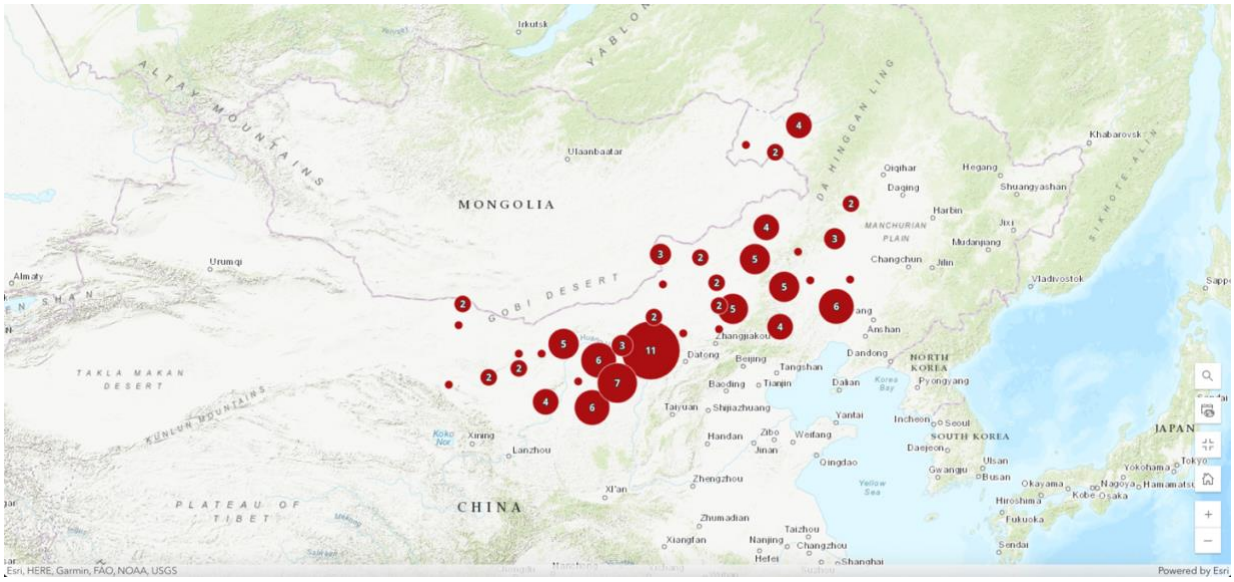


Figure 2. Density of the monasteries in Inner Mongolia based on data collected by Zhang et al. (2012). Created by Daigengna Duoer.

Buddhist monasteries were built in the Inner Mongolia region as early as in the thirteenth century. For example, it said that in Qaraqorum, the capital city of the Mongol Empire, about twenty monasteries once existed.[88] However, the majority of the monasteries in the region were not built until the Qing period, and most if not all were associated with the Geluk Buddhist school. The following chart shows the number of Buddhist monasteries (mainly Geluk monasteries) established in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria throughout different historical time periods, using their foundation dates.

[88] Tangjisi, *Mengguzu fojiao wenhua diaocha yanjiu*, p. 180.

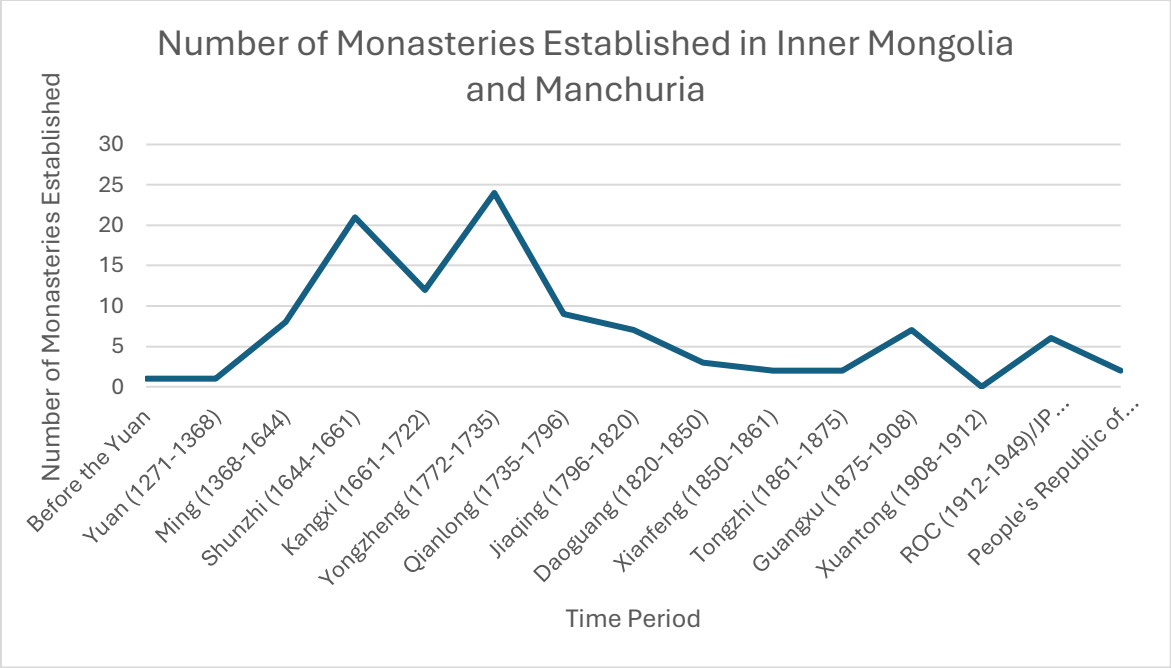


Figure 3. Number of monasteries established in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria throughout time. Created by Daigengna Duoer.

Although this chart is based on a small sample pool of monasteries that have survived, it is still interesting to see that in the Qing period, especially during the reigns between Shunzhi (1644-1661) and Qianlong (1735-1796), massive construction projects took place. It should be noted that according to Zhang et al.'s surveys, six new monasteries were established after the fall of the Qing Empire in 1911, when the Inner Mongolia region was ruled by the competing Republic of China and the Japanese Empire.[89] Three of these are associated with the Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937) and his efforts at maintaining the

[89] These are the Wanggai süme (1916), Töbed süme (1920), Rasiyan süme (1925), Sineken Süme (1928), Khalkha süme (1933), and Altan tebsi-yin süme (1938). See Appendix for details.

Geluk network in Inner Mongolia in the post-Qing, which is discussed in more details in Chapter 5.[90]

So far in this chapter, the term "monastery" has been frequently used to denote sites and spaces of Buddhist (mainly Geluk) practice. In Inner Mongolia, however, the difference between a monastery and a temple is often unclear. In Mongolian, monasteries and temples of difficult sizes and functions are given different names. Mongolian monasteries that were built in the Qing era and recorded in Qing documents were often referred to as *süme*, which are sedentary monasteries or temples sheltering a statue.[91] Sedentary monasteries of similar sizes and functions are sometimes named as *juu*, transcribed into Chinese as *zhao* 召 and is from the Tibetan *jowo* རྗོ་བོ་, which refers to the famous image of the Buddha in the Jokang temple in Lhasa.[92] There are also mobile monastic encampments such as the *küriye*, which is a yurt or a wooden temple surrounded by monks' dwellings; and the *keid* hermitages, which are rarely seen in Inner Mongolia and more common in Outer Mongolia.[93] Unlike other Buddhist societies in East Asia, nunneries never existed in Inner Mongolia, as the Qing ruler Hung Taiji prohibited women from becoming nuns in Mongolia in 1636. However, in certain cases, women sometimes took monastic vows, but they were more or less confined to the domestic environment.[94] Of the 110 monasteries recorded by Zhang et al., there are 87 sites

[90] These were the Wanggai süme (the 9th Panchen Lama visited in 1929, 1930), Rasiyan süme (name given by the 9th Panchen Lama), and Sineken Süme (created with the 9th Panchen Lama's order).

[91] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 1.

[92] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 1.

[93] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 1.

[94] Charleux, "Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia," p. 2.

named *süme,* 17 sites named *juu*, with the rest of the sites surveyed named either *khural* (a monastic congregation), or *keid.*



Figure 4. Beise-yin süme (C. Beizi miao) in Shilinhot, a well-known Geluk monastic education center in Inner Mongolia. Photo by Daigengna Duoer, 2017.

These monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria can further be categorized according to their functions. Robert Miller describes the monasteries as either sangha or dharma.[95] Monasteries that are of the sangha type were often built and sponsored by the local elites and imperial edicts and served the patrons of their political and religious needs. One

[95] Miller, *Monasteries and Cultural Change in Inner Mongolia*, pp. 17-23.

key example of this is the Köke süme (C. Huizong si), established in 1691 and designated the location for the Lama Seal Office by the Kangxi Emperor.[96] Dharma monasteries, for Miller, are mostly dedicated to monastic academic study and were often the residences of major reincarnate lineage holders. Many large monasteries in Inner Mongolia with a sizeable monastic population are of this type.

The Japanese monk scholar Gajin Nagao has a similar categorization, but he distinguishes between academic and other.[97] For Nagao, major monasteries that received imperial recognition and served important political and ritual functions for the local followers, such as Köke süme, often required the residence of major reincarnation lineage holders, such the dominant khutugtus. These types of sites, for him, are comparable to the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lama in Tibet.[98] On the other hand, academic monasteries (J. *gakumondera*) in Inner Mongolia, Nagao argues, do not always require a *khubilgan* to be in residence, and even when they were, they are treated as one of the practicing scholar monks. These monasteries, which function as centers of Buddhist academic training, are similar to Sera, Drepung, and Ganden, the three major Buddhist monasteries in Tibet and followed their curriculum closely.[99]

Isabelle Charleux summarizes these typologies and estimates that about 12-30% of the monasteries in Inner Mongolia are of the academic or dharma type, 2% of the imperially

---

[96] Zhang, *Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu* Vol. 2, p. 455

[97] Gajin Nagao 長尾雅人, *Mōko gakumondera* 蒙古学問寺 (Tokyo: Zenkoku shōbo, 1947), p. 23.

[98] Nagao, Mōko gakumondera, p. 30.

[99] Nagao, Mōko gakumondera, p. 32.

sponsored sangha type, and the rest 70-85% serving a mix of functions.[100] Among these monasteries with mixed functions, many were indeed locally sponsored and supported, as 46 out of 110 monasteries surveyed by Zhang et al. did not receive a name from the Qing court.[101]



Figure 5. Wanggai süme, Silingol League. This monastery used to be the residence of the *jasag* of the Ujumuchin Right Banner and was later changed into a Geluk monastery under the order of the 9th Panchen Lama in 1930. Photo by Daigengna Duoer, 2015.

On the ground, the monasteries likely served a range of diverse functions that combined both rigorous academic training and rituals for the patrons. There were also

[100] Charleux, Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure, p. 102.

[101] See Appendix.

interesting outliers that went beyond these previous categorizations. For example, the Luus-un bulag-un süme (C. Longquan si) in the Kharachin Banner, built in 1287, is a unique combination of Mongolian Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism, exhibiting strong Chinese-styled architecture.[102] The Sineken Süme in Hulun Buir was the first Buryat monastery in Inner Mongolia, built under the order of the 9th Panchen Lama in 1928.[103] The Agui-yin süme in Banyannuur, established in 1803, was the only Buddhist monastery of the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism in the region.[104] And the Khalkha süme in Alashan bordering Outer Mongolia, was built in 1933 by Khalkha Mongolian refugees escaping the Soviet purges and persecutions of Buddhism.[105] Many monasteries also retained some key pre-Buddhist Mongolian religious elements, such as *oboo* (cairns for worship), the use of gers (Mongolian yurts) on monastery grounds, and of course, the conducting of Buddhist liturgy in the Mongolian language. The following images show how the thirteen sacred *oboos* on the hill behind the Beise-yin süme (C. Beizi miao) in Shilinhot are organically part of the monastery

[102] Zhang, Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu, Vol. 3, p. 231

[103] Zhang, Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu, Vol. 3, p. 539

[104] Zhang, Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu, Vol. 1, p. 172

[105] Zhang, Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu, Vol. 1, p. 530

complex, and that *gers* are found adjacent to permanent architecture.



Figure 6. Layout of the Beise-yin süme (C. Beizi miao) in Shilinhot. Thirteen *oboos* are located on the hill behind the monastery complex. Photo by Daigengna Duoer, 2017.



Figure 7. Gers (Mongolian yurts) can often be found on the Buddhist monastery grounds in Inner Mongolia. Beise-yin süme (C. Beizi miao) in Shilinhot. Photo by Daigengna Duoer, 2017.

In any case, by the end of the Qing period in the late 19th century, there existed a robust network of Geluk Buddhist monasteries across the Inner Mongolia which were connected to other Geluk Buddhist monasteries and temples across Buddhist Inner Asia. To the southwest, both monks and the laity often traveled across the Gobi Desert to study at the major academic monasteries in Amdo and Tibet or do pilgrimages to these sites and the residences of major reincarnation lineage holders. The three monastic seats (T. *gdan sa gsum*) of the Geluk tradition, Drepung monastery, Sera monastery, and Ganden monastery, were especially popular choices for Inner Mongolian monks. Other influential monasteries in western Tibet in Amdo were also immensely popular for the monks from Inner Mongolia, such as the Labrang monastery, Kumbum monastery, and the Gönlung Jampa Ling monastery. Scholars of Tibetan Buddhist monasticism have pointed out that these Tibetan monasteries often had accommodation arrangements (T. *mi tshan*) uniquely prepared for the Mongols from both the north and the south, which served as a kind of "family" community for them.[106] The Geluk monastic learning centers, which housed significantly large monastic populations in the thousands and tens of thousands, attracted monk scholars from all over Inner Asia. The Inner Mongol monks who traveled *en masse* to advance their Buddhist education was a big part of this Buddhist network. Many Geluk Buddhist monasteries in the Amdo area were in fact built with Mongol sponsorship, such as the famous Labrang monastery that was built under the sponsorship of the Kokenuur Khoshud Mongol Prince Erdeni Jinong Tsewang Tendzin (d. 1735).[107] Many Inner Mongolian Buddhist monasteries

[106] Georges B.J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 57.

[107] Paul Kocot Nietupski, *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709-1958* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), p. xix.

also had more direct and intimate connections with Tibetan ones. For example, the Gajuur süme in Hulun Buir in northeastern Inner Mongolia, thousands of miles away, is considered a child monastery of Labrang.

To the east, Inner Mongolian monks frequently sojourned to Jehol (C. Rehe/Chengde), the center of Inner Asian Buddhism in Manchuria and the summer capital of the Qing, famous for its Qianlong-sponsored Geluk Buddhist monasteries and temples known as the Outer Eight Temples (C. *Waiba miao*), as well as a large palace modeled after the Tashilhunpo used as residence for visiting lamas and reincarnation lineage holders from Tibet and Mongolia. Built under the direction of the 3rd Changkya Khutugtu (1717-1786), the highest ranking *khubilgan* on the Geluk network for the Buddhists in the Inner Mongolia and Amdo regions and the personal guru of the Qianglong emperor, the Geluk monasteries in Jehol accommodated thousands of Mongol monks throughout the Qing and became centers of monastic academic learning and imperially sponsored rituals.[108] Jehol as a significant hub on the expansive Inner Asian Buddhist network has yet to garner more scholarly attention, especially given its "outer capital" status in the Qing.[109] Philippe Foret, in his study of Jehol, reminds us that for the Manchu rulers of the multicultural Qing empire, two other capital cities (Man. *ging hecen*, *gemum hecen*) actually existed in addition to the capital city of Beijing. While Beijing was the capital city for China proper, the center of power for Manchuria was Mukden (C. Shenyang), and the capital for Inner Mongolia was Jehol (C. Chengde). Foret points out that during the second half of the Qianlong era, the Jehol capital

---

[108] Xiaomin Chen 陈晓敏, *Qingdai zhujing lama yanjiu* 清代驻京喇嘛研究 (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 2011), pp. 116-118.

[109] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p.22.

was also meant to serve as an alternative religious capital for Tibet, ruling from no other than the Geluk Buddhist monasteries of the Outer Eight Temples (C. Waiba miao).[110] Being an "alternative capital for Tibet" on the Inner Asian Geluk network, Jehol naturally drew a monastic following. A 1937 survey done by the Mongolian Affairs Ministry of Manchukuo on Geluk Buddhist sites and monastic populations in the state shows that 283 Geluk monasteries existed in the Jehol and surrounding regions (J. Nekka) and 7,009 monks out of a total Mongol population of 391,723 people.[111] Some of these monks lived in the Qing imperial monasteries at the center of Jehol, while others were spread across smaller, more local monasteries.

Although all of the monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria that we have discussed so far were located north of the Great Wall of China and thus were rather removed from other Buddhist sites in China, the Geluk Buddhist network did extend south of the Great Wall into China proper. Two key sites south of the wall on this expansive Inner Asian network was Beijing and Mt. Wutai (C. Wutaishan). The Yonghegong temple in Beijing not only served as one of the locations that kept the Golden Urn for the selection of major reincarnation lineage holders from Mongolia (the other being in Lhasa), but it also served as a family temple for the Manchu rulers, as well as the residence of visiting lamas from Tibet and Mongolia. For instance, after visiting Jehol, the 6th Panchen Lama (1738–1780) visited Yonghegong in Beijing in 1780 on the occasion of Qianlong's sixtieth birthday, where he

[110] Philippe Foret, *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), p. 21.

[111] Manshūkoku mōseibu 滿洲國蒙政部, *Rama-byō oyobi meishō koseki chōsahyō* 喇嘛廟及名勝古蹟調查表 (Shinkyō: publisher unknown, 1937), p. 3.

gave lectures, performed rituals, and received gifts.[112] Since the Qianlong Emperor decreed to transform Yonghegong from a royal residence into a Geluk Buddhist monastery in 1744, the dominant source of the monks in residence was from Inner and Outer Mongolia. Yonghegong had four colleges (T. *grwa tshang/dratsang*) and limited the number of monks in residence to 80 individuals, of which 60 were selected from the various regions of Inner Mongolia and 20 from Outer Mongolia.[113] Selected through various levels of examinations, these chosen few were often the *crème de la crème* amongst the monastic scholars in all of Mongolia.

Another major hub for the Inner Mongolian Buddhists on the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network south of the Great Wall was Wutaishan, located in today's Shanxi Province of China. As scholars have shown, this well-known sacred mountain site gradually became a major pilgrimage site for the Mongols in the Qing period, as well as a center for monastic congregation. Isabelle Charleux shows in *Nomads on Pilgrimage* (2015) that by the late nineteenth century, there were about 30 Geluk monasteries on the mountain and perhaps a thousand monks in residence.[114] The mountain site was also a popular destination where the 3rd Changkya Khutugtu spend his summers between 1750 and 1786, during which time up to 3,000 monks lived on Wutaishan.[115] The two largest Geluk monasteries on the sacred

[112] Chen, *Qingdai zhujing lama yanjiu*, pp. 160-161.

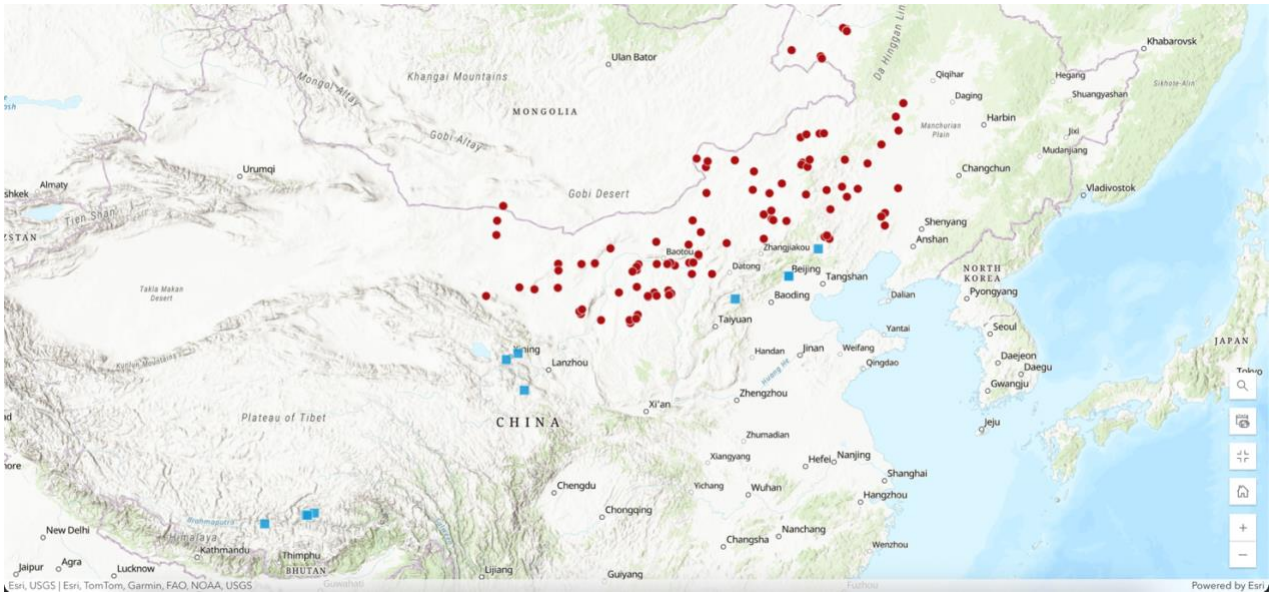
[113] Song Niu 牛颂, *Yonghegong: Zhongguo zangchuan fojiao zhuming gusi* 雍和宫：中國藏傳佛教著名古寺 (Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo chubanshe, 2001), p. 523.

[114] Isabelle Charleux, *Nomads on Pilgrimage: Mongols on Wutaishan (China), 1800-1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 109.

[115] Charleux, *Nomads on Pilgrimage*, pp. 110.

mountain were Pusading and Luohousi. The former had about 500 to 1,000 lamas in residence, and the latter had about 200.[116]

The following map shows the spread of Geluk Buddhist monasteries across Inner Mongolia and parts of Manchuria in red circles and other key hubs on the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism network in blue squares. The ones in the southwest direction in Tibet are the Potala Palace, which was the seat of the Dalai Lama; Tashilhunpo, the seat of the Panchen Lama; and the monastic seats (T. *gdan sa gsum*) of the Geluk tradition: Drepung monastery, Sera monastery, and Ganden monastery. The sites in today's Qinghai and Gansu area in eastern Tibet are the major monasteries in Amdo, which are Labrang, Kumbum, and Gönlung Jampa Ling. The site north of Beijing just beyond the Great Wall is Jehol, exemplified by the Outer Eight Temples. The two sites south of the Great Wall are the Yonghegong Temple in Beijing and Wutaishan.



[116] Charleux, *Nomads on Pilgrimage*, pp. 110.

Figure 8. The spread of the Geluk Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria (in red) and some major Geluk Buddhist hubs in Tibet, Amdo, North China, and Jehol. Created by Daigengna Duoer.

In terms of the monastic population in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, as mentioned above, various sources and scholarship have provided rather different numbers, but many claim that the total monastic population in the region reached up to 150,000 at one point.[117] This number is likely to be in the late Qing period. Based on the previously discussed data from modern Japanese and Chinese sources, the region of Inner Mongolia, encompassing parts of western Manchuria had about 68,688 to 76,159 monks in about 1,200 monasteries in the 1930s. Comparing this monastic population with the general population in the region, we get a rather striking result. Citing modern Japanese and Chinese censuses in the region, contemporary Chinese scholar Zhang Zhihua shows that from 28% to 82% of a banner's male population were monks, and that on average, about 48% of the male population in Inner Mongolia in the 1930s were monks. The Inner Mongolian historian Delege also provides a similar percentage for the Shilingol League in eastern Inner Mongolia in 1942, with 42% of the male population in that region being monks.[118] Robert Miller provides a slightly lower percentage in *A Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region*: "almost one-fourth of the total Inner Mongolian population resided, or between fifteen to thirteen percent of the male population."[119]

[117] Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, p. 1

[118] Zhang, "Qingdai zhi Minguo shiqi Neimenggu diqu Mengguzu renkou kaikuang," p. 236.

[119] Miller et al., *A Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region*, p. 287.

The ratio of the monastic population against male population in Khalkha (Outer Mongolia) and Tibet is similar. For example, before the founding of the Soviet-backed Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 and the religious persecutions that followed, the monastic population in Outer Mongolia was about 41.75% of its male population. In 1928, it was recorded that the monastic population dropped significantly to 26.3%.[120] For Tibet, the proportion of the male population that was monastic was nearly one-third until the twentieth century.[121]

In the following two figures, I have mapped out the distribution of peak monastic population for the 110 monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria (when numbers are available) surveyed by Zhang Pengju et al. The numbers are derived from local histories and interviews with monks currently in residence. As shown, some major monasteries accommodated up to 3,600 monks at their peak. These monasteries were mostly of the academic type. The spread is rather uniform across the region, albeit with a visible cluster around the Baotou and Hohhot areas. The monastery with the largest peak monastic population is the Gegen süme (C. Ruiying si) in eastern Inner Mongolia and western Manchuria. This monastery was an academic center of Geluk Buddhist learning and was well-known throughout the Mongolian regions for its medical college and trainings in Mongolian Buddhist medicine. Other monasteries with large monastic populations include the Sira süme (C. Shanyin si) and the adjacent Köke süme (C. Huizong si), where the Lama Seal Office was located.

[120] Zhang, "Qingdai zhi Minguo shiqi Neimenggu diqu Mengguzu renkou kaikuang," pp. 239-240.

[121] Sullivan, *Building A Religious Empire,* p. 8.

The figure that follows shows current monastic populations in contrast to the peak monastic populations. As demonstrated by many scholars, the Buddhist monastic population in Inner Mongolia (as was the case throughout mainland China) decreased drastically after the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. Although since the 1980s many monasteries began to recover, their monastic population remained low. According to Zhang et al.'s data collected from on-the-ground fieldwork in the region in the 2000s, most currently operating monasteries had less than 100 monks in residence. The monastery with the highest number of monastic population currently (115) is the Baragun keid (C. Guangzong si) in Alashan, a region in western Inner Mongolia traditionally known for their religiousness. Another is the Üüsin juu (C. Wushen zhao) in Ordos, western Inner Mongolia, which has about 100 monks currently.

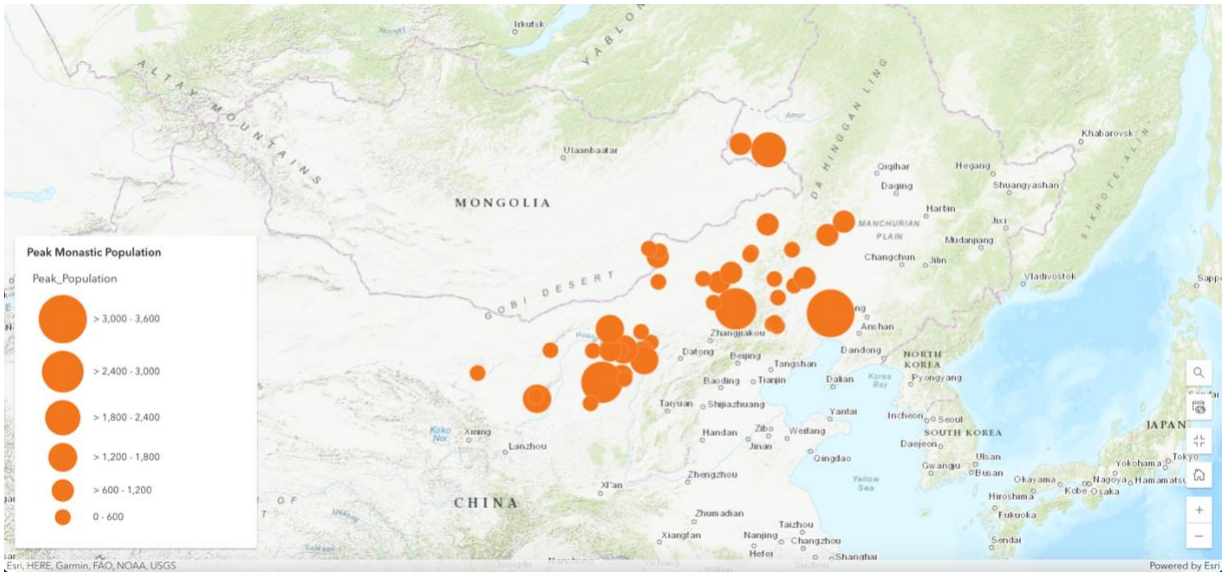


Figure 9. Peak monastic populations for the various monasteries in Inner Mongolia, as recorded in Zhang et al. (2012). Created by Daigengna Duoer.

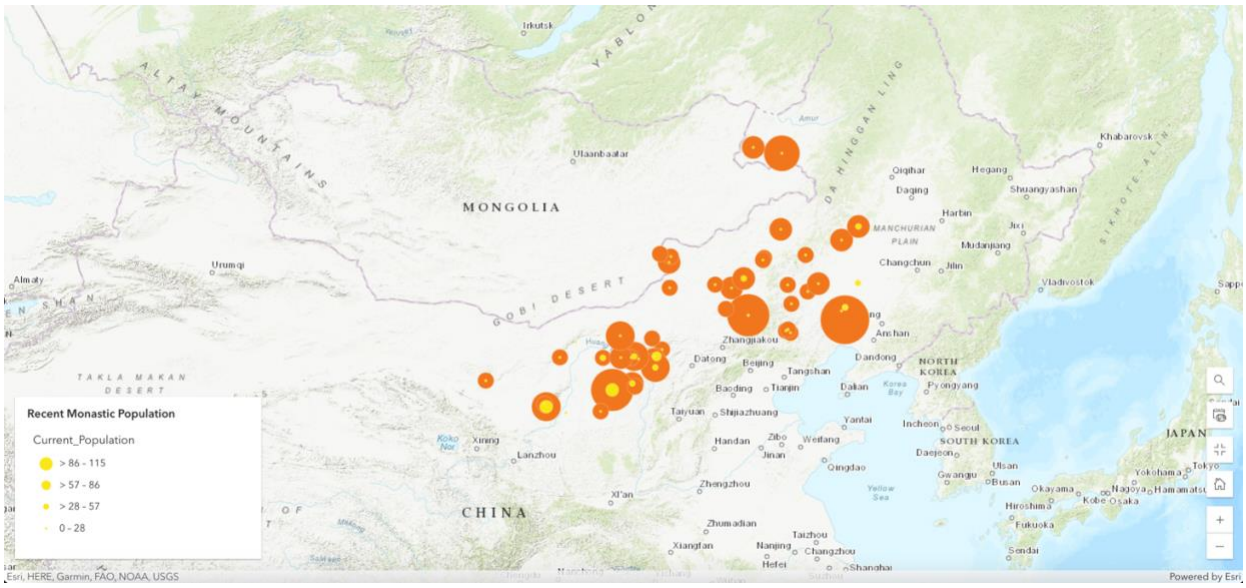


Figure 10. Peak monastic populations for the various monasteries in Inner Mongolia (in orange), contrasted with recent monastic population (in yellow), as recorded in Zhang et al. (2012). Created by Daigengna Duoer.

Such a large monastic network naturally required significant financial resources to maintain. In addition to Qing imperial funding and the financial support of government agencies and local ruling elites, the monasteries also heavily relied on the donations and offerings of their countless followers, as well as asset investments and even commercial activities. Huricha, an Inner Mongolian historian of economics, has pointed out that the Geluk Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia mostly relied on four types of income to operate and offset the cost of maintaining large monasteries and the monastic population: 1) funding in the form of stipends from various levels of government agencies given to certain monasteries and elite lamas and *khubilgans*; 2) income from performing Buddhist rituals and ceremonies; 3) income from the labor of the monastery's *shabinar* (serfs working on

monastery land) and other lower level monks; 4) income from asset investment and commercial activities.[122]

The monthly stipends of monks in Qing Inner Mongolia, depending on their ranking and position, ranged from about 30 to 100 *liang*[123] of silver in addition to money to offset travel, housing repair, ritual items, and clothing.[124] Goods, such as rice, beans, fuel, and feed for horses were given as a part of the monks' stipend.[125] Major *khubilgans,* who are reincarnation lineage holders, received grants up to 1,000 *liang* of silver, in addition to silk, glassware, fruits, and other valuable items.[126] As pointed by Huricha, the largest income stream for the monasteries in Qing Inner Mongolia was actually through the donations of their followers, which often far exceeded the stipends that monks received from the government.[127] For example, when the famous Inner Mongolian Buddhist monk Neichi Toin (1557–1629) performed a ritual for the followers of the Bayan khosigu süme in Khorchin in 1694, he received a total of 50,000 *liang* of silver, 3,000 livestock, and many counts of gold, pearls, coral, silk, fur, and other precious goods from the local Mongol princes and elites.[128] Land and people were also offered to the monks and monasteries as donations, with the size

[122] Huricha 胡日查, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu* 清代内蒙古地区寺院经济研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2009), p. 157.

[123] *liang* 两

[124] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, pp. 158-161.

[125] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 158.

[126] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 162.

[127] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 163.

[128] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 163.

of the land often in accordance with the status of the monastery.[129] For example, the Jünggar juu in Ordos owned around 50,000 *mu*[130] of grazing land and a private land about 10 *li* long and 8 *li* wide.[131] On these lands, the monasteries and monks often had laborers (*shabinar*) working to serve the monks, maintain the monasteries, and herd the livestock given to them by their followers. For instance, around the year 1800, the famous Badgar juu in Baotou had more than 700 individuals working as *shabinar* who came from other parts of the Inner Mongolia.[132] In addition to these sources of income, many monasteries and individual monks increased their earnings from giving out loans, as suggested by recent studies done by Inner Mongolian scholars using local archives. Using Mongolian language Qing documents preserved at the Inner Mongolia Library, scholar Temole shows that the treasury of the Khosigu juu in Hohhot regularly gave out high-interest loans to individuals in need, who were sometime monks themselves. The interests rates of the loans ranged as high as from 10% to 36%.[133]

D. A Changing Landscape

Eventually, towards the end of the Qing period, many monasteries of Inner Mongolia also became centers for commercial development; they not only had ownership of large

---

[129] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 164.

[130] *Mu* 畝

[131] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 164.

[132] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 164.

[133] Temole 忒莫勒, "Qingdai Huhehaote Ningqisi bufen Mengwen dang'an guankui 清代呼和浩特宁祺寺部分蒙文档案管窥," *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University (Philosophy & Social Sciences)*, no.3, (1997): pp. 51-52.

number of animals and large swaths of land, but they also benefitted accordingly from leasing the land to nomads, farmers, and merchants.[134] At the beginning of the twentieth century, as more and more Han Chinese migrants settled in Inner Mongolia after waves of settlements that took place since the 1800s, towns and commercial districts began to form around the major monasteries. Yi Wang shows in the recent book *Transforming Inner Mongolia* that the Han Chinese population grew from one million in the 1800s to 1.55 million in 1912, while the Mongol population shrank from one million to only 877,000 in the same time span.[135] The following photograph taken by the author shows the commercial streets that radiate out from the Beise-yin süme in Shilinhot today. The development of this commercial hub traces back to the late Qing period and coincides with the settlement of Han Chinese migrants in the area.

[134] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 227.

[135] Wang, *Transforming Inner Mongolia*, p.25.



Figure 11. Commercial buildings line the streets facings the Beise-yin süme in Shilinhot, Inner Mongolia. Photo by Daigengna Duoer, 2017.

Since the Qianlong era, with the gradually increasing establishment of counties and cities centered around Chinese agricultural communities in and around the Inner Mongolian regions, especially in eastern Inner Mongolia, many Mongols who relied on traditional ways of nomadic lifestyle were forced either to retreat to other places or were forced to participate in agriculture.[136] Grazing land that was previous owned by the various monasteries in Inner Mongolia often fell victim to unlawful agriculturalization. To mitigate this issue, some

[136] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 226.

monasteries attempted to lease out these land to the Han Chinese settlers for farming, but many were unable to receive payments on time.[137] According to Mongolian sources from 1820 to 1860, a total of 15,455 *liang* of silver in unpaid rent was due to monasteries in the Hohhot area, greatly affecting the daily operations of the monasteries.[138] Gradually, the monasteries lost not only unpaid rent but also their land to Chinese settlement. For instance, the Siregetü juu in Hohhot owned about 20,000 *mu* of land in the 1920s but was left with only 10 *qing*[139] in their possession in 1942, which is a fraction of what was owned before.[140]

In addition to large populations of Han Chinese migrants settling in the regions of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria since the late nineteenth century, the veins of modern railway networks also reached the monasteries beginning in the early twentieth century, which were operated first by the Chinese but was soon taken over by Japanese forces in the form of the Manchurian Railway network, especially during Japanese occupation from the 1930s to the 1940s. The following figure shows the spread of the monasteries in Inner Mongolia, based on the data collected by Zhang Pengju et al., with a map of the South Manchuria Railway (J. *Mantetsu*) circa 1945 overlapped on top. As shown here and in numerous Japanese travelogues produced in the 1930s and 1940s, several Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia and western Manchuria were connected into the Mantetsu system. The Yamun keid monastery (C. Yanfu si or Wangye miao), for example was a station named "Wangye

[137] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 228.

[138] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 228.

[139] Qing 頃

[140] Huricha, *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu*, p. 228.

miao" (C/J. 王爺廟) on the Taonan-Solon line (C/J. 洮索線), so was the Taulaitu gegen süme (C. Gegen miao), with the station name "Gegen miao" (C/J. 葛根廟) on the same line.

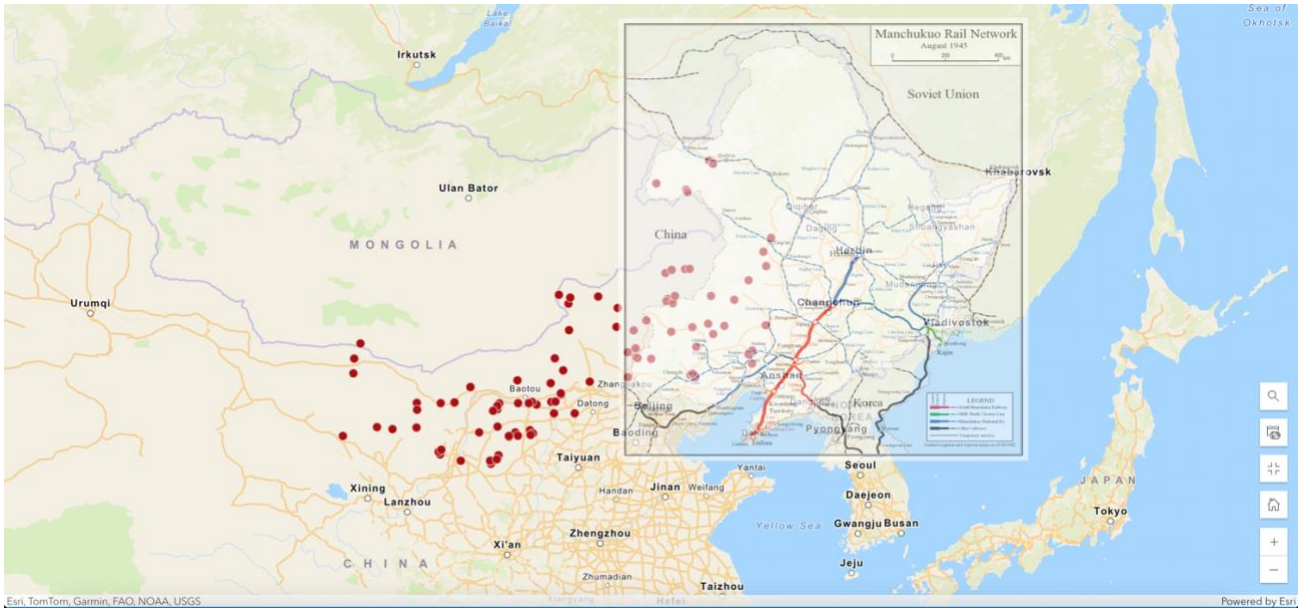


Figure 12. The Manchukuo Railway network overlapped with the spread of Geluk Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia. Manchukuo Rail Network map is from Wikimedia Commons. Author: 2Q, source. Created by Daigengna Duoer.

Since Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japanese presence in Manchuria and parts of eastern Inner Mongolia steadily increased. From 1906 to 1942, a total of 2.7 million Japanese individuals entered the region, and around a total of 568,238 individuals of Japanese descent settled down in the region as migrants.[141] Along with itinerant and permanent Japanese settlers also came Japanese religious organizations and sites. From 1905 to 1944, a total of 302 Shinto shrines were created throughout Manchuria

[141] Rosalia Avila Tapies, "Kindai ni okeru kyū Manshū he no Nihonjin no ijū oyobi sono teichaku pata-n ni tsuite 近代における旧満州への日本人の移住およびその定着パターンについて," *Konan Daigaku kiyō bungaku hen rekishi bunka tokushū* 甲南大学紀要文学編歴史文化特集, no. 129 (2002): p.7

and parts of eastern Inner Mongolia.[142] Fourteen of such Shinto shrines were built in Inner Mongolia, in the Manchukuo provinces of Kōan (Hinngan) and Nekka (Jehol), marking Japanese occupation and claiming the region as a part of modern Japanese sacred geography. Japanese Buddhist groups, such as the Pure Land Jōdo Shinshū Ōtani school, also established hundreds of missions across the region, with missions built in parts of eastern Inner Mongolia, such as the Chengde Mission in Jehol in 1933, the Chifeng Mission in southeastern Inner Mongolia in 1934, and the Baichengzi Mission in Hinggan.[143]

So far in this chapter, we have discussed the formation and expansion of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network radiating out from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, in which movement was facilitated by Qing patronage, the expansion of the Geluk Buddhist monastic institution outwards from Tibet, and the support of the local Mongol laity. This network offered mobility for Inner Mongolian Buddhists, both monastic and lay, beyond the geographical and administrative confines of "Inner Mongolia," however intentionally fractured under the "divide and conquer" ruling policies of the Qing, and has helped the Inner Mongols to envision an identity as both part of the multicultural Qing empire and more importantly, a part of a Buddhist Qing, as exemplified through the identification with the larger Geluk Buddhist community and network that stretched from Tibet to Manchuria.

After the fall of the Qing empire in 1911 and the establishment of new East Asian regimes based on the modern ideas of nation and empire, such as the Republic of China and the Japanese Empire, this Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network continued to provide religious

---

[142] Akeshi Kiba 木場明志 and Joi Tei 程舒偉, *Shokuminchiki Manshū no shūkyō: Nitchū ryōkoku no shiten kara kataru* 植民地期満洲の宗教 ： 日中両国の視点から語る(Tokyo: Kashiwa shōbo, 2007), pp. 452-462.

[143] Kiba and Tei, *Shokuminchiki Manshū no shūkyō*, pp. 463-481.

and social infrastructural support for the Buddhists in Inner Mongolia and beyond, however struggling to stay relevant at the same time. In Chapters 3 and 4, we will look at how Inner Asian Buddhists both utilized the network to maintain previously existing alliances but also further expanded the network far beyond the Great Wall of China and across the sea to Japan. But first, we will discuss what this transregional Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network meant for the new modern nation-state of the Republic of China and the Japanese Empire, as they competed to claim sovereignty over the multicultural frontiers of the Qing that no longer had power.

III. Governing "Lamaism" on the Frontiers of the Nation and Empire[144]

In the previous chapter, we discussed the formation and expanse of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network, from the perspective of the monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. Even before the collapse of the Qing Empire in 1912, the regions experienced increased Chinese migration, agriculturalization of pastures land without local consent, and ethnic conflicts between the Mongols and the Han Chinese communities. With increased Japanese presence on the continent in Northeast Asia since the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japanese migration multiplied in the region as well. With extended contact with the local communities and their expansive religious institutions, both Chinese and Japanese policymakers of Republican China and regimes in the Japanese Empire gradually became aware that the Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria not only possessed the respect and faith of the Mongol people, but that it was a significant socio-political force shaping the norms of the region. But above all, the Chinese and Japanese modern policymakers competing to take control of the regions realized that Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, claiming almost half of the male population for full-time monasticism, was ultimately an economic and bio-political issue that needed to be solved through state regulation.

In this chapter, we will look at how Republican China, as well as the Japanese-supported Manchukuo and the Inner Mongolian Mengjiang government attempted to make sense of and regulate Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia in the early twentieth century.

[144] This chapter has been published as "Governing 'Lamaism' on the 'Frontier': Buddhism and Law in Early Twentieth-century Inner Mongolia," in *Buddhism and Constitutional Law*, edited by Benjamin Schonthal and Tom Ginsburg, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 305–325.

A. Making Sense of "Lamaism" for the Nation and the Empire

In the early twentieth-century modern Chinese and Japanese state discourses and regulations, the term "Lamaism" (C. *lamajiao,* J. *ramakyō*) is often used to refer to the Buddhist traditions of Tibet and Mongolia, especially referencing the Geluk Buddhist school that dominated the Inner Asian Buddhist landscape since the Qing. It is important to note that the so-called "Lamaists" in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, did not use this term to describe themselves or their religious traditions in their own langauges. "The Buddha's teachings" (*sangs rgys chos lugs* in Tibetan), the "Buddha's religion" (*burqan-u shasin* in Mongolian), or specific sectarian names such as Gelukpa would be used. While the term "lama" indeed exists in their vocabulary, but it usually refers to spiritually advanced gurus and/or respectable monks.

As shown in Peter Bishop and Donald S. Lopez Jr.'s works,[145] the modern Chinese and Japanese were not the first ones to use the term "Lamaism" to refer to the Buddhist traditions of Tibet and Mongolia. In his essay "Lamaism' and the Disappearance of Tibet" (1996), Lopez traces the origin of the term to the usage of the Qing emperor Qianlong, who in 1775 used the term *lamajiao* to describe the Tibetan religion, such in his famous *Lama shuo* (Pronouncement on Lamas) tetraglot[146] inscription on a stele in the Yonghe Temple[147]

[145] See Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), and Donald S. Lopez Jr., *The Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998)

[146] In Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, and Tibetan.

[147] Yonghe gong is called the "Lama Temple" no less.

in Beijing.[148] In this context, Lopez points out, the Manchu emperor defended his patronage of a Tibetan Buddhist sect against his Chinese critics by claiming that the patronage only maintains the alliance with the Mongols. For Lopez, the earliest Western mentioning of the term "Lamaism" could be traced to 1777 in Joseph Marie Amiot's writings. Lopez then reminds us that more famously, Hegel discussed (his disgust for) Lamaism in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion* of 1824 and 1827 and his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* delivered between 1822 and 1831, where he equated Lamaism with the "cult of nothingness" and found the notion of a living human being worshipped as a deity (such as the reincarnated lamas), as something paradoxical and revolting. Lopez shows that in these European usages, the term "Lamaism" served as a trope for the Orientalist historicism of late Victorian colonialism.

Nevertheless, the term "Lamaism" was not only widely used in Europe, but also in Russia, China, and Japan. Since the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, there was an explosion of publications on "Lamaism" in both Japanese (*ramakyō*) and Chinese (*lamajiao*) that peaked in the 1930s after the establishment of Manchukuo and the Japanese annexation of eastern Inner Mongolia. In this tumultuous period, knowledge production about the powerful religious institution of "Lamaism" that is remnant of Qing imperial arrangement in Manchuria, Mongolia (both "Inner" and "Outer"), as well as the greater Tibetan cultural areas (such as Kham) was urgently needed by both the Republic of China and the expanding Japanese Empire (who were at war with one-another) to make allies, gain control, exercise discipline, and draft domestic and diplomatic policies in these borderland regions

[148] Lopez, Donald S. "'Lamaism' and the Disappearance of Tibet." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 1, (1996), pp. 3–25.

neighboring the Soviet Union and its satellites. These Chinese and Japanese discourses on "Lamaism" are incredibly diverse and rich; they show a potent desire to know the geopolitically relevant Other and discipline the religion for their multi-ethnic and Pan-Asian nation-building and empire-building projects.

One of the few scholars in the world who has examined Japanese colonialist imaginations of "Lamaism" is the Japanese scholar Kōmoto Yasuko.[149] She insightfully points out in her 2006 doctoral dissertation and later monograph that while in the late nineteen century Meiji period "Lamaism" was mostly used to discuss Buddhism in Tibet that 1) is powerful in religious organization, 2) features corrupt monks, and 3) has esoteric Buddhism as doctrines,[150] the term would later be used in the interwar early Showa period to describe Buddhism in Manchuria (that Japan had occupied) and the rather ambiguous geographical region of the "northwest," referring regions northwest of Manchuria such as Mongolia, Xinjiang, Qinghai, and Kham. As the Japanese military gained more controls on the ground and as researchers traveled deeper into Buddhist Inner Asia in this period, the depictions of "Lamaism" became more colorful. Kōmoto records that along with depictions of the religion as worshipping "lewd Buddhist idols," the discourse on "Lamaism" of this period also focused on the "licentious and incestuous lifestyles" of the monks, as well as the

[149]Yasuko Kōmoto 高本康子, "Nihonjin no Chibetto-kan: Meiji ikō o chūshin ni 日本人のチベット観 一明治以降を中心に一, " (PhD diss., Tohoku University, 2006); 111. Also see Yasuko Kōmoto 高本康子. *Kindai Nihon ni okeru Chibetto-zō no keisei to tenkai* 近代日本におけるチベット像の形成と展開. Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, 2010.

[150] An example of this type of discourse can be found in the famous Meiji-era Japanese Buddhist scholar Ogurusu Kōchō 小栗栖香頂's (1831-1905) writing, *Ramakyō enkaku* 喇嘛教沿革 (Kyoto: Ishikawa Shundai, 1877).

belief that "Lamaism" was not as "authentic" of a Buddhist tradition as Japanese Buddhism was.

On the other hand, with regard to the modern Chinese Othering of "Lamaism," the Taiwan-based scholar Jian Jinsheng[151] shows in his 2014 doctoral dissertation that in the Republican Chinese discussions of Tibetan history, culture, and people, most discourses emphasize the racial and historical connectedness of Tibet with China and the Chinese people. However, when it comes to the religion of Tibet, views in modern China became rather split, with some seeing "Lamaism" as a "sacred Buddhist kingdom" while others arguing that "Lamaism" is nothing more than a "Brahmin heresy."

Equipped with these perspectives on "Lamaism," the early twentieth-century Chinese and Japanese regimes, specifically the Republic of China (1912–1949) and the Japanese puppet states of Manchukuo (1932–1945) and the Mengjiang United Autonomous Government (1939–1945), all rushed to regulate Geluk Buddhism in their alleged territories. These three modern states competed to make claims of sovereignty over Inner Mongolia, the southern half of Qing-era Mongolia after the northern half (Outer Mongolia) declared independence under the Bogda Khan government in 1911. Under the leadership of Bogda Khan, who was also the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutugtu (1870–1924), Outer Mongolia operated as a theocratic state until the establishment of the socialist Mongolian People's Republic in 1924.[152] Inner Mongolia, on the other hand, never became politically

[151] Jinsheng Jian 簡金生, "Jindai hanren de Xizang guan: 1912-1949 近代漢人的西藏觀：1912-1949" (PhD diss., National Taiwan Normal University, 2014).

[152] By "theocratic state," this chapter refers to the fact that the Eighth Jebtsundamba was proclaimed the "holy emperor" (Bogda Khan) and "dual ruler of religion and state" on December 29, 1911.

independent and was subject to the influences of competing nation-building and empire-building projects of modern China and the Japanese Empire. This period between the fall of the Qing Empire (1912) and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949) was formative not only for the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as we know it today, but also for the state regulations of Buddhism in the region. During this formative period, Chinese and Japanese policymakers considered the Buddhist tradition in Inner Mongolia as ethnically and geopolitically relevant for their frontier policies. In the same way that Buddhism was understood to be the solution to the "Tibetan Problem" for the Republic of China (Tuttle 2005: 11), Buddhism was also taken as the key to winning the support of Inner Mongolia and beyond for nation-building and empire-building projects.

Being a religion that is neither fully foreign nor domestic for the Chinese and Japanese policymakers, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia also provides an important case study for the understanding of how religions on the "ethnic frontier" were understood and governed by modern East Asian nation-states that were built on ethno-nationalist foundations. While Buddhism and law in Asia is often discussed in national terms, the Inner Mongolia case exposes the fact that different legal structures sometimes exist for people of different ethnic groups belonging to different Buddhist traditions living under one nation or empire, and that legal practices directed at the peripheries may look very different from those directed at the center.

One reflection of this distinctive context is that the terms used to discuss Buddhism in Inner Mongolia in the legal discourses of the Republic of China, Manchukuo, and Mengjiang were not *fojiao* or *bukkyō,* terms more commonly used to refer to Buddhism in the Chinese and Japanese languages. Instead, the type of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was mostly

referred to as "Lamaism" (C: *lamajiao*; J: *ramakyō*),[153] or sometimes as "Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhism" (C: *mengzang fojiao*), or "Manchu-Mongolian Buddhism" (J: *manmō bukkyō*).[154] In contrast to the Buddhist traditions of China and Japan, "Lamaism" was understood as spatially, temporally, racially, and morally distinct in the legal languages of these modern East Asian states. More specifically, "Lamaism" was imagined to be an "exotic" Buddhism practiced by ethnic groups on the "frontiers" of nations and empires built on Sinocentric and Japan-centric foundations. Compared to Chinese and Japanese Buddhism that had both been open to modern reforms, "Lamaism," with its maintenance of the reincarnated lamas and traditional monasticism, was deemed "backwards," "superstitious," and even morally "degenerate" for the modern nation-state.

Situating this "Lamaism" on a spatial and temporal frontier, the legal practices of the three modern states of Republican China, Manchukuo, and Mengjiang aimed to exploit Buddhism in Inner Mongolia for their multiethnic nation-building and empire-building

---

[153] Donald S. Lopez, Jr. has written on the history of the term "Lamaism" in "'Lamaism' and the Disappearance of Tibet" (1996) and in *Prisoners of Shangri-la* (1998). He points out that the first official usage of the Chinese term *lamajiao* 喇嘛教 to talk about Tibetan Buddhism could be dated to 1775 during the reign of the Qing Qianlong emperor and argues that the later European usages of the term "Lamaism" served as a trope in the Orientalist historicism of late Victorian colonialism. How the post-Qing Chinese states and modern Japan came to use the term (喇嘛教・ラマ教), however, is not discussed in Lopez's works. This author of this chapter finds that the usages of "Lamaism" in the early twentieth-century East Asian context offers two additional points to consider about the term: first, "Lamaism" in modern China and Japan referred not only to Tibetan Buddhism, but to Buddhism in Mongolia and Manchuria as well; second, the Orientalist usages of the term in modern East Asian discourses suggest that modern East Asian states and empires similarly engaged with colonialist imaginations towards the "Other." Jason Ānanda Josephson has argued in *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012) that although Japanese scholars writing about Asia and its religions could position themselves as liberating Asian religions from European colonialism, they did so as the colonizer rather than the colonized (p. 247).

[154] 蒙藏佛教；滿蒙仏教

projects and strived to discipline the religion as a political-economic issue that needs to be depoliticized, modernized, and reformed. On the one hand, these three modern states supported Buddhism and the tulku system of reincarnated lamas under "religious freedom" legislated in their constitutions and emphasized Buddhism as a commonly shared heritage that could link culturally diverse regions in post-Qing Inner and East Asia together into new modern nation-states. In these discourses, the three modern states would replace the Manchu rulers of the Qing Empire as the new patrons in the priest-patron relationship with the tulkus of Inner Mongolia. These renewed alliances would not only help justify the three modern states' claims over disputed land on the "frontiers" of post-Qing Inner Mongolia, but they would also help to create coalitions to combat Soviet influences and Euro-American imperialism.

On the other hand, in the actual articles of the regulations, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was governed and disciplined as a political-economic issue. Politically, "Lamaism" in Inner Mongolia and the substantial authority of its tulku system was deemed inappropriate for the modern nations-states. Thus, monastic involvement in politics was restricted in legislations that attempted to challenge existing Buddhist structures. The management of monastic affairs, such as reincarnations and monastic exams, became centralized, and monastic organizations were restructured to have new centers of authority. Economically, "Lamaist" monasticism in Inner Mongolia was understood to be one of the major causes for the decline of population in the region and the culprit for the shrinkage of prime-age male labor forces. Laws were thus created to curb the growth of monasticism so that an "unproductive" male population could be redirected towards more economically "productive" endeavors. It also became necessary for monastic assets, such as land, property,

monastic population, and lay subjects, to be regularly registered with and surveilled by the central governments.

This rather contradictory promotion and limitation of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia in the laws of the Republic of China, Manchukuo, and Mengjiang shows that instead of completely revoking the Qing policies on Buddhism amongst the Mongols, the modern East Asian states chose to maintain a certain kind of continuity with Qing-era practices so that they could continue to make claims of sovereignty over Qing-occupied territories. As Gray Tuttle has argued for modern Tibet, the Inner Mongolia case examined in this chapter also shows us that religion can serve as "a crucial link between the social organization of dynastic empire and that of the nation-state" (Tuttle 2005: 3). The Inner Mongolia case examined in this chapter demonstrates that Buddhism indeed served as a "crucial link" through which the three modern East Asian states competed to make sense of remnant ethnopolitical, economic, and labor structures from the Qing era. This formative period between the fall of the Qing to the end of World War II eventually established a legacy of governance and the legal precedents on which the later People's Republic of China's (1949–) frontier policies would be built.

B. Qing Regulation of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia

Prior to the twentieth century, Mongolian society operated under a kind of legal pluralism in addition to the dual law tradition of the "priest and patron" (M. *khoyar yosu*, T. *lugs gnyis*) that allowed the regulation of Buddhism to be managed from afar, regionally, and within specific monastic settings. In the Yuan period (1271–1368), the administration of

local religious affairs in the empire was delegated by the Khan to Tibetan clerics.[155] After the second conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism in the late sixteenth century, multiple types of laws were instituted within Mongolian territories to regulate Buddhism, including banner laws, state laws, the laws of individual monasteries, and the laws of governing the Great Shabi (M. *eke shabi*), the personal estate of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtus.[156] Buddhist monasteries, especially the large network of Geluk Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia, also had their own internal monastic regulations in the form of *bca' yig,* or monastic constitutions that instituted administrative procedures, curricula, financial protocols, and so on.[157]

During the Qing period, Mongolia was understood by the Mongols to be a constituent realm or *ulus* within the Qing Empire that existed not as a part of but alongside China (*Khitad*) and Tibet (*Töbed*), so in this view, Mongolia had its distinctive way of life and its distinctive government system that the Manchu Qing rulers preserved and nourished.[158] Governed separately from the rest of Qing China, Buddhist affairs in Mongolia were

[155] Barrett, T. H, "Buddhism and Law in China: The Emergences of Distinctive Patterns in Chinese History" in *Buddhism and Law: An Introduction*, eds. Rebecca R. French and Mark A. Nathan (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2014), p. 214

[156] Vesna Wallace, "Buddhist Laws in Mongolia" in *Buddhism and Law: An Introduction*, eds. Rebecca R. French and Mark A. Nathan (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2014), p. 320

[157] On *bca' yig*, see Berthe Jansen's *The Monastery Rules: Buddhist Monastic Organization in Pre-Modern Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018) and Brenton Sullivan's *Building a Religious Empire: Tibetan Buddhism, Bureaucracy, and the Rise of the Gelukpa* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

[158] Christopher Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 37-38.

regulated from Beijing by the Lifanyuan, or the Court of Colonial Affairs that oversaw issues of the Qing Empire's frontiers. In governing Buddhism in Inner Mongolia, the Lifanyuan acted on behalf of the Manchu emperors in the dual law structure and was mostly responsible for codifying and promulgating regulations that were intended to bind all Buddhist monastics in monasteries throughout Mongolia. Among other things, these regulations established administrative posts for monasteries, managed their salary schedules, handled requests that the emperor grant a name to a temple or contribute toward a temple's repair, planned visits of high-level lamas to the capital, regulated pilgrimages, prohibited certain groups of Mongols from becoming lamas, and restricted the right of lamas to be buried at Wutaishan.[159] The Lifanyuan also managed the titles and positions of prominent Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhist monastics, and even prevented high-level incarnate lamas from being identified among the Mongols to curb their influence, although Mongolian incarnate lamas became more common in the late Qing.[160] As we will see in the next paragraphs, the regulation of Buddhism in the post-Qing period attempted to preserve and maintain these Qing-era policies based on the dual law and "priest-patron" arrangements before more intrusive reforms were introduced.

C. Republican China's Regulations of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia

With the fall of the Qing empire in 1912, the Lifanyuan was abolished. Taking its place to govern the religious affairs in Inner Mongolia was the Mengzangju (Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Bureau) of the Republic of China, which was later reorganized into the

[159] Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia*, p. 76.

[160] Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931*, p. 36.

Mengzangyuan (Mongolian and Tibetan Ministry) in 1914.[161] This time, instead of a government agency managing the affairs of the Mongols and the Tibetans for the multicultural Manchu Qing empire, the Mengzangju and Mengzangyuan were now agencies that served a modern nation-state built on Sun Yat-sen's vision of *wuzu gonghe*, or "Five Races Under One Union." Under this vision, the Republic of China connoted a single nation formed through the union of the Han Chinese, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Tibetans, and the Muslims. Unlike the Qing Manchus that had created racial hierarchies that placed themselves at the top, the Republic of China pledged to treat all five races as equal before the law, eliminate any special status, and represent all five races in the new parliament.[162] However, in practice, the new Republic did not dare to eliminate the special ethno-legal statuses that these different ethnic groups had enjoyed under Qing rule.[163] To woo the support of the Inner Mongolia nobility, the President of the Republic, Yuan Shikai (1859–1916), maintained the privileges that the Mongol nobles had enjoyed in the Qing period and even increased their salaries and giving them prestigious posts in the capital.[164] For high-

[161] Hsiao-ting Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier: Intrigues and Ethnopolitics, 1928–49* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), p. 32.

[162] Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931*, p. 39.

[163] Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931*, p. 40.

[164] Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931*, p. 40.

ranking Buddhist lamas, the same strategy of preserving Qing-era treatments was deployed.[165]

On the other hand, the new republic was also aware of the large monastic presence in Inner Mongolia, which posed potential threats to the central authority and placed economic strains on the nation. Considering this, members of the Mengzangyuan, or the Mongolian and Tibetan Ministry, proposed the "Legislation for Limiting Mongols on Becoming Lamas"[166] in 1924. The six-articled document proposed to prohibit the only child or the sole living heir of any given family from joining the Buddhist monastic order. Parents of children who did not wish to join the monastic order would be unable to force their children to become lamas, especially when they were underage. Those who wished to join the monastic order were required to report to their banner officials first and could only be ordained if the banner leaders found that none of the above articles have been violated.[167] This proposal expressed concern for the decline of the Mongols since the Qing and the decrease in population due the growth of Buddhist monasticism and it argued that Buddhist monasticism must be limited if the Mongolian population was to bounce back.[168] A report carried out by the Mengzangyuan revealed that the proposal gained unanimous support within the Ministry, even though the Republic of China's constitution at the time promised the freedom of religion. On this point,

---

[165] Boyan Mandu 博彦滿都, 1979. "Huiyi xinhai geming 回憶辛亥革命" in *Neimenggu Xinhai Geming Shiliao* 內蒙古辛亥革命史料 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1979), p. 109.

[166] 限制蒙人充當喇嘛案

[167] Mengzangyuan 蒙藏院, *Mengzangyuan zhaoji Mengshi huiyi yishilu* 蒙藏院召集蒙事會議議事錄 (Publisher unclear, 1924), p. 43.

[168] Mengzangyuan, *Mengzangyuan zhaoji Mengshi huiyi yishilu*, pp. 42-43.

the report explains that although the twelfth article of the Constitution of the Republic of China promised the freedom of religion to its citizens, this proposed legislation was based on "the utmost of good intentions"[169] because it was aimed at preventing the further decrease in the Mongolian population.[170] The report also reminded members of the Ministry to "not openly limit" monasticism and use the words of "respect and support" instead.[171]

Similar limitations were imposed on Buddhist monasticism in Inner Mongolia when the Nationalist Government under Chiang Kai-shek was established, ushering in a period of political tutelage beginning in 1928. One of the first things that the Kuomintang (KMT) did when they came to power in 1928 was to divide the central part of Inner Mongolia into the four new provinces of Rehe (Jehol), Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningxia. Other Mongol regions were then incorporated into the provinces of Gansu, Ningxia, Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin.[172] On this disfiguration of Inner Mongolia under the KMT, Hsiao-ting Lin writes, "The newly established provincial boundary cut ruthlessly across the traditional Mongol tribal and league or banner boundaries, contributing further to the Mongols' disunity and facilitating their ultimate colonization by the Han Chinese."[173]

Unlike the treatment of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia during the Yuan Shikai period, the state regulation of Buddhism in the Republic of China after the KMT came into power

---

[169] 用意至善

[170] Mengzangyuan, *Mengzangyuan zhaoji Mengshi huiyi yishilu*, pp. 44-45.

[171] 不必明白限制應改為尊崇黃教. Huangjiao 黃教, or "yellow religion," here refers to "Lamaist" Buddhism. Mengzangyuan, *Mengzangyuan zhaoji Mengshi huiyi yishilu*, p. 45.

[172] Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier*, p. 25.

[173] Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier*, p. 25.

was more intrusive. Buddhist affairs were managed by the Mengzang weiyuanhui (Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, MTAC), which had to approve most decisions, such as the appointment of important lamas' reincarnations, the granting of monastic certifications, and the handling of *shabinar*. In June 1931, the KMT government issued the "Statutes for the Supervision of Mongolian Lama Monasteries"[174] where it stated that all "Lama" monasteries in Inner Mongolia must release all *shabinar*[175] from monastic possessions and that all monasteries report their registers and budgets annually to the MTAC.[176] In December 1935, the "Statutes for the Management of Lama Monasteries"[177] were announced by the Republican government. The statutes further required all "Lamaist" monasteries and lamas to register with the MTAC, and stipulated that only the reincarnation identifications, appointments, and remunerations approved by the MTAC would be recognized.[178] In a supplementary directive to the Statutes announced in January 1936,

[174] 蒙古喇嘛寺廟監督條例

[175] Shabinar are referred to as "black disciples" 黑徒 in Chinese. In contrast, the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia) legislated to abolish the shabinar from the lama's estates following the death of the lama-emperor Bodg Khan in 1924. See Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, p. 47.

[176] Oljeyitogtakhu (Wuliji Taogetao 乌力吉陶格套) eds, Irgen ulus-un jasang-un gajar-aca Monggol Orun-tu jorigulun togtagagsan khauli durim (Minguo zhengfu youguan Menggu de falv 民国政府有关蒙古的法律). Chifeng: Neimenggu kexue jishu chubanshe, 2015), pp. 300-301.

[177] 管理喇嘛寺廟條例

[178] Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan 中国第二历史档案馆编 ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian* 中华民国史档案资料汇编, vol. 5, no.1. (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994), p. 13.

entitled, "Measures for the Awards and Punishments of Lamas,"[179] lamas were rewarded with elevated titles and monetary prizes if "meritorious services"[180] were performed for the nation, and punished through forced secularization, demotion of titles, and monetary fines if they did not register with the MTAC as prescribed.[181]

Whether if these Republican Chinese regulations were enforced on the ground is unclear. Scholars of the Republic of China, such as Hsiao-ting Lin, have pointed out that it should not be assumed that Chiang Kai-shek's asserted policies on China's frontier and minority affairs reflected what he and his regime intended to achieve, especially given the fact that the Nationalist government, which emerged as a localized regime in Nanking, only had nominal authority over the vast border regions of Qing China.[182] Lin argues that the KMT's assertion of sovereignty over the frontier was based on a political imagination that was engineered to maintain its nationalist façade and legitimacy.[183] In fact, Lin reminds us that frontier policies were more important for internal power struggles within the Nationalist Party and that "regional militarists and politicians also capitalized on frontier and ethnopolitical issues to criticize and oppose their political enemies in Nanking."[184] In any case, the regulation of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia merged with a much broader set of

[179] 喇嘛獎懲辦法

[180] 有大勳勞於國家

[181] Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian*: vol. 5, no.1., pp. 14-16.

[182] Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier*, p. 32.

[183] Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier*, pp. 13.

[184] Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier*, pp. 32.

political goals emanating from Nanking, namely, to create the impression of taming the frontier in order to consolidate the nation.

D. Manchukuo Regulations of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia

While Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was being regulated in the laws of the Republic of China, the Japanese puppet states of Manchukuo and Mengjiang were also drafting competing regulations of Buddhism for the area. Although Manchukuo encompassed most of northeast China, a significant Mongol population lived in the eastern part of the state, especially the Xing'an Province that the Republic of China also claimed for itself. According to a 1940s study, the Xing'an region encompassed 32% of the geographical area of Manchukuo and contained 64% of the Mongol population in all of Manchukuo.[185] Connecting Manchukuo with the Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia, and the north part of the Republic of China, the Xing'an region was considered to be geopolitically critical to Manchukuo and the "lifeline" (J: *seimeisen*) of the Japanese Empire. In this crucial region, the presence of Mongolian Buddhism was dominant. Official statistics from the Manchukuo

[185] Baishun Qi 齐百顺, *Riben qinzhan shiqi "Xing'an sheng" jingji tongzhi zhengce yanjiu* 日本侵佔時期"興安省"經濟統制政策研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning chubanshe, 2016), p. 14.

government records 29,697 lamas and 985 Buddhist monasteries in the region in the 1940s.[186] 61%[187] of these lamas were located in the Xing'an area alone.[188]

In contrast to Republican Chinese laws, Manchukuo regulations of Buddhism in its Mongol regions attempted to separate Buddhism from political activities, to reform Buddhist monasticism, and to create transnational Buddhist organizations and education programs. Nine months after the creation of Manchukuo, the Xing'an Provincial government issued a directive in December 1932 called "On the Prohibition of Lamas' Involvement in Politics."[189] This directive stated that the practice of dual law in the Inner Asian Buddhist tradition was incompatible with the new nation-state of Manchukuo, which was built on the foundations of "scientific development."[190] The directive recognized that although religion (C: *zongjiao,* J: *shūkyō*) offered moral teachings and bonded people's minds together for the unity of societies, it was only necessary in the past when humanity was "ignorant"[191] and

---

[186] Manshū Teikoku seifu 満州帝国政府 ed., *Manshū kenkoku jūnen shi* 満州建国十年史(Tokyo: Hara shōbō, 1969), p. 830.

[187] The population of lamas in the Xing'an region was as follows: Xing'an South Province 興安南省: 7,280; Xing'an West Province 興安西省: 7,566; Xing'an North Province 興安北省: 3,528. The total lama population in the Xing'an region was 18,374, which was 61.87% of the total lama population in Manchukuo, according to the statistics compiled by the Xing'an Bureau 興安局 in 1940.

[188] Manshū Teikoku seifu ed., *Manshū kenkoku jūnen shi*, pp. 828-829.

[189] 關於禁止喇嘛干政之件/喇嘛ノ政治干涉禁止ニ関スル件

[190] 科學發達. The specific location of this document in the *Manshūkoku hōrei shūran*, vol.2 is in the fourth section on religion under the chapter title "shūkyō 宗教." Manshūkoku kokumuin 満州国国務院, *Manshūkoku hōrei shūran* 満洲国法令輯覧, vol.2 (Shinkyō: Manshū gyōsei gakkai, 1943), pp.1-2.

[191] 無知無識

lacked the organization units of families and nations (C: *jiaguo*, J: *kakoku*). With the establishment of bureaucratic structures and legal processes, the directive contends, the nation was able to use politics (C: *zhengzhi*, J: *seiji*) to regulate morality and discipline wrongful behaviors, rendering religion only relevant in the realm of spiritual salvation.[192] Thus, for Manchukuo, a modern state operating under the ideology of the "kingly way"[193] (C: *wangdao*, J: *ōdō*), the mix of politics with "Lamaism" was considered to be not only inappropriate but an unacceptable "immoral practice."[194] In other words, the directive made it apparent that Manchukuo now operated under a centralized authority of the "kingly way" in the Confucian model of sage rulership, and not in the model of the dual law that had been supported by the Manchu rulers of the Qing.

In August 1940, the Manchukuo government issued another, more comprehensive, collection of policies regarding the regulation of Buddhism. Entitled, "Outline for the Reformation of Lamaism,"[195] this document contained policies to address the "problems" of Lamaism for the welfare of the Mongolian people.[196] These "problems" were the "low quality" of lamas, the heavy economic burdens that lamas and monasteries had created for

[192] Manshūkoku kokumuin, *Manshūkoku hōrei shūran*, vol.2, p. 2.

[193] The idea of the "kingly way" was based on the Confucian concept of sage rulership in which the ruler governed with the mandate of heaven. Policymakers of Manchukuo used the idea to justify the restoration of the last Qing emperor, Pu Yi (1906–1967), as the emperor of the state. See Louise Young's *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (University of California Press, 1999), p. 286.

[194] 弊端. Manshūkoku kokumuin, *Manshūkoku hōrei shūran*, vol.2, p. 2.

[195] 喇嘛教整頓綱要/喇嘛教整備に就て

[196] Manshū Teikoku seifu ed., *Manshū kenkoku jūnen shi*, p. 825.

the Mongolian people, and the issue of depopulation caused by regional over-population of monastics.[197] To solve these "problems" of Mongolian Buddhism in Manchukuo, the Outline lists the following seven articles of reform.

The first article of reform was the creation of the Manchukuo Empire Lamaist Group[198] that would unite all the lamas in the nation under one organization. This new organization would not only centralize followers of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism into a nation-wide religious reform movement, but it would also prevent "blind dependency"[199] on khutugtus from outside the nation.

The second article claimed to remedy the imputed fact that many of 30,000 lamas within Manchukuo were uneducated, illiterate, and unaccomplished. In order to "improve" the situation, public secular education programs would be established within major monasteries and re-education programs introduced for underaged lamas. These public education programs were aimed at inserting modern knowledge into existing monastic curricula to cultivate the future leaders of Mongolian Buddhism. Monastic study-abroad programs were also initiated where young Mongolian lamas would be sent to Buddhist monasteries in Japan to study, where "the most correct Buddhadharma flourished."[200]

Third, the ranks, titles, and posts of Mongol lamas that had been preserved in the region needed to be organized and centralized under the approval of the Manchukuo Empire

---

[197] Manshū Teikoku seifu ed., *Manshū kenkoku jūnen shi*, p. 825.

[198] 滿洲帝國喇嘛教宗團/滿洲帝国喇嘛教宗団

[199] 盲目的依存性

[200] 世界に於て最も正法の興隆せる日本佛教

Lamaist Group, which implied yet another intervention at restructuring the monastic organization systems established since the Qing.

Although the Tibetan language was the *lingua franca* amongst Mongol Buddhists in the region, the fourth article encouraged Mongols to use Buddhist texts in the Mongolian language in their daily practices and liturgies. Being aware that changing the language of religious rituals overnight was not an easy task, the article recommended a gradual promotion of Mongolian Buddhist texts.

Article five and six addressed perceived deficiencies in monastic infrastructure. Article five promised that, in addition to establishing the Manchukuo Empire Lamaist Group, the Manchukuo government would found a national head temple (J: *sōhonzan*) for all the lamas of Manchukuo at a suitable location headed by a respectable khutugtu. Article six promised that the economic management of Buddhist monasteries in the state was to be systematized. Specifically, a clear financial management system needed to be set in place to oversee the assets of the monasteries, and the daily spending of the monastic community.[201]

Seventh, regarding the Mongol lay Buddhist population, the development of secular public education was emphasized, especially for the cultivation of "a critical stance towards the superstitious elements within Lamaism."[202] Interestingly, what "superstitious elements" entailed was not elaborated in the document.

---

[201] Notably, in contrast to the Republican Chinese regulations of Buddhist assets in Inner Mongolia that prescribed the abolition of *shabinar* subjects, these Manchukuo articles did not.

[202] 喇嘛教が多分に有する迷信的要素に対する批判力の養成. Manshū Teikoku seifu ed., *Manshū kenkoku jūnen shi,* pp. 825-827.

As with the regulation of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia under Republican Chinese laws, it is unclear how these Manchukuo policies directed at reforming Mongolian Buddhism were implemented on the ground. The Manchukuo Empire Lamaist Group was indeed created on December 5, 1940, in Xinjing, the capital of Manchukuo, and was headed by the Chagan Khutugtu, a high-ranking Mongolian lama, and the Japanese vice director Satō Tomie.[203] About two hundred Mongol lamas were also sent to Japan to study between 1932 and 1945, funded by Japanese Buddhist organizations such as the Jōdo, Shingon, and Tendai schools.[204] In Chapter 4, we will take a close look at the Mongol lamas who went to study at the Kōyasan in Japan, the headquarter of Shingon Buddhism, in the 1930s and 1940s. In any case, as Narangoa points out, these policies did not seem to spark significant discussions of Buddhist reform amongst the Mongols themselves.[205] On the effects of these policies directed at Mongolian Buddhism, Narangoa writes,

> "In general, the response of the Mongol leaders in Manchukuo to Japanese reform efforts was selective. They were happy with the introduction of modern facilities such as health care and medical training and they were generally willing to accept the broadening of the education system and the promotion of Mongol culture. But especially on more strictly doctrinal issues,

[203] Li Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945" in *Critical Asian Studies* 35, vol. 4 (2003): p. 501.

[204] Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945," p. 500.

[205] Li Narangoa contends that "Although many monasteries sent young lamas to Japan to study, most of the lamas remained faithful to their belief in the tenets of Mongolian Buddhism. Only a few of the lamas who studied in Japanese Buddhist temples and schools were attracted to the religious forms they were introduced to in Japan." See "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932-1945," p. 505.

> the Mongolian lamas and politicians saw little reason to change their established beliefs and practices at the behest of the Japanese."[206]

Interestingly, Thomas D. DuBois has found that as in the case of codified laws of Manchukuo, case records were largely silent on the topic of Buddhism and religion in general,[207] which again raises the issue of the actual implementation and enforcement of Manchukuo regulations on Buddhism. DuBois adds, "such silence on the topic of religion notably contrasts not only with the activism displayed in government ordinances, but also with the pivotal role that other judiciaries have subsequently played in the interpretation of religion."[208] Similar to how Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was governed under the Republic of China with an "imagined sovereignty" over the frontier region, the Manchukuo policies were probably more active on paper than in practice.

E. Mengjiang Regulations of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia

As Japanese influence expanded from Manchuria to Inner Mongolia following the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, the puppet state of the Mengjiang United Autonomous Government was created in 1941 under the military leadership of Demchugdongrub (1902–1966), a Mongol prince who also spearheaded an independence movement in Inner Mongolia. At first, the same policies created by the policymakers in Manchukuo towards

---

[206] Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945," p. 501.

[207] Thomas D. DuBois, 2017. *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia: Manchuria 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 126.

[208] DuBois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia*, p. 128.

Buddhism were to be implemented in Mengjiang.[209] However, being a Qing-era Mongol noble and a devout Buddhist sandwiched between rising Chinese, Japanese, and Soviet powers, Demchugdongrub looked to the past to the traditions of the Qing for inspiration in his management of Buddhist affairs in his state. As a result, the Office of Lama Seals and Services (C: *lama yinwuchu*), a Qing-era administrative agency overseeing Buddhist affairs in Mongolia and Tibet, was revived.[210] However, the Prince was not unreceptive to the suggestions of modern reforms of Buddhism suggested by the policies of Manchukuo. Hirokawa Saho has pointed out that Demchugdongrub was supportive of the Buddhist reform measures aimed at solving the depopulation issue amongst his fellow Mongols.[211] Thus, at the Xilingol League Conference of 1942, the administration under Prince Demchugdongrub promulgated regulations to limit monasticism. These regulations prohibited the only son of any family from joining the monastic order, and put a cap of four as the maximum number of monastics a given family could have.[212]

By the end of 1942, qualifying monastic examinations were carried out in the various leagues in Mengjiang which aided the secularization of Buddhist lamas in the region. For

[209] Saho Hirokawa 広川佐保, "Mōkyō seiken no tai-Mongoru seisaku – Manshūkoku to no hikaku o tsūjite 蒙疆政権の対モンゴル政策ー満州国との比較を通じて," in *Nihon no Mōkyō senryō: 1937–1945* 日本の蒙疆占領 : 1937-1945, eds. Uchida Tomoyuki and Shibata Yoshimasa (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppansha, 2007), p. 92.

[210] Hirokawa, "Mōkyō seiken no tai-Mongoru seisaku – Manshūkoku to no hikaku o tsūjite," p. 92.

[211] Hirokawa, "Mōkyō seiken no tai-Mongoru seisaku – Manshūkoku to no hikaku o tsūjite," p. 92.

[212] Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945," p. 503.

example, after lama qualifying examinations[213] were instituted in the Ulanqab League, only 375 individuals out of 525 passed. Out of the remaining 150 individuals, 55 joined the army and 95 joined other forms of secular occupations.[214] In 1943, the Mengjiang government further tightened its grip on the growth of monasticism. Newspapers at this time began criticizing the tradition of child lamas and blamed Tibetan Buddhism for the decrease in Mongolian population.[215]

As for how these reform policies towards Buddhism were received by the Mongols, Narangoa Li suggests that there was neither enthusiastic support nor significant protest. She argues that Mongolian Buddhist resistance to Japanese policies in the puppet states of Manchukuo and Mengjiang was weaker than that of colonial Korea, and there were no active Mongolian Buddhist attempts to protest Japanese invasion and war, nor cases of entire monasteries converting to Japanese Buddhism, as had occurred in colonial Korea and Taiwan.[216]

F. Governing Buddhism on the Frontiers of the Nation and the Empire

To summarize, the regulation of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia in the post-Qing by the Republic of China, Manchukuo, and the Mengjiang governments began with a continuation of Qing-era policies. In the early years of the Republic of China, the socio-economic status

[213] For these qualifying examinations, monastics were tested on their knowledge of Buddhist doctrines and practices.

[214] Hirokawa, "Mōkyō seiken no tai-Mongoru seisaku – Manshūkoku to no hikaku o tsūjite," p. 92.

[215] Hirokawa, "Mōkyō seiken no tai-Mongoru seisaku – Manshūkoku to no hikaku o tsūjite," p. 94.

[216] Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945," p. 506.

that high-level Buddhist leaders in Inner Mongolia had enjoyed in the Qing were maintained and even further elevated in service of political alliance-making. Considering the amount of political, religious, social, and even emotional capital that the Buddhist institution was able to maintain in Inner Mongolia, all three of these modern East Asian states chose not to drastically disrupt the status-quo of dual law that respected the Buddhist clergy as much as (if not more than) the state. As a result, although the policymakers of these modern states saw Buddhism in Inner Mongolia as an outdated "superstitious" institution that caused the decline of Mongolian society both demographically and economically, the reforms that they wanted to see had to be planned gradually and diplomatically.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the policies of these three modern states towards Buddhism in Inner Mongolia began to limit monasticism and Mongolian Buddhist agency. In order to diminish the supremacy of the Buddhist monasticism in Inner Mongolia and to increase the non-monastic population in the form of mobilizable labor forces for the nation and the empire, the tradition of "monk taxes," which required families sending at least one male child to the Buddhist monastic system, was restricted in various ways. As an alternative to the Buddhist monastery, which had served as one of the only venues for education in Qing Inner Mongolia, modern public secular education was offered to children and young adults, often on the sites of large monasteries. In the 1930s, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was regulated to be separated from political involvement, and the management of monastic affairs went to new structures of monastic organizations created by these modern states to specifically deal with ethnic religious matters on the frontiers. In this period, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was increasingly governed biopolitically as a political-economic issue for the states. Monastic assets, such as property, income, herds, and monastic population were

required to be registered with the central government. The practice of holding s*habinar*, or lay subjects at monasteries for labor, was also abolished.

But as we have discussed in the previous paragraphs, how these regulations were implemented on the ground, if they were indeed implemented at all, is rather murky. Situating Buddhism in Inner Mongolia spatially on the frontiers of Sinocentric and Japan-centric nation-states, these regulations of Buddhism were mostly top-down elite legal practices directed from metropolitan centers at the periphery. As Hsiao-ting Lin has contended, frontier policy for the Republic of China was a form of "imagined sovereignty,"[217] which I argue that the Japanese puppet states of Manchukuo and Mengjiang similarly participated in, given the fact that both puppet states did not stay in power long enough for their policies to be implemented effectively on the ground. Observing how these post-Qing modern East Asian states made competing claims of "imagined sovereignty" over Inner Mongolia, we can see that overlapping legal structures were created that competed to govern Buddhism in the region. These competing regulations and frontier policies may have played a role in the internal power conflicts of these modern states, such as in the case of the Kuomintang, but they were also useful for nation-building and empire-building projects. For the policymakers of the Republic of China, Manchukuo, and Mengjiang, Buddhism was one of the only trans-Asian threads that could link ethnic groups with different languages and cultures together under one nation and/or empire. Therefore, having the power to manage and govern Buddhist institutions meant the ability to tap into and mobilize the political, economic, and social capital of the religion, and to do so transnationally.

[217] Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier*, p. 15.

As tools of nation-building and empire-building, these elite regulations assumed a linear temporality and a teleology of "progress" and "modernization" for Inner Mongolian Buddhism deemed as "unproductive" and "backwards." I argue that this is a form of epistemic violence inflicted onto the religious bodies (especially the non-tulku ones) on the peripheries of modern nation-building and empire-building projects. In her well-known essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Gayatri C. Spivak states that "The clearest available example of such epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other."[218] The state regulations of Buddhism in our Inner Mongolia case are precisely examples of this colonial project remotely orchestrated to constitute the Other through competing and overlapping frontier policies.

It is important to remember that the practice of epistemic violence through legal processes preceded actual violence in our Mongolian case. In post-Qing Outer Mongolia, similar limitations were created to curb Buddhist monasticism in the region, especially after the fall of the theocratic Bogda Khan government when the socialist Mongolian People's Republic (1924–1992) came into power. Under the leadership of Khorloogiin Choibalsan (1895–1952), approximately 18,000 lamas were killed in a socialist purge lasting eighteen months from late 1937 to mid-1939, and all but a handful of Buddhist monasteries were destroyed across the country.[219] Before the carnage took place, however, modern legal and

[218] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

[219] Christopher Kaplonski, *The Lama Question: Violence, Sovereignty, and Exception in Early Socialist Mongolia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), p. 5.

bureaucratic frameworks existed to "know and control the population and the lamas, to introduce measures of governmentality, and to rule through the economic deployment rather than the blunt application of power."[220] In his monograph, *The Lama Question* (2014), Christopher Kaplonski shows that for the Mongolian socialist state, the problem of the lamas was "not that they were religious but that they possessed substantial economic, political, and ideological power."[221] The way that the socialist state chose to solve this "lama question" was first through accommodation, symbolic violence, structural violence, and proactive measures before choosing direct physical violence.[222] Indeed, state violence for modern Mongolia was not an event but a process that involved multiple modes of violence.

In Inner Mongolia, although the Republic of China and the Japanese puppet states of Manchukuo and Mengjiang did not manage to stay in power long enough to purge Buddhism on a similarly massive scale,[223] their legacy of governing Buddhism and the infliction of epistemic violence through legal practices would later be inherited by the Chinese Communist Party in its policies towards ethnic minorities' religions in the People's Republic of China. In May 1947, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was established under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, two years before the establishment of the

[220] Kaplonski, *The Lama Question*, p. 226.

[221] Kaplonski, *The Lama Question*, p. 227.

[222] Kaplonski, *The Lama Question*, p. 226.

[223] The monastic population in Inner Mongolia declined gradually throughout the decades since the fall of the Qing Empire. Compared to the Qing period which had about 100,000 lamas and 1,600 monasteries and temples in the region, there were about 60,000 lamas and 1,366 monasteries and temples after 1945. See Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, pp. 452-453.This translates to an approximate 40% decrease in monastic population and a 15% decrease in Buddhist sites between 1912 and 1945.

People's Republic China itself in October 1949. In the "Policy Guidelines for the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government"[224] announced on April 27, 1947, "freedom of religion" was promised to the Mongols in the region. However, in the same document, "separation of religion from the state"[225] was to be instituted. Lamas were also persuaded to "voluntarily" participate in secular industries and join the larger labor force.[226]

By the early 1960s, there were about 17,000 Buddhist monks in Inner Mongolia, compared to 100,000 at the end of the Qing period.[227] According to a survey done in 1961, 11,584 lamas out of 13,000 surveyed participated in forms of secular labor. Of these, 354 individuals were involved in mining, 2,330 in agriculture, 6,400 in husbandry, 1,200 in medicine, and 1,300 in other industries.[228] During the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s and 1970s, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia experienced brutal repressions similar to that of the Mongolian People's Republic in the 1930s and was one of the worst affected areas within the People's Republic of China. According to official statistics, the Cultural Revolution resulted in over 22,000 deaths and 300,000 injuries in Inner Mongolia.[229] The Buddhist community

[224] 內蒙古自治政府施政綱領

[225] 實行信教自由與政教分立

[226] 提倡喇嘛自願投資經營農工商業與各種合作事業，獎勵喇嘛自願入學與參加勞動，行醫，識字。Zhonggong zhongyang tongzhanbu 中國中央統戰部, "Neimenggu zizhi zhengfu shizheng gangling 內蒙古自治政府施政綱領" in *Minzu wenti wenxian huibian* 民族問題文獻匯編 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1991), pp. 1111-1113.

[227] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 761.

[228] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 761.

[229] Kerry Brown, "The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia 1967–1969: The Purge of the 'Heirs of Genghis Khan'" in *Asian Affairs* 38, no. 2 (2007): pp. 173–187.

was heavily affected in the campaign to rid of "the Four Olds." It is unclear how many Buddhist monastics in Inner Mongolia were killed, injured, or forcibly laicized during this period, but according to official statistics, only 5,000 lamas were found in the region after the Cultural Revolution in 1984, and 3,854 out of these 5,000 lamas reported no sources of income.[230] The number of still-standing Buddhist monasteries in the area also went down from at least 1,600 at the end of the Qing period to about less than 500 after the storm of the Cultural Revolution.[231] Only seventy-two monasteries received renovation funds from the government and were reopened to the public between 1985 and 1995.[232]

G. Situating "Lamaism" in a Time and a Place

The Inner Mongolia case discussed in this chapter can tell us at least four things about the modern state's governance of religion in early twentieth-century East Asia. First, although the constitutional practices of modern East Asian states were mostly influenced by western law,[233] they contained considerable continuities with the laws of imperial China when it came to the regulation of Buddhism in Inner Asia. Western constitutional ideas such as "freedom of religion" were present in the modern East Asian constitutional discourses discussed in this chapter, but they had to be mediated through previously existing political

[230] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 779.

[231] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 777.

[232] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 777.

[233] Maria Adele Carrai has shown in her work on Republican China's governance of Tibet that strategies of empire are not only a prerogative of the West but was also adopted by both Republican China and later the People's Republic of China to assert themselves in the international domain as a sovereign state and pursue their fictional claims over Tibet. See Maria A. Carrai, "Learning Western Techniques of Empire: Republican China and the New Legal Framework for Managing Tibet" in *International Legal Theory* 30 (2017): pp. 801.

formations and structures, such as the tradition of dual law that allowed Buddhism to play key roles in legitimating and resisting political and legal orders.

Secondly, when we observe how Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was regulated in post-Qing modern East Asia, we begin to see that there were parallel, overlapping, and competing legal structures in place. Different laws were created to regulate different traditions of Buddhism in different geographical regions practiced by people of different ethnicities. This can be seen in the different legal vocabulary developed to govern Buddhism. For example, while institutional Buddhism in China proper was regulated as *fojiao* in the Republic of China, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was regulated as *lamajiao*, or "Lamaism," which was understood as an ethnic religious tradition that needed uniquely designed modernizing reforms. Thus, the regulation of religion on the frontier regions, which was more often informed by frontier policies and racialized assumptions about the people living in such regions, can look very different from the regulation of religion for the rest of the nation. At the same time, the Inner Mongolia case shows us that in the modern East Asian context, there could be overlapping and even competing legal structures — competing constitutions — operating at once when it comes to the regulation of religion. Competing claims of sovereignty over the region of Inner Mongolia allowed modern states backed by very different political ideologies to "flex their legal muscles" in the realm of religion governance in an overlapping and competitive way.

Thirdly, the state governance of religion in the modern East Asian context can be teleological. Situating the region of Inner Mongolia and its people in a particular spatiality and temporality, namely, the "frontier" and the "pre-modern," Buddhism and Buddhist monasticism in Inner Mongolia came to be understood as "uncivilized," "backwards," and

even morally "degenerate" in the reform policies of the Republic of China and the Japanese puppet states of Manchukuo and Mengjiang. Following this logic, Buddhism in Inner Mongolia was governed and disciplined in these state regulations as a political-economic and biopolitical problem. As Thomas D. DuBois has pointed out in his study of religion in early twentieth-century northeast Asia, "[l]awmaking and social policy are not merely a passive platform for the expression of religious ideas, but a realm of ethical and theological exploration in their own right."[234]

Fourth, these parallel, overlapping, and competing regulations of religion created paradigms of constitutional practice that created a legacy of religion governance and frontier policies that would be inherited by subsequent modern nation-states, even if the new state operated under a different political ideology. I argue that this legacy of the governance of religion on the frontiers exemplifies a legacy of epistemic violence carried out through the processes of law-making. This legacy has been passed on from the Qing to the People's Republic of China. As Ilana Feldman argued in her book *Governing Gaza*, the authority of any governmental bureaucracy is reiterative; it has to be enacted through practice as an ongoing process and cannot simply be established once and for all.[235] Interestingly, the legacy of reiterative authority examined in this chapter only reveals the contingent nature of these modern East Asian states, be it the Republic of China, Manchukuo, Mengjiang, or the People's Republic of China.

[234] DuBois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia*, p. 109.

[235] Ilana Feldman, 2008. *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 15.

In the next chapters, we will consider two case studies where the contingent nature of these modern East Asian states was challenged and when modern spatializations and temporalizations of "Lamaism" met their limits.

IV. Performing Tantric Rituals to Save the Nation[236]

In the previous chapters, we discussed the formation of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network throughout the Qing period, mapped out its expansive reaches from Tibet to Manchuria, as well as its density in the region of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. As modern Chinese and Japanese-supported modern regimes "rediscovered" this vast network and the political potential it harbors through Orientalist scholarship and discourses on "Lamaism," new regulations and strategies to discipline the Inner Asian Buddhist tradition spatially and temporally were created, however, with limitations. In this chapter, we will turn our attention to the 9th Panchen Lama (1883-1937), one of the most revered tulkus and reincarnation lineage holders in Geluk Buddhism and examine how his mobility and ritual activities across Buddhist Inner Asia and beyond in the early twentieth century both responded to and challenged the spatial and temporal orders of modern China and modern Japan.

A. Making the Esoteric Rituals Public

Since May 1954, the 14th Dalai Lama (1935-) has conducted thirty-four Kālacakra initiations outside of Tibet. The most recent initiation, which had 200,000 people in attendance, was carried out in January 2017 in Bodhgaya, India.[237] All of these thirty-four initiations were attended by thousands of people from various parts of the world. The

[236] This chapter has been published as "Making the Esoteric Public: The Ninth Panchen Lama and the Trans-ethnonational Rituals of the Kālacakra Initiations in Early Twentieth-Century East Asia," *Acta Mongolica*, 18, no. 532 (2019): 131–175.

[237] "Introduction to the Kalacakra," The Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, accessed January 7, 2020), https://www.dalailama.com/teachings/kalachakra-initiations.

Kālacakra initiations have become not only popular tantric rituals for global Tibetan Buddhist communities, but also major international events that promote world peace and religious freedom.

However, the first Kālacakra initiation that was given to large diverse public audiences outside of Tibet in the twentieth century was conducted not by the current Dalai Lama, but by the Ninth Panchen Lama at the turn of the twentieth century. Nine such Kālacakra initiations were given by the Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937) from 1928 to 1936. Tens of thousands of attendees from Inner Mongolia, Republic of China, and parts of Amdo, such as Mongol lords and princes, Chinese politicians and war lords, foreign dignitaries, distinguished Buddhists from various transnational traditions, celebrities, socialites, university students, as well as thousands of interested individuals, all flocked to the rituals.

The *Kālacakratantra* is an early eleventh-century esoteric treatise that belongs to the highest class of *tantras*, the unexcelled *yoga-tantras* (S*: niruttara-yoga-tantra*) and is believed to be the last *niruttara-yoga-tantra* to appear in India.[238] The *tantra* spread to Nepal and Tibet under the promulgation of Piṇḍo and his disciple Atiśa, as well as Nāropa, and became highly influential in Tibetan Buddhist traditions, especially with the Jonang and Geluk traditions.[239] In the Kālacakra tradition, an initiation (S: *abhiṣeka;* T: *dbang/dbang bskur*) is an essential ritual in which a qualified teacher confers the authority and ability to

[238] Vesna A. Wallace, *The Inner Kālacakratantra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 3.

[239] Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 1014.

practice a certain tantric method.[240] It can be understood as a process of purification, a rite of passage into a superior spiritual path, an empowerment of potencies, and a type of healing for both worldly and mental distresses.[241]

Using newspaper, periodical, and biographical sources, the first part of this chapter reveals some of the details of these tantric Buddhist rituals and shows that the Ninth Panchen Lama's Kālacakra initiations were not only open to diverse audiences of the public, but they were also groundbreaking in their embrace of modern technologies such as print media for advertising and fundraising. Some of these media platforms promoted Buddhism, while others served as public arenas for critical discussions on religion. Modern transportation systems, radio communication, and film were utilized to assist ritual operations and documentation. Robust commercial activities around the Kālacakra initiations even took place, such as the vending of the rituals' photographs and various types of religious commodities from Tibet. Non-monastic women of various cultural and social backgrounds also emerged in these sources as avid donors and passionate participants of these public Tibetan Buddhist rituals.

The second part of the chapter asks, why did the Ninth Panchen Lama, whose monastic seat has historically been in Tibet, perform these Kālacakra initiations in places like Inner Mongolia and parts of China and to such diverse public audiences? Why were these nine Kālacakra initiations so well-received by the general public outside of Tibet? What does

[240] Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, "The Kālacakra Empowerment as Conducted by Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche," in *As Long as Space Endures: Essays on the Kālacakra Tantra in Honor of H. H. The Dalai Lama,* ed. Edward A. Arnold (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2009), p. 415.

[241] Jeffrey Hopkins, *Kālacakra Tantra Rite of Initiation: For the Stage of Generation* (Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1999), p. 67-68.

this say about the role Tibetan Buddhism, especially the institution of Geluk Buddhism, played in the post-imperium spaces of modern East Asia?

This chapter argues that in the precarious ruins of post-Qing East Asia, the Ninth Panchen Lama in exile performed these Kālacakra initiations in places where religious and political capitals were highly saturated, so that old lineages and priest-patron bonds on the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network can be maintained. For the Mongol patrons of the Lama, the Kālacakra initiations in Inner Mongolia created rituals spaces which facilitated the preservation of the imagined community that is the Mongols, who were bound by lineages through the myth of Śambhala as described in the *Kālacakratantra,* but also through the identity of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist formed in the Qing. This sharing of ethnonational communal experiences through rituals helped to gather, centralize, and mobilize these nomadic groups of people for political change. For the Chinese patrons of the Republican government, the publicity of the Kālacakra initiations were useful in promoting ethnic harmony between the "five nationalities" (C: *wuzu gonghe*), especially between the Tibetans, Mongols, and the Han. However, as this chapter shows, there was also at the same time a popular desire for the continuity of Buddhist history and tradition amongst the Chinese, as well as a market amongst Chinese Buddhists for the messianic message contained in the Indo-Tibet tantric tradition of the *Kālacakratantra,* especially in desperate times of war, natural disasters, political instabilities, and increasing global conflict.

Through examining the Ninth Panchen Lama's nine Kālacakra initiations performed outside of Tibet between 1928 and 1936, this chapter unveils that Geluk Buddhism was highly transregional, trans-ethnonational, and even international at the turn of the twentieth century. With the collapse of old regimes and the growths of new ones, old patrons and

connections were replaced. As such, the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network that we have discussed in Chapter 1, upon facing the crises of modernity and new state regulations that aimed to restrict their influence that we have discussed in Chapter 2, further expanded beyond the passes of the Great Wall into places that were never dominated by Geluk Buddhist influence.

On the one hand, the Ninth Panchen Lama actively pursued religious and political activities beyond Tibet, which allowed for the maintenance of old lineages on the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network, while enabling the forging of new alliances in modern China. On the other hand, Tibetan Buddhism was involved in a larger pan-Asian tantric revival movement propelled by modern Chinese Buddhists and Japanese Buddhists who were motivated to "rediscover" the "lost *tantras"* in Inner Asian Buddhism. On top of this, the Ninth Panchen Lama and the Geluk Buddhist institution enjoyed considerable international coverage by travelers, journalists, and academics from the West, who followed Tibet and its religious institutions closely in their geopolitical analyses of pre-WWII East Asia.

This chapter shows that while the diverse audiences of the Kālacakra initiations had creative agencies to interpret and participate in the rituals in ways that were relevant to them, this chapter also suggests that the rituals themselves had agencies of their own – they held affective power that was able to evoke various types of imaginations and interpretations of religion in their recipients. Tantric texts such as the *Kālacakratantra* and its associated practices provided metanarratives using Buddhist cosmology to explain suffering, war, disorder, and even imperialism in the post-imperium instabilities of modern East Asia.

Finally, this chapter presents the Kālacakra initiations as case studies of how Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist rituals functioned as public spheres that facilitated public discourse on

religion and modernity. As the Kālacakra initiations became controversial topics of fascination and denunciation through the power of print media, the Buddhist ritual served as a location for public debates on the role of religion in politics, and the place of faith in the processes of modernization.

B. The 9th Panchen Lama (1883-1937) in Exile

The Ninth Panchen Lama was born as Samdrub Gyatso on February 19, 1883 in the Brum Gasha village in the Dakpo region of southeastern Tibet.[242] He was selected out of three possible reincarnations of the Eighth Panchen Lama.[243] In 1888, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama presided over the tonsure ceremony for Samdrub Gyatso and bestowed upon him the religious name Jétsun Lozang Thubten Chökyi Nyima Gélèk Namgyel Pelzangbo (T: Rje-btsun blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal dpal bzang po).[244] In 1892, the Ninth Panchen Lama was enthroned at the Tashilhunpo monastery and took novice vows under the regent of Tibet, Demo Khutukhtu (T: De mo ho thog thu).[245] A few years later in

[242] Fabienne Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations,* trans. Rebecca Bissett Buechel (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2011), p. 205.

[243] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* 205.

[244] Jagou uses the name "Jétsun Lozang Chökyi Nyima Gélèk Namgyel Pelzangbo" (Tib: Rje-btsun blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal dpal bzang po), 205; The Treasury of Lives uses "thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma," https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/thub-bstan-chos-kyi-nyi-ma/3822; the BDRC uses these name variants: chos kyi nyi ma, blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal, paN chen 06 blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, paN chen 09 blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma (he is sometimes referred to as the Sixth Panchen Lama, but mostly commonly referred to as the Ninth Panchen Lama), https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=P215.

[245] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 205.

1902, the Ninth Panchen Lama took monastic vows with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Lhasa.[246]

The young Panchen Lama was only in his early twenties when the British invasion led by Colonel Francis Younghusband came to his doorsteps in 1903. The era marked by imperialist ambitions and global-scale warfare had begun and Tibet was not exempt. The Qing hegemony that had been a major patron to the Tibetan Geluk Buddhist institution for centuries also struggled with foreign invasions and after a series of unsuccessful reforms, collapsed under the weight of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. In the ruins of the post-imperium, the Republic of China (ROC) declared itself as a sovereign state under the leadership of its first president, Sun Yat-sen, and his political party, the Kuomintang (KMT). Soon after the fall of the Qing empire in 1911, Outer Mongolia declared independence, followed by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama declaring independence for Tibet.[247] However, the new Republic of China continued to recognize non-Han groups and regions as part of the ROC state. Tibet, along with Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Manchuria were claimed as part of the ROC territories. Tibetans, Mongolians, Uyghurs and Hui Muslims, and Manchus were recognized alongside Han Chinese as the official five nationalities and languages of the state.

In 1923, due to disputes with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over taxation imposed on Tashilhunpo, the Ninth Panchen Lama left Tibet and began more than a decade of exiled travel in Inner Mongolia and the Republic of China. When he arrived in Beijing in January 1925, he gave a speech read by Lozang Gyeltsen at the National Reconstruction Conference

[246] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 205.

[247] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 205.

(C: *shanhou huiyi* 善後會議). The speech denounced internal disputes within the ROC government over power struggles and suggested the "collaboration of the five nationalities" (C: *wuzu gongzhu* 五族共助).[248] This was the first time that the Panchen Lama had used the ROC's rhetoric of the "Five Races under One Union" (C: *wuzu gonghe* 五族共和) in public. In the following months of the same year, the Panchen Lama gave a series of Green and White Tārā and Amitāyus initiations at Mount Wutai, as well as in Beijing, Hangzhou, and Shanghai.[249] In August 1925, he was given the title of "Propagating Righteousness and Spreading Salvation" (C: *xuancheng jishi* 宣誠濟世) by the ROC government through the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission to commemorate his efforts at spreading the dharma outside of Tibet.[250]

By the end of 1929, eight Offices of the Ninth Panchen Lama had opened in the ROC, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and India with the support of the ROC government. They are located in Nanjing (capital city of the ROC government in South China), Beiping (today's Beijing, in North China), Chengdu (in Sichuan), Fengtian (today's Shenyang, in Manchuria), Xining (in Qinghai), Xilinhot (in Inner Mongolia), Taiyuan (in Shanxi), and Darjeeling (in

[248] Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan eds. 中國藏學研究中心，中國第二歷史檔案館, *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian* 九世班禪內地活動及返藏受阻檔案選編 (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1992), p. 2.

[249] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 206.

[250] Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan eds, *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian,* p. 5.

India).[251] According to two correspondences sent from the Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing to the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, the purpose of setting up these offices was due to the Panchen Lama's concern for "national security and the suffering of the Tibetan people,"[252] as well as a wish to "collaborate with comrades on the revolution front and pursue the liberation of the Tibetan people."[253] It is also clear from the document that more and more Tibetans were traveling outside of Tibet and that these offices would provide satellite support. In the *Manifesto of the Establishment of the Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing* (C: *banchan zhujing bangongchu chengli xuanyan* 班禪駐京辦公處成立宣言) written by the Office in Nanjing, it is stated that the offices of the Panchen Lama had three main goals:

1) to collaborate with the ROC in carrying out the "Unity of the Five Nationalities" (C: *wuzu gonghe* 五族共和), which meant unity between the Han, Manchu,

[251] Banchan zhujing bangongchu 班禪駐京辦公處, "Banchan gedi bangongchu yilanbiao 班禪各地辦公處一覽表," *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 1(1929), in *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成, ed. Huang Xianian 黃夏年 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan, 2006), Vol. 30: p. 58. The multi-volume source *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* will be referred to as MFQ in this chapter.

[252] 國防之巔危，藏民之疾苦

[253] 聯合革命立場上之同志，以求西藏民族之解放. Chinese Tibetan Studies Center and The Second Historical Archives of China, *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian,* pp. 6-7.

Mongolian, Tibetan, and Hui Muslims[254]; and campaigns of dispelling invasions from "aggressive neighbors" (C: *qianglin* 強鄰);[255]

2) to help and lead the people of Tibet in ethnic equality towards self-determination and autonomy (C: *zijue, zizhi* 自決, 自治);

3) to protect and preserve the religion of Tibet in order to spread the rightful spirit of Buddhism for world peace.[256]

It is unclear if these were the words of the Panchen Lama himself or if he had any participation in writing them, since the correspondences and manifesto were composed in Chinese. In any case, the strategic choice of locations for these offices alone signal not only the spreading influence of the Panchen Lama outside of Tibet, but also the diplomatic planning that the ROC had in mind for the widely respected Tibetan Buddhist monk.

In June 1931, the Ninth Panchen Lama was appointed by the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission as the "Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers" (C: *xichui xuanhua shi* 西陲宣化使), as well as the "Protector of the State and Propagation Master of Extended Wisdoms" (C: *huguo xuanhua guanghui dashi* 護國宣化廣慧大師).[257] The term used for "propagation" is *xuanhua* 宣化, in which the character *xuan* 宣 can be understood as

[254] The term "Hui" 回 in the rhetoric of the "Five Races under One Union" mainly refers to the Hui Muslims of Western China, but it also includes the Uyghurs (回疆) in Xinjiang.

[255] This is mainly a reference to the Japanese invasion.

[256] This manifesto was published in the first monthly periodical issued by the Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing. See *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 1(1929), in MFQ Vol. 30: p. 17.

[257] Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan eds, *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian,* p. 26.

"promotion and propagation" of ideas and practices; and *hua* 化 can be understood as carrying the connotation of "edification," "instruction," or even "enlightenment." As for the "Western Frontiers," the title refers to the frontier territories to the west of the ROC, which is comprised of places such as Qinghai (Amdo), Xikang (Kham), and Tibet.[258] The appointment thus conveys both the type of duty and the geographical range within which the duties shall be carried out for the Panchen Lama as understood by the ROC government.

In a directive document issued by the ROC government in 1931, the specific duties and restrictions for the Panchen Lama as the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers were listed as follows:

1. It is appropriate for the Ambassador to promote and instruct the *Dharma* and approved messages of the government[259] for lamas, monasteries, and common Buddhists. However, if the Ambassador has opinions about the administration of Qinghai (Amdo) and Xikang (Kham), he must not directly intervene and should consult with the ROC government and the respective governments of the two provinces.
2. The Ambassador may choose appropriate places to set up administrative offices with two staff members dispatched by the central government to help out with propagation matters.

[258] Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan eds, *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian*, p. 26.

[259] One important message from the ROC government that was to be delivered throughout the nation and especially in the frontier regions was the Three Principles of the People 三民主義, a political doctrine developed by Sun Yat-sen.

3. The Ambassador's office may have three departments, namely: secretarial, propagational, and educational. The allotted number of staff and hiring process will be decided separately [by the government].
4. The Ambassador may send individual promoters to the local monasteries in Qinghai and Xikang for goodwill and edification.
5. The Ambassador may have his own security team for the protection of safety. The team leader may be chosen by the Ambassador. The coaching staff will be chosen by the central government. Weapons, ammunition, radio communication, and automobile transportation will be provided by the central government.
6. The monthly allowance for the Ambassador's administration is 15,000 *yuan*. The security team's monthly allowance is also 15,000 *yuan*. Both will be paid by the central government.
7. The annual salary of the Panchen Lama is 120,000 *yuan*, paid monthly by the central government. All personal spending and living costs of attendants and disciples [of the Panchen Lama] will be deducted from the annual salary. All hospitality expenses[260] must discontinue.[261]

It is not difficult to see that the political and financial freedom of the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers was rather restricted. Although the Panchen Lama's duties as the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers did not include propagation

[260] 招待費

[261] Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan eds, *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian,* p. 27.

and instruction for the northern frontiers of Inner Mongolia, the Lama's ties with the Mongols there overrode much of this job description. Most of the religious rituals performed by the Panchen Lama during his years outside of Tibet were performed in Inner Mongolia, where Geluk Buddhism had deep roots and influence for centuries.

The disregard for the duties of the Propagation Ambassador described by the ROC regime indicates that the Panchen Lama was less interested in what the new Republic had planned for him and more interested in continuing and strengthening old lineages and bonds. As we will see below, most of the propagation and teaching activities that the Panchen Lama did engage in were neither in Qinghai nor in Xikang, but rather in Inner Mongolia, Beijing, and Hangzhou, places where religious and political capitals were highly saturated.

C. The Lama and His Rituals

In 1923, due to disputes with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over taxation imposed on Tashilhunpo, the Ninth Panchen Lama left Tibet and began more than a decade of exiled travel in Inner Mongolia and the Republic of China. During his years of exile outside of Tibet, the Ninth Panchen Lama performed numerous tantric initiations. According to Fabinne Jagou, two hagiographies of the Panchen Lama enumerate eighteen tantric initiations given to the public.[262] They are nine Kālacakra initiations and nine long life initiations (five Amitāyus, three Tārā, and one uncertain).[263] Amongst these rites, the Kālacakra initiations were particularly well-attended by not only Buddhist donors but also citizens from various

[262] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 65.

[263] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 65.

parts of society. The nine Kālacakra initiations also received considerably more media coverage in newspapers and periodicals. The table below summarizes the details of these initiations.[264]

#	Location	Date	Number of Attendees	Patrons
1	Yangwang monastery; Qorcin Banner; Jerim League, Inner Mongolia[265]	April 15-22, 1928[266]	70,000-170,000[267]	Prince Darhan[268]

[264] In this table, I am consulting three different sources with slightly different information on the nine initiations. The three sources are: "The Nine Kālacakra Initiations Constructed by the Master Panchen during His Visits in the Mainland," published in the monthly periodical of the Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers Office. See "Banchan dashi li neidi hou gongjian jiuci miaode shilun jingang fahui [biaoge]" 班禪大師蒞內地後共建九次妙德時輪金剛法會[表格], *Xichui xuanhuashi gongshu yuekan* 西陲宣化使公署月刊 1, vol. 7/8 (1936): p. 190; Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937)*, p. 259; and Zhang Yun 張雲, *Piaobo zhong de foye: jiushi Banchan neidi huodong de qianqianhouhou* 漂泊中的佛爺：九世班禪內地活動的前前後後 (Beijing: Zangxue chubanshe, 2002), p. 83.

[265] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937)*, p. 259. Both the monthly periodical of the *Xichui xuanhuashi gongshu*, or Propagation Ambassador for the Western Frontiers Office (PAWFO) and Zhang provide the same location at the Yangwang monastery in the eastern league (東盟楊王廟/河戈吐蘇馬).

[266] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937)*, p. 259. PAWFO and Zhang: April 15, 1928.

[267] Jagou records 70,000, while PAWFO and Zhang records 170,000.

[268] Jagou p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: Prince Yang Sangqiao (親王楊桑巧)

2	Jastu monastery; Qorcin Banner; Jerim League, Inner Mongolia [269]	July, 1928[270]	80,000-84000[271]	Prince Jasaqt[272]
3	Beizi monastery; Heshigten Banner; Juu Uda League, Inner Mongolia [273]	April 15, 1929[274]	70,000[275]	Chief of the ten leagues[276]
4	Lands on the Üjümücin Banner; Shilingol League, Inner Mongolia [277]	August 1930[278]	50,000-90,000[279]	Prince Sönam Rabtan[280]

[269] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: Zhasatu Abu Monastery in the eastern league (東盟札薩圖阿布寺)

[270] PAWFO, p. 190; Zhang, p. 83. Jagou records June 1928.

[271] Jagou records 80,000, while PAWFO and Zhang records 84,000.

[272] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: Princes of the ten banners of the eastern league (東盟十旗王公).

[273] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: Beizi monastery of the Xilingol league (錫林果[郭]勒盟貝子廟, 江龍)

[274] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO, p. 190; Zhang, p. 83.

[275] PAWFO and Zhang: 70, 000. No numbers are cited in Jagou.

[276] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: League leader, Prince Sönam Rabtan and princes of the ten banners (索盟長及十旗王公)

[277] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: the grasslands in front of the West Üjümücin Prince's residence (西烏珠穆沁王府對面大草場).

[278] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO, p. 190; Zhang, p. 83.

[279] PAWFO cites 90,000; Zhang cites 50,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

[280] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: League leader, Prince Sönam Rabtan (索盟長).

5	Beile monastery; Üjümücin Banner; Shilingol League, Inner Mongolia [281]	July 1932[282]	37,000[283]	Prince Yondonwangchug[284]
6	Hall of Supreme Harmony; Forbidden City; Beijing[285]	October 21-24, 1932[286]	100,000[287]	Duan Qirui[288]

[281] Jagou, p. 259: "on the lands of the Üjümücin Banner"; PAWFO and Zhang: Beile monastery of Suiyuan (綏遠貝勒廟/巴達哈拉蘇馬).

[282] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO, p. 190, Zhang, p. 83.

[283] PAWFO and Zhang cites 37,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

[284] PAWFO and Zhang: Prince Yondonwangchug and various Banners of the Ulanqab League (雲王及烏盟各旗).

[285] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO and Zhang: Hall of Supreme Harmony, Beijing (北平[京]太和殿).

[286] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO: August 1932; Zhang: October 1932. News reports from various media sources confirm that the Beijing initiation took place from October 21 to 25 in 1932.

[287] PAWFO and Zhang: 100,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

[288] Jagou and Zhang: Duan Qirui. PAWFO: Duan Qirui, Zhu Qinglan, Wu Peifu, and many other lay practitioners (段祺瑞，朱慶瀾，吳佩孚等十方居士).

7	Lingyin Temple; Hangzhou[289]	April 28-29, 1934[290]	70,000[291]	Dai Jitao, Wang Yiting, Qu Wenliu, Zhang Xiaolin[292]
8	Kumbum monastery; Amdo[293]	August 13, 1935[294]	50,000[295]	Dai Jitao and the Abbot of the Kumbum monastery[296]

[289] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO, p. 190; Zhang, p. 83.

[290] PAWFO and Zhang Yun: April 15, 1934. Jagou reports: May 13-15, 1935. However, most Chinese newspaper sources report that the Panchen Lama did not arrive in Hangzhou until after April 25, 1934; see "Shilun jingang fahui xiaoxi: Hangzhou shiwusuo jinxun: Banchan jueding nianwuriliu qijie laihang" 時輪金剛法會消息：杭州事務所近訊：班禪決定廿五日六起節來航, *Cihang huabao* 慈航畫報 41(1934), p. 1. Most sources say that the initiations took place on the days of April 28th and 29th. See invitation sent by the Panchen Lama's Hangzhou office: "Gechu zhi baojing fashi han: Hangzhou shilun jingang fahui laihan" 各處致寶靜法師函：杭州時輪金剛法會來函, *Hongfa shekan* 弘法社刊 25(1934), pp. 142-143.

[291] PAWFO and Zhang: 70,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

[292] Jagou, p. 259: Dai Jitao; PAWFO: Wang Yiting, Qu Wenliu, Zhang Xiaolin, and lay practitioners from the north and south provinces (王一亭，屈文六，張嘯林及南北各省居士); Zhang Yun: Wang Yiting, Qu Liuwen (王一亭，屈文六等).

[293] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO, p. 190, Zhang, p. 83.

[294] Jagou and Zhang: August 13, 1935. PAWFO: August 2, 1935.

[295] PAWFO and Zhang: 50,000; no numbers are cited in Jagou.

[296] Jagou, p. 259: Dai Jitao; PAWFO and Zhang: Abbot of the Kumbum monastery and its entire monastic population

9	Labrang monastery; Amdo[297]	July 4, 1936[298]	60,000[299]	The Fifth Jamyang Zhépa and Huang Zhengqing[300]

Figure 13. Kālacakra initiations performed by the 9th Panchen Lama between 1928 and 1936.



Figure 14. The circular dharma wheel symbols represent the locations where the 9th Panchen Lama performed Kālacakra initiations.

In the *Kālacakratantra,* "initiation" (*abhiṣeka*) has multiple facets: it means "to cleanse and purify defilements; to authorize students to hear about and cultivate the tantric paths and to achieve special feats; to empower the attainment of beneficial qualities; to set potencies for attaining levels of the path and the fruits of those paths; to sprinkle water; to pour potencies and cast seeds into the mental continuum of the initiate; to convey a new style of behavior and its attendant releases from distorted states; and to cause initiates to be

[297] Jagou, p. 259; PAWFO, p. 190, Zhang, p. 83.

[298] PAWFO and Zhang: July 4, 1936. Jagou, 259: July 14, 1936. News reports in 1936 also use the date July 4 for the Labrang initiation.

[299] PAWFO and Zhang: 60,000. No numbers are cited in Jagou.

[300] PAWFO, p.190; and Zhang, p. 83.

endowed with a blissful mind."[301] In short, "initiation" in the Kālacakra tradition can be understood as a process of purification, a rite of passage into a superior spiritual path, an empowerment of potencies, and a type of healing for both worldly and mental distresses.

The first five Kālacakra initiations were performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia at the requests of Mongol aristocrats and local princes who continued to have jurisdiction and autonomy over their lands even after the establishment of the Republic of China. Tens of thousands of Mongols were attracted from nearby banners and leagues to attend these initiations. Given the relative low population density of Inner Mongolia, this was a very generous turnout. The donors comprised of local political leaders of banners and leagues, but the most important donors were probably Prince Sönam Rabtan (C: Suo *wang* 索王) and Prince Yondonwangchug (C: Yun *wang* 雲王), as well as Prince Demchugdongrub (C: De *wang* 德王), who was junior to the older generation of Mongol royalties, but who would later become instrumental in the autonomous movements in Inner Mongolia.

The fifth Kālacakra initiation given at the Beile monastery[302] in the Üjümücin Banner even attracted the attendance of the great Mongol Buddhist master, Kanjurwa Khutukhtu, who travelled for days to reach the ceremony.[303] According to an article by A.T. Steele published in *The New York Times* on June 17, 1934, Reverend Stuart Gunzel of the Evangelical Alliance Mission was able to participate in this specific ceremony during his stay

[301] Jeffrey Hopkins, *Kālacakra Tantra Rite of Initiation: For the Stage of Generation* (Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1999), pp. 67-68.

[302] M: Batu khagalga süme, or Buyan badaragulugci süme, also known as Beile-yin Süme; C: Beile miao 貝勒廟 or more famously, Bailing miao 百靈廟

[303] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937)*, p. 73.

with Prince Demchugdongrub. Steele quotes Gunzel that the visit of the Panchen Lama was one of the biggest events of that year, which lasted for about six weeks. The Panchen Lama stayed at the palace of Prince Demchugdongrub and during that period the Prince's residential area became "a mecca for devout pilgrims from all parts of Mongolia." Followers of the Buddha *Dharma* came even beyond the border from Outer Mongolia and from the leagues in Manchukuo to pay their tribute to the Panchen Lama and to take part in the elaborate religious services. Gunzel also reports that Prince Demchugdongrub did "not pass up the opportunity to strengthen his prestige through the medium of religion." It was also during this time that the Prince began constructing, at considerable cost, a special residence and temple for the visiting Panchen Lama, which took at least three years to build.[304] According to Sechin Jagchid, who was an attendant to the Prince Demchugdongrub at the time, the initiation took place in the open air on the vast grasslands; the Panchen Lama was seated on a throne raised on a platform and was surrounded by thousands of monks and lay people sitting cross-legged on the ground. It was said that the teachings of the Lama were at times inaudible, but the audience was captivated and attentive, nonetheless. The attendees felt that hearing the sounds of the ritual instruments alone would mean that they have been blessed by the initiation.[305]

More information about the sixth Kālacakra initiation in Beijing can be subtracted from media coverage. According to a news report published in the periodical *Mongolia Tibet*

[304] A. T. Steele, "Life in Mongolia Lacking in Luxury: American Missionary Found Teh Wang's Palace Far from Comfortable," *The New York Times,* June 17, 1934. E8.

[305] Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha: Biography of the Kanjurwa Khutughtu* (Albany: State University of New York, 1983), pp. 135-136.

Newletter[306] in 1932, the ritual began at six in the morning on October 21, 1932 in the Hall of Supreme Harmony situated at the center of the Forbidden Palace in Beijing. Important members of the government and the army in the Beijing and Tianjin areas were present, as well as citizens from various walks of life. Mongol princes and commoners, along with lamas and monks, as well as foreign dignitaries were all part of the huge audience numbering at 100,000.

The major donors of the ritual and the Panchen Lama were, in order: Duan Qirui 段祺瑞, Wu Peifu 吳佩孚, Zhu Qinglan 朱慶瀾, Sun Chuanfang 孫傳芳, Wang Yitang 王揖唐, Zhao Hengti 趙恆惕, Tang Xiangming 湯薌銘, Wang Jiuling 王九齡, Wu Chaoshu 伍朝樞, Zhang Xueliang 張學良, Wu Guangxin 吳光新, Cao Rulin 曹汝霖, amongst others.[307] These donors were probably named in the order of prominence and political influence. Out of the ones mentioned in the list published in the news article, nine out of twelve had crucial posts in the Republic of China's military.[308]

The most important donor and organizer of the ritual was Duan Qirui, who was not only one of the most powerful warlords and political leaders in China after the fall of the Qing empire, but also an extremely devoted practitioner of Buddhism. Duan commanded the Beiyang army and served as the premier to the ROC on four occasions. He was also

---

[306] Mengzang xunkan 蒙藏旬刊

[307] "Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiujie daochang" 蒙藏時間：北平時輪金剛法會追紀：時輪金剛法會息災救刼道場, *Mengzang xunkan* 蒙藏旬刊, 33(1932), p. 17.

[308] Donors of the ritual that were involved in the military were: Duan Qirui, Wu Peifu, Zhu Qinglan, Sun Chuanfang, Wang Yitang, Zhao Hengti, Tang Xiangming, Zhang Xueliang, and Wu Guangxin. Wang Jiuling was mainly a politician; Wu Chaoshu was a foreign minister and Cao Rulin was involved in foreign affairs.

instrumental in the success of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou. All of these mentioned donors were said to have been granted Kālacakra initiations by the Panchen Lama.[309]

The Buddhist ritual also drew a lot of international attention. The acting chairman for the Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism Research Committee[310] and Japanese Shingon monk, Tanaka Seijun 田中清純, was granted a front seat position not far from the Panchen Lama inside the Hall of Supreme Harmony. According to his accounts, he was accommodated amongst other monastics while the majority of other attendees sat on the ground outside the hall in the vast square of the Palace. There were so many people participating that the crowd seemed "like a [dark] cloud." Tanaka also remarked on the uniqueness of this occasion: "…although during emperor Qianlong's reign, respected lamas from Tibet were invited to lead Buddhist rituals [in the Forbidden Palace], for more than two hundred years an event on this scale and pomp has never been held, especially one that is open to commoners, politicians, and students all at the same time."[311]

Many attendees at the Kālacakra initiation in Beijing were also non-monastic women. In an issue of the periodical *Great Asia Pictorial,* a witness of the initiation remarked that in

---

[309] "Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiujie daochang," *Mengzang xunkan,* 33(1932), p. 19.

[310] J: chūnichi mikkyō kenkyūkai 中日密教研究会; C: zhongri mijiao yanjiuhui 中日密教研究會

[311] Seijun Tanaka 田中清純, *I shūkyō nisshi shinzen* 依宗教日支親善 (Shizuoka Kiyomizudera, 1933), p. 21, published in *Shiryōshū: Senjika "Nihon Bukkyō" no kokusai kōryū* 資料集：戦時下「日本佛教」の国際交流, compiled by the Ryukoku University Asian Buddhism and Culture Research Center, Interwar Japanese Buddhism and International Relations Research Team (G1, UB, S2) 龍谷大学アジア仏教文化研究センター「戦時下「日本仏教」の国際交流」研究班（G1, UB, S2）5 (2019), Vol. 10.

addition to hundreds of pious elderly women who attended the ritual, there were also many young, fashionable "modern girls" (C: *modeng xiaojie* 摩登小姐) who not only took part in the ceremony, but also fought each other for "blessings" – it was said that they wrangled each other in order to get sprinkled with the "holy water" administered by the Panchen Lama during the ritual.[312] The Japanese Shingon monk Tanaka Seijun have commented on this as well; he was surprised that "young women" were prostrating so piously with their whole bodies on the ground.[313]

Reports also tell us about the rules for attending the Kālacakra initiation in Beijing. First, attendees must be well-groomed and enter with tickets. Second, homage must be paid upon requirement; smoking, snickering, spitting, and shuffling are forbidden. Third, ritual objects, such as herbs and flowers from Tibet and red ritual blindfolds were to be handed out and their uses instructed on site. Four, attendees must be orderly when leaving their seats. Lastly, the Kālacakra root *mantra* (C: *shilun genben zhou* 時輪根本咒) was to be chanted for future rebirths in the kingdom of Śambhala.[314]

The report also describes the ritual process. The Panchen Lama performed purification rituals and began the creation of the ritual *mandala* as early as on October 9, 1932, ten days before the official ritual started. It was said that it took nine days to complete the sand *mandala*. Starting on the 21st, the Lama taught for four days, accompanied by both

---

[312] "Shilun jingang fahui zhi huaxu" 時輪金剛法會之花絮, *Daya huabao* 大亞畫報, November 2, 1932, No. 337.

[313] Tanaka, *I shūkyō nisshi shinzen,* p. 21.

[314] "Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiujie daochang," *Mengzang xunkan,* 33(1932), p. 17.

an interpreter and printed translations in the form of pamphlets. The transmission initiation took place from two to five in the afternoon, preceded by initiations for the generation stage, followed by one day of *homa* ritual and three days of initiations for the completion stage. The total cost of the entire ritual was said to be 60,000 *yuan*,[315] which was a considerable amount compared to the average cost of living in 1930s China.

At the end of the ritual, the Panchen Lama gave a speech about the purpose of the rite. He said, "…the various disasters and misfortunes of the nation were caused by sentient beings' ignorance about morality and karma," and he wished that the attendees "…will keep in their hearts the compassion for the salvation of the nation and its people; not to be selfish." He ended with the remarks, "Religion and politics must proceed together in ruling the nation and stabilizing peace for its people."[316] This was one of the earliest accounts from the Panchen Lama on the Kālacakra initiations that he performed outside of Tibet. The idea that these initiation rituals are performed as both moral edification for the citizens of the nation and in hope for peace and stability in times of national distress, also emerged frequently in public discussions on the Tibetan rituals, as we will see in the context of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou.

The Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou was not the most attended, as compared to the other initiations performed in Inner Mongolia and Beijing, however, it was definitely one that enjoyed the most exposure in media. Many newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals in China widely publicized the event and closely followed the Panchen Lama's travels and

---

[315] "Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiujie daochang," *Mengzang xunkan*, 33(1932), p. 18.

[316] "Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiujie daochang," *Mengzang xunkan*, 33(1932), p.19.

religious activities in China. Different from how the initiations in Inner Mongolia and Beijing were reported, comments on the Hangzhou initiation were rather diverse in opinion – while Buddhist publications enthusiastically advertised the tantric empowerment ritual, other more non-religious periodicals remained highly critical. This created an interesting arena of public discourse on religion and modernity.

The initiation began on April 28, 1934 at the Lingyin temple in the city of Hangzhou. The entire ritual took seven days to complete and involved a similar ritual procession to that of the Beijing ritual.[317] The event was extremely well-advertised with posters, banners, and signs plastered throughout the city of Hangzhou and especially in the more commercial areas; information about the ritual was printed on street lamp boxes that lit up the city at night; even buses were decorated with bills about the empowerment rite.[318] It was reported that many of these signs promoted the event with the slogans: "great merits; protect the nation" (C: *gonghong huguo* 功宏護國), and "benefit the nation; subdue disasters" (C: *fuguo xiaozai* 福國消災).[319] While the event was open to the public, it was heavily guarded with armed police.[320] For the general public, it seemed that admission tickets or mandatory

[317] Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局, "Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao 時輪金剛法會專號," *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 78(1934), in *Minguo mizong qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國密宗期刊文獻集成, ed. Yu Ruihua 于瑞華 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2008), Vol. 41: p. 366. The multi-volume source *Minguo mizong qikan wenxian jicheng* will be referred to as MMQ in this chapter.

[318] Hu Shuibo 胡水波, "Shilun jingang fahui xunli 時輪金剛法會巡禮," *Xinsheng zhoukan* 新生週刊, Vol. 1:14 (1934), pp. 269-270.

[319] Hu, "Shilun jingang fahui xunli," p. 270.

[320] Hu, "Shilun jingang fahui xunli," p. 270.

donations at either one *yuan* or ten *yuan* were required to enter the grounds of the temple, which also allowed the admitted attendee to have an ancestor tablet set up in the main hall where the Kālacakra initiation was to be performed.[321]

The railway department of the Republic of China and the lines that ran between Beijing, Suiyuan (Inner Mongolia), Tianjin, and Shanghai were responsible for the transportation of the Panchen Lama.[322] Similar to the management of the Kālacakra initiation in Beijing, the organizers for the Hangzhou event were also mainly comprised of chief politicians and social elites, such as Wang Yiting 王一亭,[323] Qu Wenliu 屈文六,[324] and Zhang Xiaolin 張嘯林[325].[326]

[321] Bing 冰, "Shilun jingang fahui gongfeng ji 時輪金剛法會躬逢記," *Shehui zhoubao (Shanghai)* 社會週報（上海）, Vol.1:6 (1934), p.110.

[322] "Xiaoping: Shilun jingang fahui 小評：時輪金剛法會," *Shehui xinwen* 社會新聞,Vol. 7:1 (1934), p. 1.

[323] Wang Yiting was also known as Wang Zhen 王震. He was a prominent businessman, artist, and Buddhist patron in Shanghai.

[324] Qu Wenliu was also known as Qu Yingguang 屈映光. He was a politician and a Buddhist.

[325] Zhang Xaolin was a well-known mob boss in Shanghai.

[326] "Banchan dashi li neidi hou gongjian jiuci miaode shilun jingang fahui [biaoge] 班禪大師蒞內地後共建九次妙德時輪金剛法會［表格］," p. 190.

In a pictorial issue covering the event and its attendees, photographs of the main organizer Wang Yiting, as well as those of Dai Jitao 戴季陶[327] were printed.[328] The same pictorial also featured photos of the Panchen Lama during the initiation. One photo depicts an elderly woman dressed in a white robe praying beside the Panchen Lama – the caption says this was the mother-in-law of Wang Jingwei 汪精衛[329].[330] Foreign dignitaries such as Matsumura Yūzō 松村雄蔵 from the Hangzhou Japanese Consulate and professors from the Université de Paris were also said to have been present.[331]

In addition to politicians, members of various Buddhist communities in south China, and foreign dignitaries, the Hangzhou initiation also drew attention from movie stars and cultural celebrities. A weekly magazine named *Linglong*, which was mainly marketed towards "modern" young women in the urban centers, reported that Hu Die 胡蝶 and Xu Lai 徐來, two of the most popular actresses in 1930s Chinese cinema, were scheduled to attend

[327] Dai Jitao was the president of the Examination Yuan 考試院院長 and prominent Buddhist patron. On Dai Jitao and his Buddhist activities, see Gregory Adam Scott, "The Buddhist Nationalism of Dai Jitao," *Journal of Chinese Religions,* 39:1 (2011), pp. 55-81.

[328] Xu Yanying 徐雁影, "Shilun jingang fahui zhong suojian: shilun jingang fahui zhong zhong lama songjing qingxing 時輪金剛法會中所見：時輪金剛法會中眾喇嘛誦經情形," *Liangyou* 良友, 89 (1934), p. 26.

[329] Wang Jingwei was a politician for the KMT and later collaborator with Japanese imperialists.

[330] Xu, "Shilun jingang fahui zhong suojian: shilun jingang fahui zhong zhong lama songjing qingxing," p. 26.

[331] "Banchan lianri dengzuo shuofa 班禪連日登座說法," *Shen bao* 申報, May 9, 1934. No. 7.

the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou.[332] Both of these women were prominent socialites and enjoyed incredible public interest both on and off the silver screen. In addition to celebrities that represented the "modern female," esteemed performers of traditional arts were also on the guest list of the Buddhist empowerment. The same source reported that Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳, the "Queen of Peking Opera," was to attend the Buddhist ritual and to give theatrical performances during the initiation along with the two movie stars Hu Die and Xu Lai.[333]

Donations to the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou were encouraged in various popular print media months before the ritual took place. The organizers of the initiation urged the Republican government, members of the army, civil servants of various provinces, institutions, and Buddhist organizations to contribute financially for the "peace praying" services administered by the Panchen Lama.[334] According to the donor lists published (possibly for the visibility of merit-making) in booklets made to commemorate the historic Buddhist ritual, there were more than 6,000 named individuals who donated to the initiation, many of them were in fact women.[335] Out of the 71,197 *yuan* collected from all the donations, 10,000 *yuan* was donated by Cheng Linsheng 程霖生;[336] 4,000 *yaun* was donated

---

[332] "Haolaiwu huaxu: Hu Die Xu Lai jiang canjia shilun jingang fahui 好萊塢花絮：胡蝶徐來將參加時輪金剛法會," *Linglong* 玲瓏, Vol.4: 14 (1934), p. 890.

[333] "Haolaiwu huaxu: Hu Die Xu Lai jiang canjia shilun jingang fahui," p. 890.

[334] Shilun jin'gang fahui 時輪金剛法會, *Shilun jingang fahui cuoyao* 時輪金剛法會撮要, in *Minguo shiqi fojiao ziliao huibian* 民國時期佛教資料彙編, ed. Tian Qi 田奇 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 13: p. 444. The multi-volume source *Minguo shiqi fojiao ziliao huibian* will be referred to as MFZ in this chapter.

[335] MFZ Vol. 13: pp. 475-660.

[336] Cheng Linsheng was a real estate tycoon in Shanghai.

by Du Yuesheng 杜月笙;[337] another 4,000 *yuan* was donated by Zhang Xiaolin 張嘯林.[338] These three were the most prominent donors of the event and were listed conspicuously in the ritual-related publications.

On the other hand, the cost of the rite was quite significant. The total cost of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou was 68,376 *yuan*, which included expenses for ritual implements (6,889 *yuan*), Buddhist images and texts (8,937 *yuan)*, precious mineral substances for the sand mandala (2,636 *yuan)*, offerings to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (1,966 *yuan)*, print media (3,134 *yuan)*, transportation (4,533 *yuan)*, amongst others. The largest expenditure was offerings (26,843 *yuan*) made to the Panchen Lama (4,000 *yuan*) and his retinue of monks (4,000 *yuan)*, which also included gifts, meals, accommodations, and the construction of the Panchen Lama's residence at the Yonghe Temple in Beijing (2,400 *yuan*).[339] Subtracting the expenses of the ritual from the total amount of donations received, 2,820 *yuan* was the remainder amount. According to the donation lists, this leftover amount was to be spent on printing Buddhist texts such as the *Lamrin chenmo* (C: *pu ti ci di dao* 菩提次第道), as well as on commissioning and consecrating a bronze statue of Sitātapatrā (C: *bai san gai* 白傘蓋), a popular Vajrayana Buddhist deity that offers protection against supernatural danger.[340]

[337] Du Yuesheng was a famous mob boss in Shanghai.

[338] MFZ Vol. 13: p. 475.

[339] MFZ Vol. 13: pp. 475-660.

[340] MFZ Vol. 13: pp. 659-660.

According to a news report published in *Shenbao* on May 17, 1934, the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou began on April 28, 1934 in the main hall of the Lingyin Temple. The Panchen Lama was seated inside on a raised platform and was accompanied by his monastic disciples. Purification rituals were performed on the first day and teachings about the *Kālacakratantra* were taught. On the second day, the Kālacakra *mandala* was revealed, followed by a *tsam* dance. The third day involved more teachings and received thousands of attendees arriving on frequently scheduled buses coming from various parts of the Zhejiang province. On the fourth day, it was said that the Panchen Lama retired to his private practices and received only the donor Dai Jitao and his family. Monks from the Lingyin Temple gathered exclusively for the Panchen Lama's teachings on the fifth day and chanted *sūtras*. On the sixth day, Dai Jitao invited the Panchen Lama and his retinue to a banquet attended by more than forty major politicians of the Zhejiang province, as well as the major donors of the Kālacakra initiation. The Panchen Lama taught publicly three times in the next few days and received many members of the international audience: twenty-four members from the American Navy Young Men's Christian Association, the secretary to the Governor-general of Annam, the vice-president of the Bank of Hanoi, and the Ngachen Khutukhtu and his retinue of fifty monks. The *abhiṣeka* ceremony took place on the thirteenth and fourteenth of May and was attended by more than 20,000 individuals. The initiation ritual was interpreted and translated by Liu Jiaju from Tibetan to Chinese and was filmed by the Mingxing film company. *Homa* was performed on the seventeenth and the Kālacakra *mandala* was sent

away on the eighteenth, marking the completion of the entire Kālacakra initiation ceremony.[341]

Similar to the initiation that took place in Beijing, many women, both monastic and lay, participated avidly in the Kālacakra empowerment rituals in Hangzhou. According to a witness who attended the event on April 29, 1934, Buddhist nuns and pious elderly women even prepared glass bottles beforehand for taking home some of the barley grains scattered by the Panchen Lama in the ritual; young women on the other hand, fit the "blessed millets" in their purses.[342] On the last day of the Kālacakra initiation, the Panchen Lama reportedly performed the higher initiations and blessed many attendees by touching their heads.[343]

Another account published in the *National Zhejiang University Magazine* paints a lively picture of the various kinds of activities that took place at the site of the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou: lamas from Tibet were seen trading *mālā* prayer beads and incense, photographers took memorabilia photos and sold them to the attendees, hosts from the local tea houses hailed for customers, and farmers from outside of the city vended water chestnuts for coppers.[344] The same student source further discloses that the ritual was communicated through radio communications equipped at the Lingyin temple; regular announcements about

---

[341] "Zai hang juxing zhi shilun jingang fahui yuanman 在杭舉行之時輪金剛法會圓滿," *Shen bao* 申報, May 17, 1934, No.8.

[342] Hu, "Shilun jingang fahui xunli," 270.

[343] Bing, "Shilun jingang fahui gongfeng ji," p. 110.

[344] Qiang Sheng 強生, "Shilun jingang fahui zai lingyin 時輪金剛法會在靈隱," *Guoli Zhejiang daxue xiaokan* 國立浙江大學校刊, 173(1934), p. 1805.

the procedures of the initiation as well as translations of the Panchen Lama's teachings were broadcasted to the public audience through loudspeakers in Chinese.[345]

One unique aspect of the Hangzhou Kālacakra initiation was its commercialization – in addition to well-promoted donation drives and advertisements about the ritual, memorabilia items and ritual-related merchandise were sold. In the special issues of the *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly* dedicated to the Hangzhou Kālacakra initiation, merchandise such as photographs of the Kālacakra *mandala* used in the ritual, Buddhist images made in Tibet, "authentic" Tibetan saffron, as well as chebulic myrobalan fruits from the Himalayan region were advertised alongside information about the ritual.[346] The items are described as "efficacious" and "necessary" for attendees of the ritual and interested practitioners of tantric Buddhism. For example, although photographs of the Kālacakra *mandala* costed one *jiao* per copper-plate print and four *jiao* per original, they were "necessary for attendees in general but more necessary for attendees who attended late."[347] "Authentic" saffron from Tibet was priced at three *yuan* per box (18.9 grams); the ad explains that it could be used both for "making offerings to the Buddha and as medicinal ingredients."[348] "Tibetan green fruits" (C: *Xizang qinguo* 西藏青果) or chebulic myrobalan fruits shipped directly from the Himalayas were sold at five *jiao* per box; consuming these fruits were encouraged before attending the

---

[345] Qiang, "Shilun jingang fahui zai lingyin," p. 1805.

[346] Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局, "Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao 時輪金剛法會專號," *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 78(1934), in MMQ Vol. 41: pp. 348-371.

[347] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 348.

[348] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 353.

ritual to "cleanse the mouth."[349] For those who wished to offer incense at the temple where the Kālacakra initiation took place, "authentic Tibetan incense" was recommended and can be bought through various venders of Buddhist goods.[350]

From August 13 to August 15 in 1935, the eighth Kālacakra initiation performed by the ninth Panchen Lama was held in the Kumbum Monastery in Amdo. The Panchen Lama had just finished his tour in Inner Mongolia, north, and south China, and was preparing for his official return to Tibet. The patrons of the initiation were said to be the abbot of Kumbum and the monastic population there; the ritual reportedly drew around 50,000 attendees, including both the entire monastic population at Kumbum and many lay attendees from nearby.[351] A news article published in *The New York Times* on February 14, 1936 describes the event: "Half a million tribesmen, gathered from all parts of Tibet, Mongolia and West China amid Oriental pomp and magnificence, have paid tribute at the famed Kumbum Monastery, near here, to the Panchen Lama." The American photographer and journalist Harrison Forman was quoted saying that the "Living Buddha" planned to travel to Lhasa within a few weeks, whence he was exiled eleven years ago by the Dalai Lama. The article also reports that an unnamed high Chinese official arrived at the Kālacakra initiation with 500 Chinese troops at the height of the ceremony.[352] It is unclear who this individual might

---

[349] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 355.

[350] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 357.

[351] Zhang, *Piaobo zhong de foye: jiushi Banchan neidi huodong de qianqianhouhou,* pp. 81-82.

[352] "500,000 in Tribute to Panchen Lama: Oriental Tribesmen Gather to Pay Homage to Spiritual Leader of Tibet," *The New York Times,* February 14, 1936, p. 10.

be, although Jagou notes that Dai Jitao was one of the major donors of the Kumbum initiation.[353]

In June of the following year, the Panchen Lama was invited by the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa (T: Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) and his older brother, Losang Tséwang (T: Blo bzang tshe dbang; also known as C: Huang Zhengqing 黃正清), who was the *chakdzö* (T: *phyag mdzod)*, or treasurer to the Jamyang Zhépa, to stay at the Labrang Monastery in Amdo.[354] In July 1936, the Ninth Panchen Lama performed his last Kālacakra initiation at Labrang for a public audience made up of monastics and laities who traveled from other parts of Tibet and Mongolia totaling at 60,000 people.[355] Photographs taken on site at the ritual show that the courtyard of the monastery was completely filled with tens of thousands of sitting and standing attendees, many of whom seem to be non-monastic. Women and small children can also be spotted.[356]

The Kālacakra initiation at Labrang began on the fourth of July in 1936 with the construction of the sand Kālacakra *mandala*, which allegedly took ten days. On the fourteenth, initiations were performed, and teachings were given; it was said that all who were present to hear were able to be reborn in Śambhala. On the eighteenth, many attendees

---

[353] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 259.

[354] Zhang, *Piaobo zhong de foye: jiushi Banchan neidi huodong de qianqianhouhou*, p. 82.

[355] Zhang, *Piaobo zhong de foye: jiushi Banchan neidi huodong de qianqianhouhou*, p. 82.

[356] "Qinghai shilun jingang fahui 青海時輪金剛法會," *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中華（上海）, 55(1937), p. 34.

offered money and precious items to the Panchen Lama and a celebratory feast was held. The Kālacakra *mandala* was ritually taken down on the twenty-first, wrapping up the entire initiation ritual which took eighteen days to complete.[357]

D. Of Old and New Lineages and Alliances

From the above descriptions of the nine Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia, Beijing, Hangzhou, and Amdo between 1928 to 1936, we can see that these were highly popular and public events. This series of Kālacakra initiations were offered with a high frequency of almost once every year, and yet each event was attended by tens of thousands without fail, even in places like Hangzhou where Tibetan Buddhism was not traditionally practiced.

Questions that we need to ask are these: Why were these initiations performed in Inner Mongolia and even south of the Great Wall in places like Hangzhou? Why were the Kālacakra initiations so well-received, especially outside of its usual ritual context? This chapter argues that the reasons are twofold: first, the Panchen Lama was exiled from Tibet since 1923 due to disputes with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.[358] Due to being exiled, the Panchen Lama had no choice but to conduct all of his religious practices outside of central Tibet. Second, most of the Kālacakra initiations were performed outside of Tibet because they were requested by donors and patrons who resided outside of Tibet. These different

---

[357] "Qinghai shilun jingang fahui," p. 34.

[358] On the disputes between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the Ninth Panchen Lama, see Fabienne Jagou's *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations,* trans. Rebecca Bissett Buechel (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2011).

donors came from different backgrounds and religious traditions, and they were in different kinds of priest-patron relationships with the Panchen Lama. This section will look at some of these relationships in detail.

Since 1923 until his death in 1937, the Ninth Panchen Lama was displaced from his seat in Tashilhunpo and had to travel extensively across East Asia. Conflicts with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over taxation and further complications brought on by the British invasion prevented him from returning to central Tibet. The Manchu rulers of the Qing empire and loyal patrons of the Tibetan Gelukpa institution were no longer in positions of power after the establishment of the Republic of China, and the Mongol allies to the north in Outer Mongolia became anti-religion socialists in the newly founded nation-state of Mongolian People's Republic. The only possible patrons of the Panchen Lama's Gelukpa tradition outside of the Tibetan regions were in Inner Mongolia and amongst the higher echelons of the Nanking government.

The Mongols have been patrons of Gelukpa Buddhism since the sixteenth century. As one of the most important *tantras* for the Gelukpas, the *Kālacakratantra* and its affiliated traditions have been dominant in the Mongolian regions since the late seventeenth century.[359] Kālacakra temples and *dratsangs* (monastic colleges) were built and Kālacakra teachings were introduced throughout the Mongolian regions. New Kālacakra *dratsangs* were being

[359] Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Cross-Currents,* 31(2019): p. 36.

built even as late as the 1930s, such as the one in the Buyan-I ündüsülegči süme in Alashan.[360]

Furthermore, Kālacakra teachings and the legend of Šambhala continued to spark interests amongst the Mongols well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The history and prophesy of the victorious kingdom described in the *Kālacakratantra* was included in Mongolian historical works such as the chronicle *Bolor toli* (*Crystal Mirror*), written between 1834-1837 by Jimbadorji.[361] Here, the history of the Mongols were fused with the history of Śambhala – Chinggis Khan became part of the lineage that can be traced to the first king of the legendary kingdom, Sucandra, who was also part of the larger Buddhist linage that can be traced back to the historic Buddha.[362] There were also numerous wish-prayers composed by various Mongolian authors in hopes of better rebirths in Śambhala.[363] The Buryat Ganzhurba Gegen Danzan Norboev (1887-1935) even wrote a new guidebook to the mythical kingdom of Śambhala in 1927.[364]

In addition to these new textual materials produced by the Mongols through continued interests in the *Kālacakratantra,* there was also the embodiment of the Kālacakra

---

[360] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 36.

[361] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 37.

[362] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 39.

[363] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 37.

[364] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 36.

teachings in public performances. In 1830, a *tsam* dance that enacted the "war of Śambhala" (M: *Šambala-yin dayin*) was performed at the Qamar-un Keyid Monastery.[365] Public performances such as this one allowed non-monastic Mongolian Buddhists who did not have access to texts and teachers to be involved in the messianic messages of the *Kālacakratantra.* Other types of visual representations were also common, such as *thangkas* that depicted the narratives of the apocalyptic battle in the *Kālacakratantra* between the Buddhist king of Śambhala, Raudracakrin, and his non-Buddhist enemies.[366]

The Kālacakra practices in Mongolia were important to the Mongolian national, religious, and cultural identities. The idea of an imagined community that is the Mongols, who are the descendants of Chinggis Khan and the children of the mythical kingdom of Śambhala, was crucial to the Mongols of both Outer and Inner Mongolia, especially during the political turmoil of the twentieth century.

On top of that, according to the legends described in the *Kālacakratantra*, the prophesied twenty-fifth king of Śambhala will be a reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, who will accede the throne in 2327 AD and become victorious in protecting the *Dharma* when "barbarians" attack to threaten the transmission of Buddhism in the world.[367] For the Mongols, the Ninth Panchen Lama, the lineage holder who will be reincarnated into the future savior king of Śambhala, was more than the perfect master to carry out Kālacakra initiations. This would partially explain why the five Kālacakra initiations performed by the

[365] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 37.

[366] Kollmar-Paulenz, "Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 38.

[367] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 70.

Ninth Panchen Lama in Inner Mongolia attracted so many attendees who would travel for days just to attend the ritual, despite the rather low population density of the region at the turn of the twentieth century.

Another dimension of the Kālacakra initiations in Inner Mongolia was how public enthusiasm for the Buddhist ritual was utilized in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Movement, spearheaded by the Mongol Prince Demchugdongrub, who was also a major organizer and donor of the Kālacakra initiations that took place in Inner Mongolia. According to his biography written by Sechin Jagchid, who worked closely with Prince Demchugdongrub for many years, one of the main reasons for inviting the Panchen Lama to give Kālacakra initiations at the Beile Temple was because his ritual presence was believed to have the ability to gather and unite Mongol princes and leaders from various leagues and banners.[368] In other words, the Kālacakra tradition carried considerable affective value for the Mongols. By using this once-in-a-life-time auspicious event that most Mongols would want to attend as invitation, Prince Demchugdongrub would be able to mobilize the decision makers of the various banners and leagues to gather together to discuss the political future and sovereignty of Inner Mongolia in an era shadowed by uncertainty and colonial invasions. Such an opportunity would be extremely vital for the preservation of political autonomy of the Inner Mongolians at the time, especially since the region was encroached between hostilities and pressures from socialist Outer Mongolia, Republican China, and the Japanese Empire all at the same time. In a sense, the rituals could have doubled as a ruse to camouflage political subversion for the Inner Mongolians against these foreign aggressions.

[368] Zhaqi Siqin 札奇斯欽[Sechin Jagchid], *Wo suo zhidao de De wang he dangshi de Neimenggu* 我所知道的德王和當時的內蒙古 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2005), p. 100.

On the other hand, politically and economically powerful donors of the Kālacakra initiations in the Republic of China, such as Duan Qirui, Dai Jitao, and Wang Yiting, did not necessarily invite the Panchen Lama out of a shared sense of tradition and lineage based on the Chingissid pedigree. Although the Manchu rulers of the Qing empire officially endorsed Tibetan Geluk Buddhism, it was not popularized outside of the imperial circles and certainly not amongst the Han Chinese Buddhists. The *Kālacakratantra* was also not translated nor included into the Chinese Buddhist canon at this point. However, being aware of the Panchen Lama's status and influence amongst the Tibetans and the Mongols, especially after witnessing the popular reception of the Kālacakra initiations in Inner Mongolia, the Chinese donors saw potential in the highly revered Lama to "propagate" the Nanjing government's policies to the ethnic minorities at the frontiers and to "edify" them of the necessity of pledging allegiance to the new republic.

In an issue of the *Office of the Panchen Lama in Nanjing Monthly* published in October 1929, an immediacy of having the Panchen Lama carry out *xuanhua* (propagation and edification) missions in Inner Mongolia was expressed:

> "…Soviet Russia, using its red imperialism, has violently invaded Mongolia, causing its independence. Incidents on the Chinese Eastern Railway [show] that Outer Mongolians have been driven by Soviet Russia to disturb Inner Mongolia, hoping that they will assimilate. The Panchen [Lama] has been a guest to the north for a while, because the religious customs of Inner Mongolia is similar to those of Tibet. The invasions of the reds and the whites are one and the same. Saving Tibet is saving Mongolia… [The Panchen Lama's] tour in Inner Mongolia on the one hand promotes policies of the central government, propagating the Three Principles of the People,

teaching them about the Republic, and enlightening them on current affairs. On the other hand, [the Panchen Lama] propagates religion, instructing [the Inner Mongolians] on the causes and effects of karma, encouraging them to follow the *Dharma* and the commands of the central government."[369]

This shows that the Nanjing government was more than conscious of the Panchen Lama's political potentials in mobilizing not just the Tibetans, but also the Mongols, in their geopolitical strategies. However, a closer look at the primary source materials produced by the Chinese organizers of the Kālacakra initiations reveals that they were also equally interested in the soteriological aspects of the Buddhist ritual.

E. "Lost Tantras" and Esoteric Rituals to Save the Nation

In a pamphlet compiled by the organizing committee for the Kālacakra initiations entitled, "Summary of the Kālacakra Initiations," the main organizer and donor, Duan Qirui explains his reasons for holding the ritual:

"…The past twenty years has been marked by more than enough humans conflicts; it is now followed by natural disasters spreading in more than ten provinces, starving and drowning millions of people… Thinking about this, [I realize that] the sentiments of heaven and the affairs of men have always been linked. In the past, when disaster and tragedy occur, all would reflect together for ways of salvation. There are many examples of this in the history chronicles. Even countries in Euro-America often turned to religion and prayer during times of national distress… The Panchen

[369] Banchan zhujing bangongchu 班禪駐京辦公處, "Banchan quandao hou neimeng zhi qingkuang 班禪勸導後內蒙之情況," *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 Vol. 1, 3+4(1929), in MFQ, Vol. 30: p. 199.

guoshi[370] [has prophesied] when he arrived in the old capital (Beijing), that he fears for four complications and one flooding in the future. When asked, the master said that the past cannot be undone, but the future can [still] be protected."[371]

Duan then goes on to speak about the specific protective and soteriological functions of the Kālacakra initiations: "If the Kālacakra ritual is performed to release the souls of the dead, it would ensure that the unassisted spirits will be reborn in the kingdom of Śambhala. This corresponds exactly with the wishes of the Buddha."[372]

For the living attendees of the initiation, the Kālacakra ritual is even more potent: "Any sentient being of the six realms with the right karma who meditates in concentration within forty *li*[373] of the initiation, will be initiated even without entering the *mandala* and will be reborn in the kingdom of Śambhala. For those with the fortunate karma to be present at the initiation, just by listening to the sound of the bells and seeing the Kālacakra *mandala,* can be reborn as a Buddha even without any knowledge of the *Dharma*."[374]

---

[370] *Guoshi* 國師 is an honorific title meaning "State Preceptor" given to the Panchen Lama.

[371] Jin'gang shilun fahui 時輪金剛法會, *Shilun jingang fahui cuoyao* 時輪金剛法會撮要, in MFZ, Vol. 13: pp. 436-437.

[372] MFZ, Vol. 13: pp. 437-438.

[373] One *li* 里 is roughly 500 meters.

[374] MFZ, Vol. 13: p. 438.

Duan also contrasts the expedience of the Kālacakra tradition to the Pure Land tradition in China, further illustrating the superior potency of the Kālacakra Initiation in an age marked by unprecedented instabilities:

> "For the Pure Land [tradition], the *Sukhavatī* of Amitābha Buddha is hundreds of thousands of billions [*li*] away. The guiding process must be done in one to seven days without an unbalanced mind. Besides, our lives are usually murky towards the end, the mind easily disturbed, let alone in moments of death. It is not easy to sit peacefully in tranquility. How many of us can have the conviction to wait in calmness for the guidance of the Buddha?"[375]

According to Duan, who served four times as the premier of the new modern nation-state of the Republic of China under the Nanjing government, the Kālacakra Initiation also possessed potentials for solving problems that modern science did not:

> "The *tantra* has extraordinary functions and purposes. It is sublime and cannot be compared to our human mind consciousnesses… It is beyond science and the humanities. Amongst other religions and philosophies, it is something that dissolves all matters of the universe in the past, present, and future. It is relied upon for all problems and predicaments."[376]

The arrival of the Ninth Panchen Lama in China was considered by Duan as an extremely fortuitous opportunity:

---

[375] MFZ, Vol. 13: p. 438.

[376] MFZ, Vol. 13: pp. 438-439.

"The *Kālacakratantra* has not been translated into Chinese and is not transmitted without a teacher. It is not something that common *ācāryas* can easily teach, either. Now, we are fortunate to have the Panchen *guoshi* arrive from the frontier tens of thousands of *li* away to perform the *Dharma* ritual. The *ācārya* attends to the Han and the Mongols right here beside us. This is due to our *karma*."[377]

In a special issue dedicated to the Kālacakra initiation in the *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly,* the ritual event is described as "rare as one drop of water in the ocean." The periodical then lists three merits of the initiation: "One, out of all the Buddhist traditions, the esoteric lineage promises the fastest and the most meritorious results. On top of that, the *Kālacakratantra* is considered the most supreme in esoteric Buddhism. It is unparalleled and the most mysterious. It is foreseeing and potent."[378]

Secondly, the initiation was considered to be a historic opportunity:

"Although the Panchen Lama was invited to preside over rituals during Qianlong's reign in the Qing, it was mainly for rituals such as Cakrasamvara empowerments.[379] Superior *tantra* empowerments such as the Kālacakra initiation that can protect the nation while subduing disasters was only performed for the first-time [in China proper] last year in Beijing and this year in Hangzhou."[380]

---

[377] MFZ, Vol. 13: pp. 436-437.

[378] Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局, "Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao" 時輪金剛法會專號, *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 78(1934), in MMQ Vol. 41: pp. 359.

[379] *Shangle jingang fa* 上樂金剛法

[380] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 360.

Thirdly, the public nature of the Kālacakra initiation was considered to be karmically auspicious:

> "In the Tibetan esoteric Buddhist tradition, the *Kālacakratantra* is considered to be the fourth-class *tantra* and the most important *tantra* of the *niruttara-yoga-tantras.*[381] Only the Panchen Lama has the ability to perform its initiations… this kind of initiation was rarely performed in public even in Tibet. Due to the Panchen master's compassion, this initiation is performed in public for the convenience and benefit of all sentient beings. There are no restrictions; all can benefit."[382]

The same periodical also featured writings about the timeliness of Buddhist teachings in 1930s Republican China. One passage quotes the Panchen Lama saying, "Politics and religion must proceed together and are not contradictory. The immediate mission of religion is to teach morality and karma."[383] The text elaborates, "Karma is truth. Discussing politics from the point of view of karma, politics is karma."[384]

The view that Buddhist teaching is indeed very much relevant to the new modern nation-state and even global affairs is elucidated:

> "Various universities in Germany have been teaching Indian and Tibetan philosophy. The British and French governments have been translating many Sanskrit and Tibetan canonical texts and compiling dictionaries for more than a decade… The British, the

---

[381] *Di si ji wushang mizong zhi shouyao* 第四級無上密宗之首要

[382] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 360.

[383] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 378.

[384] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 378.

French, and the Germans are inquisitive nations; they do not consider Indian culture as unusable; they value it. The Japanese Meiji Restoration was not biased against Buddhism; they revitalized it. Dozens of sectarian universities publish periodicals regularly. The literary circle raised more than two million [yen] to compile the *Taishō* canon. Their Buddhist statues, ritual implements, and attires have elegance. Their [affiliated] companies hold tens of millions of capitals. No one has discredited them as 'superstitious'… [Our] magnificent *Kanjur* canon,[385] on the other hand, shines brightly in the world, as if decorated with precious jewels. It is limitless. Because the Westerners are trapped by the mysteries of science and are constantly baffled, therefore they attempt to seek a way out from Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. [We] possess such treasures and yet we do not recognize [their value]. Why do we starve ourselves as such?"[386]

The view that Buddhist teachings, especially wisdom contained in the Tibetan canons are not superstitious but are important for a modern nation-state to recognize as critical cultural heritage was echoed in a speech given by Gao Erdeng 高爾登,[387] at the press conference for the Kālacakra initiation in Hangzhou. He said:

"Buddha *Dharma* is active; it is not passive. It is engaged with the world, and not detached. The teachings of the Buddha are for the entire nation and society to step into a virtuous cycle. They teach people to use the spirit of self-sacrifice and bravery

[385] *longzang* 龍藏

[386] MMQ Vol. 41: pp. 378-383.

[387] Gao Erdeng was a politician and military commander for the ROC.

to fight the *asura* demons… The Buddha's teachings preserved in the *Kālacakratantra* are especially complex and detailed. They encourage engaged lives and use the wisdom of science to inspire people."[388]

It is clear that the motivations behind the Kālacakra initiations in the Republic of China were not completely political in nature; there were actually very strong interests in the soteriological benefits that the ritual can offer, as well as recognitions of the *Kālacakratantra* as important cultural heritage. Many sources show that the Chinese donors and participants not only shared a fascination with the esoteric Tibetan Buddhist ritual, many of them also agreed that Tibetan Buddhism was in fact, *the* much-needed savior and revitalizer for the long-lost Chinese esoteric Buddhist traditions.

After the fall of the Qing empire in 1911, many notable Buddhists, such as the monk Taixu, became influential in revitalizing and modernizing Buddhism in China through reforms such as more engaged practices and the use of modern print media. At the same time, there was an interest in reviving Chinese esoteric, or tantric Buddhism, whose transmission was believed to have been weakened or even lost since the tenth century. To do this, many Chinese Buddhists first looked to Japan, where the traditions and practices of medieval Chinese esoteric Buddhism was supposed to be best-preserved. As the relationship between the two countries worsened increasingly after imperial Japan's continued invasions and occupations on Chinese territories, many Chinese Buddhists began to turn to Tibet in their search for the lost *tantras.*

[388] MMQ Vol. 41: p. 362.

In 1915, the Empire of Japan demanded to have the freedom to build Buddhist temples in China in the Twenty-One Demands.[389] This created an outrage amongst the Chinese Buddhist communities, who thought that it was offensive for Japanese Buddhism, the disciples of Chinese Buddhism, to proselytize their practices back to China.[390] The Japanese Buddhists, especially those of the Shingon school, argued that although Japanese Buddhism developed from Chinese Buddhism, tantric Buddhism has been preserved and thriving in Japan, while it has been long lost in China.[391] As a result, many Chinese monks went abroad to Japan to study and in the following decades contributed to a tantric revival movement. With increasing aggression from the Empire of Japan in the 1920s and 1930s, many Chinese Buddhists found instead Tibetan tantrism to be the perfect answer to their revival campaign, especially since the Tibetan tradition was believed to be more closely related with lineages in Indian tantrism, and that Tibetan Buddhism possessed texts on the higher *yoga-tantras* such as the *Kālacakratantra* while the East Asian esoteric traditions did not.

In addition to the Ninth Panchen Lama, the Seventh Changkya Khutukhtu Lobsang Pelden Tenpe Dronme (T: Lcang skya blo bzang dpal ldan bstan pa'i sgron me), the Mongol lama Bai Puren (C: Bai Puren 白普仁), the Norlha Khutukhtu (T: Nor lha ho thog thu), and Gongkar Rinpoche (T: Gangs dkar) were all distinguished lamas of the Geluk tradition that

---

[389] J: *Taika nijūikkajō yōkyū* 対華 21 ヶ条要求; C: *Dui hua ershiyitiao yaoqiu* 對華 21 條要求

[390] Yonghai, Lai 賴永海, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi* 中國佛教通史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 15, p. 373.

[391] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi,* p. 373.

were active in China at the beginning of the twentieth century.[392] During their stays in China, they not only performed countless rituals and teachings for avid donors, they also helped to establish education centers to cultivate those interested in Tibetan Buddhism, such as the Bodhi Study Center (C: *Puti xuehui* 菩提學會) established in 1935 in Shanghai with the Panchen Lama as the president.[393] Such centers taught the Tibetan language and translated many texts from the Tibetan canons into Chinese.[394]

At the same time, there were also many Chinese monks who traveled to various monastic colleges in Tibet to study, such as Dayong 大勇, Fazun 法尊, and Nenghai 能海.[395] They established education institutions and translated many key texts from the Tibetan Buddhist canons into Chinese to help promote Tibetan Buddhist studies in China. In 1924, Dayong created the Tibetan Language College (C: *Zangwen xueyuan* 藏文學院) in Beijing and managed to send more than thirty of his students to study at the Drepung monastery in Tibet.[396] Fazun, who was fluent in Tibetan and a prolific writer, translated more than two hundred texts from Tibetan, including major canonical texts central to the Geluk tradition such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and Tsongkhapa's *Lamrim Chenmo*.[397] He also translated the

[392] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, p. 382.

[393] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, p. 383.

[394] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, p. 383.

[395] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, p. 384.

[396] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, pp. 385-386.

[397] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, p. 387.

Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra from Chinese (C: *Da piposha lun* 大毗婆沙論) into Tibetan.[398]

Nenghai was another influential Chinese tantric master of this period; he studied in Tibet, translated texts, and spent more than thirty years teaching and propagating Tibetan Buddhism in China. After years of work, he developed the Jinci Temple 近慈寺 in Chengdu into a one-of-a-kind Buddhist monastery that is bilingual (teaches both in Tibetan and in Chinese) and comprehensive, embracing both exoteric teachings of the Chinese Buddhist traditions and the esoteric teachings of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions.[399]

F. Making the Esoteric Rituals Public

The nine Kālacakra initiations performed by the Ninth Panchen Lama were allegedly the first higher *yoga-tantra* initiations performed to a diverse modern audience outside of Tibet. In this section, we will look at the public dimensions of the Kālacakra initiations and explore what making the esoteric public entails.

In our case of the Kālacakra initiations, they can be considered as events involving the public in the public sphere in the sense that they were open to the general population; they involved the gatherings of individuals and groups to negotiate matters of mutual interest and to participate in collective discourse. The Panchen Lama's Kālacakra initiations were performed to a general and modern audience for the first time, and they created new types of spaces where politics and religion can be practiced towards the achievement of mutual interests. They were public also because they engaged with widely circulated modern print

[398] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi,* p. 387.

[399] Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi,* p. 388.

media, film, radio, modern transportation, and popular culture to promote visibility, relevance, and influence. In this aspect, the Kālacakra initiations were made public through not only texts and images, but also sound and film that were directed at a mass audience. Finally, the Kālacakra initiations were also public in the sense that they engendered a considerable amount of debate that went beyond the controls of the authorities – in other words, the esoteric rituals became places of public discourse.

But why were these rituals made public? What does the publicity entail?

In the Republic of China, the Kālacakra initiations were organized by military and political elites to be public for the optics of ethnic unity between the "five nationalities"; for donors to display their merits; for the spectacle of a Buddhist ritual on a national scale that advocated public morality; and for rallying the public against aggressive enemies, such as imperialists from Japan and the West. For the Ninth Panchen Lama, the Kālacakra initiations' publicity meant validation and accumulation of political, religious, and social capitals; the visibility created by the public gaze allowed him to draw attention from, and form networks with, potential donors and allies so that he could return to Tibet with more political leverage.

Additionally, through commercial advertisements (of the initiations and related merchandise) in print media and public notices installed around the cities, the publicity and openness of the Kālacakra initiations contributed significantly to the local economies of the hosting sites. From the donor lists of the initiations we can see that, besides the larger and more established shops that were commissioned to supply Buddhist images and offerings, there were also many smaller vendors and artisans who profited from the events.[400] The

[400] MFZ Vol. 13: pp. 475-660.

public sphere of the Kālacakra initiations thus has an essential public economic expression that must not be overlooked.

It is also interesting to see that regardless of what the donors and the Panchen Lama's political stakes were in the Kālacakra initiations, the general attendees and the media did indeed express a considerable interest in the religious expressions of the Kālacakra initiations. Many members of the audience attended on their own without official invitations and even traveled for days just to be in proximity to the ritual. The question then is: what attracted tens of thousands of people of various ethnicities, nationalities, and social backgrounds to attend the Kālacakra initiations?

The answer to that question seems to lie in the messianic message contained in the *Kālacakratantra,* as well as a popular desire for the continuity of Buddhist (mythic) history and tradition. What drove tens of thousands of attendees to participate in the Kālacakra initiations was perhaps that many of them felt connected to both the apocalyptic future that the *tantra* describes and the promising solutions that the Panchen Lama can offer, especially in desperate times of war, disasters, political instabilities, and increasing global conflict.

José Cabezón has pointed out, "it is not uncommon [at least in Tibetan tantric ritual practices] to find nonmonastic, institutionally unaffiliated, and illiterate individuals, including women, engaged in highly specialized, complex enlightenment-directed practices."[401] For Buddhists, Tibetan, Chinese, or Mongolian, rituals have been magical and pragmatic technologies used to solve problems in everyday life. Cabezón explains, "rituals are not only considered useful, but they are also often seen as indispensable to success in a

[401] José Ignacio Cabezón, "Introduction," in *Tibetan Ritual,* ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 19-20.

variety of human affairs. They are enacted not only once calamity strikes, but also to avert mishap in the first place."[402]

It may be that many simply believed in the extraordinary ritual potency of the *Kālacakratantra* heralded by esteemed members of society and the unequaled pedigree and religious authority of the Panchen Lama to perform its initiations. Gray Tuttle confirms this reading in his article, "Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China" (2008). He says that the Ninth Panchen Lama and his writings on the benefits of the Kālacakra initiations were influential precisely "because these teachings offered salvation to a people literally desperate, hopeless, about their situation."[403] In his reading of the Panchen Lama's writings, Tuttle identifies "a powerful psychological position" that the Panchen Lama occupied in the Chinese imaginations of Tibet.[404]

The power of the messianic message of the *Kālacakratantra* was felt perhaps even stronger amongst the Mongols in Inner Mongolia, who revered the Panchen Lama not only as one of the top leaders in the Geluk Buddhist tradition, a tradition that the Mongols have shared with the Tibetans for centuries, but as the future king of Śambhala. If the people of the Republic of China were mainly concerned with aggressions from Japan and the Western imperial powers, then the Inner Mongolians were increasingly feeling threatened by not only the imperialists, but also forced colonization and agriculturalization of the steppes under the

---

[402] Cabezón, "Introduction," p. 21.

[403] Gray Tuttle, "Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra," in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries Volume I,* eds. Monica Esposito (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), p. 320.

[404] Tuttle, "Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra," p. 320.

Chinese warlords, not to mention also the hostility coming from socialist Outer Mongolia and Soviet Russia. The ritual magic of the unusual but superior Kālacakra empowerments delivered by one of the most powerful Lamas in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition would have been indeed incredibly empowering.

Tradition, pedigree, (mythic) history, and their uninterrupted continuation was integral to ensure the authenticity and efficacy of the Kālacakra initiations. The popular audience, both in Inner Mongolia and China, reacted to this continuity and the Panchen Lama delivered. Gray Tuttle remarks that, "... the Panchen Lama embraced traditional patterns of interactions, in which Buddhist unity with Chinese or Mongols was paramount, and what was good and desirable was judged by Buddhist standards and not modern enlightenment schemes."[405] Tuttle explains that rather than offering his audience new interpretations or revisions of Tibetan Buddhism as modern or as part of pan-Asian Buddhism, the Panchen Lama instead insisted on the continued significance of previous models of identity and social relations.[406] Tuttle argues that the reason why the Panchen Lama made the choice to insist on continuity and was immune from Western-originated discourses of modernity was "because their homeland had not been compromised by colonization… few of these [modern] expectations were fulfilled or even deemed desirable, whether by the elite or the populace at large."[407]

---

[405] Tuttle, Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra," p. 308.

[406] Tuttle, Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra," p. 308.

[407] Tuttle, Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra," p. 307.

While this might be the case, Fabienne Jagou reminds us in her studies on the Ninth Panchen Lama that the Tibetan monk and leader was not as "immune" to modernity as we might have assumed. In a proposal that the Panchen Lama sent to Huang Musong 黃慕松, the new director of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission at the time in March 1935, the Lama requested material aid and funding of no less than 100 million *yuan* for a development project involving educational infrastructure and communication networks for Tibet.[408] For education, the Panchen Lama wanted his young fellow Tibetans to learn Tibetan and Chinese, which was understood by him as the synonym for industrial development and economic and social progress.[409] He also proposed the creation of post offices equipped with radio transmitters in all the main districts in Tibet along with the assistance of Chinese technicians and experts to supervise over these projects.[410]

It seems possible that the Panchen Lama's choice to insist on the continuity of tradition and identities especially in the Kālacakra initiations was less based on his own disposition towards modernity, but more on the popular demand for the optics of tradition. The Lama was not completely uninterested in engaging with modernity, as we have seen; the Kālacakra initiations were actually quite revolutionary in their engagement with the general population as a public sphere of communal experience and discourse. The use of modern technology and media to promote, record, and broadcast the Kālacakra initiations were also not opposed by the Panchen Lama himself. Tradition, lineage, and temporal and spatial continuity (both going backward to the historic Buddha in India and also forward to the

---

[408] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* pp. 126-127.

[409] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 127.

[410] Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937),* p. 127.

future triumph of the kingdom of Śambhala) were emphasized over more "modern" takes on Buddhism because these are essential to the integrity and efficacy of the messianic metanarrative and its success with the masses.

G. Esoteric Rituals as Places for Public Discourse

On the other hand, the messianic promise of the *Kālacakratantra* was not the only thing that attracted popular attention. Many who attended were not practicing Buddhists nor individuals interested in seeking refuge under the Three Jewels. Many of the commentators who wrote publicly about the Kālacakra initiations participated to observe; they reported on the spectacle of the ritual and often commented with a modernist critical stance. This means that the Kālacakra initiations also served as public spheres for discussions, debates, and even critiques on Tibetan esoteric Buddhism. Some of these discussions centered on the authenticity of Buddhist *tantras*, some explored the efficacy of the Kālacakra initiations, some doubted the motives of the organizers, while others questioned the place of religion in the public sphere in general. These discussions and critiques reflect not only a level of public engagement with the Tibetan Buddhist ritual, but also a distrust with the new Republican government, as well as a kind of anxiety towards the popularity of such a religious activity on a national scale and its place in the new modern nation.

In Luo Tongbing's article, "The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China" (2008), he illustrates the debate between Jing Changji 景昌極 of the China Institute of Buddhism and the reformist monk Taixu 太虛 on the authenticity of *tantras* and the Kālacakra initiations. As a proponent of exoteric Buddhism, Jing believed that *tantras* are "a mélange of superstition and deceptive

metaphysics, which led to strained interpretations and false analogies."[411] In defense of esoteric Buddhism, Taixu emphasized faith before historical facts, he argued in response, "Examined with common understanding and according to the history of the human world, the esoteric *mantras* are just as unreliable as are the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* with their unverifiable myths. However, Buddhism is grounded on the inconceivable fruit of Buddhahood and other saintly fruits. Only those who have attained the fruit of Buddhahood can judge the authenticity of the Buddhist Dharma."[412] Taixu continues, "If we can accept with faith the doctrines and then practice, sooner or later we can attain the fruits."[413]

While Buddhists like Jing Changji and Taixu debated on the authenticity of *tantras* from exoteric or esoteric positions from within the tradition, non-Buddhists called into question the validity of religious rituals in the "age of science." A writer named You Qing 又青 challenged official publications of the Kālacakra initiations on the efficacy of the rituals in an article entitled, "Oh! Kālacakra Initiations" published in the *People's Weekly.* The author writes,

> "Apparently the Kālacakra initiations were believed to summon gods to dispel disasters, and to protect the nation from humiliation. Ah! Humans have already

[411] Tongbing Luo, "The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China," in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries Volume I,* eds. Monica Esposito (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), p. 451.

[412] Luo, "The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China," p. 451.

[413] Luo, "The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China," p. 451.

evolved from the age of the gods to the age of science; the Japanese enemies are relying on the newest weapons and have invaded us, while our outdated elites and dull scholars are here indoctrinating us with their esoteric Buddhism, performing tricks revering spirits and gods. They are cursed by time, laughed at by science, made fun of by our enemies – this is the most unwise!"[414]

Following these series of accusations, the author continues and counts the times that the Panchen Lama's ritual magic had failed. The first time was when the Nanking warlord Sun Chuanfang 孫傳芳 and his military clique lost the battle during the Northern Expedition in 1926; they had been blessed by the Panchen Lama prior at the Zhaoqing Temple 昭慶寺 in Hangzhou. The second time was when the territory of Jehol was lost to the Japanese soon after the Kālacakra Initiation took place in Beijing. The author laments, "This third time [in Hangzhou], what kind of disaster would he bring!"[415]

In another article published in the *People's Weekly,* the Kālacakra initiations' donors and their motives were heavily criticized. In the piece "Perspectives on the Kālacakra Initiations," a writer named Shen Bozhan 沈伯展 questioned the intention behind the rituals:

"Last year, the Panchen Lama set up a ritual in Beiping for the sake of world peace and the elimination of national disasters using the power of the Buddha. But the result on world peace and national disaster was miniscule and irrelevant. This year, Duan Qirui and these liars wish to deceive yet again under the slogans of "peace," "ending

[414] You Qing 又青, "Minghu shilun jingang fahui 嗚呼時輪金剛法會," *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934), p. 10.

[415] You, "Minghu shilun jingang fahui," p. 10.

suffering," "praying for fortune," "eliminating disasters," and "praying better rebirths for the deceased." This is nothing but another scam enabling our ignorant and degenerate countrymen to lie to themselves."[416]

As for the "true" motive behind Duan Qirui's organization of the Kālacakra initiations, the writer claims that Duan aimed to use the Kālacakra initiations to "reverse the progress of the evolution of society," and that this act is "counter-revolutionary."[417]

Moreover, there were public voices that interrogated the effects that the Kālacakra initiations had on public life, as well as the role religion should (or should not) play in the public sphere. Shen Shanhong 沈善鉉 commented in an article called "The Absurdity of the Kālacakra Initiations":

> "Subjectively speaking, the Kālacakra initiations do not involve conspiracies and they support religious freedom. Objectively speaking, however, how many people in our under-educated nation today have enough knowledge to make [sound] judgements? For the common uneducated citizen, concepts such as "scientification" (C: *kexuehua* 科學化) and "new lifestyle" (C: *xinshenghuo* 新生活) have not yet taken roots. Sirs and gentlemen, [such as Dai Jitao] who are important politicians, educators, and military leaders, should be models for the rest of us. However, they have subconsciously influenced so many people's mentalities [through participating in the Kālacakra initiations] and have led us onto the path of degeneration."[418]

---

[416] Shen Bozhan 沈伯展, "Shilun jingang fahui di toushi 時輪金剛法會底透視," *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119 (1934), p. 3.

[417] Shen Bozhan, "Shilun jingang fahui di toushi," p. 6.

[418] Shen Shanhong 沈善鉉, "Huangmiu juelun de shilun jingang fahui 荒謬絕倫的時輪金剛法會," *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934), p. 13.

Continuing their remarks on the intrusion of religion in the supposedly secular, scientific, and modern public sphere, the author further doubts the function of religion in the fight with imperialist aggressions. Shen writes:

> "For these cold-blooded imperialists, can you sway them with humanitarianism? Will you be able to call on "gods" or "Buddhas" to subdue them?... The only path in our future is to disengage their weapons through "iron" and "blood." Then can we put down our weapons and drive the world into a cycle of peace."[419]

It is not difficult to see that many of these discussions and criticisms directed at the Kālacakra initiations were made with the assumption that modern nation-states, such as the Republic of China, should have a certain kind of separation between religion and politics, and this is based on another assumption that a modern secular society is necessarily a more "progressed" one. Due to the high-profiled nature of the Kālacakra initiations, they became obvious and accessible arenas for public discourses on religion and modernity. It seems that while there was a critical awareness of the esoteric Tibetan Buddhist ritual, what is really revealed in these modernist critiques is a sense of disappointment and disillusionment with the new modern Republic, the corruption of their leaders, and the ineffectiveness of the government at addressing imperialist aggressions and invasions.

H. Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism in Transition

The Panchen Lama's nine Kālacakra initiations, ultimately, were *performed* to different audiences in different contexts, with different needs. As Wei Wu argues in her

---

[419] Shen Shanhong, "Huangmiu juelun de shilun jingang fahui," pp. 13-14.

recent book on how Buddhists in modern China engaged with Japanese and Tibetan esoteric Buddhist traditions in the first half of the twentieth century, the transmission of the rituals is a performative process.[420] She explains in *Esoteric Buddhism in China* (2024), "Although Tibetan and Mongolian lamas mostly followed the instructions of age-old manuals in carrying out the rituals, new meanings were also generated in different contexts of performance. The presentation of the esoteric ritual was a dialectical process – with different groups debating subjects that were themselves shifting over time."[421] The changing needs of the receivers of the rituals of the Kālacakra initiations given different geopolitical and religious circumstances also led to different interpretations. Wu summarizes it well, "While the lamas performed rituals following a set of codified patterns, interpretation of rituals was contingent upon the rituals' immediate context and carried the imprint of specified interpreters."[422]

On the one hand, by performing the Kālacakra initiations, the Panchen Lama was able to strengthen previously existing ties with the Inner Mongolian patrons and monasteries on the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network, and on the other hand, further extend the network through new alliances. For the donors in Inner Mongolia, the Kālacakra initiations renewed their faith in the shared myth of Śambhala and gave them opportunities to congregate communally. For the donors in the Republic of China, they saw political potential in the Panchen Lama to unit ethnic minority groups on the frontier through shared faith, but they

[420] Wei Wu, *Esoteric Buddhism in China: Engaging Japanese and Tibetan Traditions, 1912-1949* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2024), p. 51.

[421] Wu, *Esoteric Buddhism in China*, p. 51.

[422] Wu, *Esoteric Buddhism in China*, p. 51.

were equally invested in the soteriological benefits that the Kālacakra initiations can provide as well. This invested interest in the Tibetan tantric practices was part of a larger tantric revival movement that was gaining momentum in 1920s and 1930s China.

Through investigating the case of the Ninth Panchen Lama's Kālacakra initiations, it has been revealed that the tantric rituals were sponsored by politically affluent donors and were highly visible public events that garnered considerable media publicity. This tells us that there were immense interests in the Panchen Lama, the Kālacakra rituals, and Tibetan Buddhism in general. These interests were there for three main reasons: the geopolitical significance of Tibet in early twentieth-century East Asia; Tibetan Buddhism's believed proximity to Indian Buddhism; and the promised soteriological benefits of Tibetan tantric Buddhism in messianic metanarratives.

Tibetan Buddhism was also part of a larger pan-Asian tantric revival movement mainly propelled by modern Chinese Buddhists and Japanese Buddhists, who were to a large extent inspired by both modernity and the academic studies of Buddhism in the West. In this revival movement, Tibet came to be known as the last stronghold that preserved the most complete and the most sublime tantric teachings of the Buddha. In the movement's search for the "lost *tantras*," Tibet and its comprehensive esoteric Buddhist traditions became desirable and arguably superior to the "incomplete" esoteric Buddhist traditions of China and Japan. Tibetan Buddhism was seen as more authentically close to the legacies of Indian Buddhism. The continuity of "uninterrupted transmission" from India gave Tibetan Buddhism a pedigree that held substantial religious capital for the tradition.

Tantric texts that were preserved in Tibetan Buddhism, such as the *Kālacakratantra* and its associated practices, provided metanarratives using Buddhist cosmology to explain

suffering, war, disorder, and even imperialism in the post-imperium spaces of modern East Asia. These metanarratives summoned Buddhist understandings of time and space. Through the *tantra*'s unique trajectories and locations of history, the causes of modern suffering were articulated through *karma* and *Dharma,* while the future was prophesized through the messianic promise of the victorious kingdom of Śambhala. Rituals that embodied these metanarratives, such as the Kālacakra initiations, provided arenas for the soteriological and intellectual concerns of the public.

At the same time, it has been shown in our previous discussions that although the donors and participants of the Kālacakra Initiations were citizens of modern nation-states, most of them were not secular moderns. Indeed, there were also demands for the continuity of tradition, lineage, and narratives of a Buddhist cosmological time. These demands reflect desires for the assurance of authenticity, efficacy, and potency. The Ninth Panchen Lama and the Kālacakra practices responded to these demands for continuity and still managed to be radically inclusive with regard to their audience. Modern technologies and media were also embraced and strategically applied in ways that did not contradict with the immutability of continuity.

As the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network transitions from a religious network enabled by the frontier policies and infrastructures of the multicultural Qing empire to one facilitated by modern desires of nation-building and renewed interests in esoteric Buddhism in the context of modern China, another set of connections were being built simultaneously. Through occupying Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia, missionizing Japanese Buddhists in the Japanese Empire also invested in the formation of new links with the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network. In the next chapter, we will turn our attention to how Mongol

monks crossed the ocean to study in Japan in an effort to form an esoteric Pan-Asianist Buddhism.

V. Towards an Esoteric Pan-Asianist Buddhism

In the previous chapter, we discussed how Geluk Buddhist rituals were performed both within and beyond the Great Wall of China in the early twentieth century, as well as how the 9th Panchen Lama both attempted to strengthen previously existing alliances by reconnecting with his Mongol patrons in Inner Mongolia, and to extend the Geluk Buddhist network further into China by tapping into their esoteric Buddhist revivalism. In this chapter, we will turn our attention further east and look at how Geluk Buddhist monks from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria traveled and studied in Japan and participated in the Japanese Shingon Buddhists' Esoteric Pan-Asianism.

While some Inner Asian Buddhists were attempting to maintain old lineages while seeking out new ones in modern China, others were reluctant to fully rely on Chinese sponsorship and were open to alternative ways to expand the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network elsewhere. At the same time, as the Japanese Empire expanded further west after having established a basis in Korea and Manchuria, agents of the Empire from the military to the Buddhists became gradually interested in establishing alliances with the lamas in Inner Mongolia and tapping into the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network.

Since Japan shocked the world with their victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, there was an explosion of studies on "Lamaism" (J. *ramakyō*) on the Sino-Russian borderlands that multiplied in the 1930s after the establishment of Manchukuo (1932-1945) and the Japanese annexation of eastern Inner Mongolia. In the period between 1905 and 1945 and especially after the Russian Revolution in 1917, knowledge production about the powerful religious institution of "Lamaism" that was remnant of Qing imperial arrangement in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet, was urgently needed by the expanding

Japanese Empire to make allies against the increasingly powerful Soviet Union and gain control over East and Inner Asia. This urgent *need to know* produced a plethora of surveys, reports, and essays that show a strong desire to effectively grasp the geopolitically relevant Other for Japan's Pan-Asian empire-building projects, particularly in competition with similar knowledge production initiatives taking place in Russia (later Soviet Union) and Republican China (1911-).

First, focusing on some of these surveys, reports and essays produced by the Japanese Kwantung Army, the Manchukuo Government, and Japanese missionary Buddhists of the Shingon School, this chapter looks into what Japanese colonial knowledge production of religion on the Sino-Russian borderland regions of Manchuria-Mongolia (J. *manmō*) entails. Specifically, this chapter asks: what did knowing "Lamaism," the dominant religious tradition of Manchuria-Mongolia, mean for the young empire? What were some of the driving motivations behind the surveys and research projects? How were these studies framed for their audiences?

Secondly, we'll look at new connection formed under the assumption of Buddhism Pan-Asianism, informed by these knowledge production processes. Through the efforts of Japanese Buddhists who had been avidly missionizing on the continent since the Russo-Japanese War, as well as Inner Mongolian Buddhist leaders, new relations were formed between the Mongols and Japanese Buddhists. On the Japanese side, the goal was largely to form a Buddhist Pan-Asianist alliance with the followers of "Lamaism" in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, while tapping into the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network through them for Japan's westward expansionist ambitions and securing an ideological "lifeline" between the Soviet sphere of influence and Japanese occupied territories. All under the premise that

Japanese Buddhism is superior, more modernized, and therefore more civilized. On the Mongols' side, it was one way to form a different, technologically more advanced, anti-Communist alliance that at least respected the Buddha dharma without relying on the Chinese. The Japanese' Buddhists devotion to Buddhism was attractive, as was the education opportunities they afforded. However, the Japanese Shingon Buddhists attempts at "reforming" Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria was met with largely unsuccessful results and mixed receptions.

A. "Manchuria-Mongolia" as the "Lifeline" of the Empire

In 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth mediated by the United States under President Theodore Roosevelt officially concluded the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) fought on the Sino-Russian borderlands and conceded several territories in the region to Japan. These territories include the southern half of Sakhalin Island, Port Arthur (CH: Lüshun) and the surrounding region in the southern part of the Liaodong Peninsula, as well as the southern part of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), a Sino-Russian joint venture that connected the Russian-controlled Trans-Siberian Railway to the ice-free port of Vladivostok and the Russian leasehold of Port Arthur in southern Manchuria. Control over this southern part the CER, which later would be referred to as the South Manchurian Railway, provided Japan with critical strategic and economic infrastructures to strengthen its influence in the region.

In 1915, taking advantage of the political instability of the Yuan Shikai government in the recent ruins of the Qing Empire, significant internal political turmoil in Russia, and the stalemate situation of World War I in the West, Japan issued the Twenty-One Demands to China and insisted further territorial and economic privileges on the continent, demanding particularly control over Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. With the military

invasion and occupation of Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia by the Japanese Kwantung Army in 1931 through the Mukden Incident, Japan further solidified its presence in the region, founding the state of Manchukuo in 1932 with Aisin Gioro Puyi as the Emperor. Despite international condemnation and withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, Japan continued its expansionist policies in the region. Russia, which had become the Soviet Union and under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, was undergoing internal political challenges and economic upheavals, from the Great Purge to widespread famine. On the other hand, Republican China was grappling with internal strife, warlordism, and the intensifying conflicts between the Nationalists and the Communists. With both China and the Soviet Union's attentions turned elsewhere, Japan, a brand-new power broker in the geopolitics of continental Northeast Asia, would occupy by the 1940s a large area of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, regions historically shared and contested between Russian and Chinese powers.

At the same time, Imperial Japan was facing several domestic and international challenges throughout the decades after the Russo-Japanese War. Domestically, Japan was needing increasingly more raw materials and energy resources to sustain its rapid industrialization and military expansion, and the limited natural resources on the archipelago were no longer able to meet the demands of both a drastically increasing population at home and colonial efforts abroad. This is where the economic importance of *manmō,* or Manchuria-Mongolia, enters the scene. Yamagata Arimoto 山縣有朋 (1838 – 1922), the founder of the modern Japanese military, was convinced right after the Russo-Japanese War that the Manchuria region was Japan's "lifeline" and the only possible area for expansion and

an essential buffer against Russian revenge.[423] As Imperial Japan's sphere of influence extended further east into Inner Mongolia, the definition of "lifeline" also expands.

In *Moving Manchuria-Mongolia* (1931),[424] a collection of essays by Yōsuke Matsuoka 松岡洋右 (1880 –1946), who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and one of the architects behind the Tripartite Pact and the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact, Manchuria-Mongolia was repeatedly described as a strategic "lifeline" for the Japanese Empire, both in terms of national defense and economic stability. He writes,

> "…the status of today's Manchuria-Mongolia is not only significant to our nation in terms of national security, but also indispensable to our national economy. In other words, realistically speaking, Manchuria-Mongolia should be seen not only as a lifeline in terms of national defense, but also a lifeline in terms of economics. All nations have a lifeline that holds the key to their survival. For the British there is Gibraltar and Malta, for America there is the Caribbeans."[425]

For Matsuoka, the process through which Manchuria-Mongolia became the "lifeline" of the Empire was rooted in the unfolding of the shared historical developments between China and Russia, in which Japan played a major part. Published two month prior to the Mukden Incident[426] and Japan's full-on military invasion of Manchuria, he argues in *Moving*

---

[423] Ramon Hawley Myers, Mark R. Peattie, and Jingzhi Zhen, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 67.

[424] Yōsuke Matsuoka 松岡洋右, *Ugoku Manmō* 動く満蒙 (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1931).

[425] Matsuoka, *Ugoku Manmō,* p. 224.

[426] *Ugoku Manmō* was published on July 17, 1931. The Mukden Incident took place on September 18, 1931.

Manchuria-Mongolia that it was only after Japan had successfully defeated Russia's invasions into the Far East that the Qing government begin to fully implement (Han Chinese) immigration policies on the northern frontiers. He insists that if it wasn't for Japan's cultural infrastructures, economic aid, and political protection, Chinese people would not have established an authority in the region.[427] While affirming the status of Manchuria-Mongolia as a colony of the Japanese Empire, Matsuoka also points out the colonial status of the region for the Han Chinese people: "Nowadays, Manchuria-Mongolia, the homeland of the Manchu and Mongolian people oppressed by the Chinese, is in fact a colony of our Japanese and Korean [*naisen*][428] people. But for the Chinese, it is no less than a colony as well."[429]

Matsuoka re-emphasizes what Manchuria-Mongolia means geopolitically on the Sino-Russian borderland of a post-Russo-Japanese War landscape, as well as Japan's new status vis-à-vis Russia and China. For him, Manchuria-Mongolia is a region that has been liberated by Japan for "our people"[430] from the invasion of Russian Imperialism. This liberation was made possible through Japan's betting on their national strength over that of Russia, and it should be seen as a historical fact. The role that China plays in this dynamic, Matsuoka points out frustratingly, is that it insists on the restoration of China's national sovereignty over lost territories and ignores established treaty obligations, which harms Japan's rights and interests.[431] In Matsuoka's analyses of the "Manchuria-Mongolia

[427] Matsuoka, *Ugoku Manmō,* p. Preface.

[428] 内鮮

[429] Matsuoka, *Ugoku Manmō,* p. Preface.

[430] 彼我民族

[431] Matsuoka, *Ugoku Manmō,* p. Preface.

Problem," the foreignness and invasiveness of Russia is juxtaposed to China's unreasonableness (*rifujin*),[432] while Japan emerges from the picture as a liberator of not only the land of Manchuria-Mongolia, but also its people, who have been victims to both Russian Imperialism and Han Chinese settler colonialism.

In the years following the publication of Matsuoka's *Moving Manchuria-Mongolia*, the Soviet Union, Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), and Japan were enmeshed in a series of armed border conflicts in Manchuria-Mongolia, leading eventually to the Battles of Khalkhin Gol (Nomonhan Incident) fought in 1939 between the Soviets and the Japanese fought on Inner Mongolian soil at the border between the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchukuo. The Soviet-Japanese border conflicts concluded with the signing of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact in 1941, which temporarily allowed for relative border stability until 1945.

Writing in 1938 in the *Political History of Mongolia*, Tomio Goto 後藤富男, a scholar of Mongolian history and culture employed by the Japanese agency Zenrin Kyōkai (Good Neighbor Association), eerily predicts the upcoming large-scale Soviet-Japanese battles in Nomonhan that would take place a year later. He remarks that the Soviet policy of banishing Japanese influence from the continent led to worsening relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.[433] He believes that the region of Mongolia, sandwiched between Soviet, Chinese, and Japanese spheres of influence, would likely become the battlefield for

---

[432] 理不尽千万

[433] Tomio Goto 後藤富男, *Mōko seijishi* 蒙古政治史 (Tokyo: Takayama shoin, 1938), p. 223.

future Soviet-Japanese conflicts.[434] However, what's more worthy of attention, Goto notes, is the fact that ever since the Soviet government's retreat from Manchuria subsequent to the selling of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan in 1934, Outer Mongolia became the new route connecting Moscow and the Comintern to the Communists in China, who were increasingly gaining clout.[435] This meant that if the Soviets and Japan were to go to war in Mongolia, Goto points out, the Chinese Communist army could attack the Japanese army from behind.[436] For Goto, the Comintern alliance between Moscow and the Chinese Communists meant that it would allow the Soviets to effectively enter Mongolia and Xinjiang. As for Outer Mongolia, it served as a fulcrum for the transnational Soviet Communist movement and a base for their advancement into the Far East.[437] In other words, like Matsuoka, Goto similarly saw the Manchuria-Mongolia region as a "lifeline" for Japanese interests on the continent, however, being informed about the political history of Mongolia, Goto emphasized the region's status as an ideological "lifeline" sketching the borders of growing Communist influence.

B. Knowing "Lamaism" for Japan's Continental Policies

While the concept of situating Manchuria-Mongolia as the "lifeline" of the Japanese Empire was taking shape in public discourses both domestically in Japan and abroad in the colonies, there was simultaneously an explosion of Japanese publications on "Lamaism" (JP:

[434] Goto, *Mōko seijishi*, p. 223.

[435] Goto, *Mōko seijishi*, p. 223.

[436] Goto, *Mōko seijishi*, p. 224.

[437] Goto, *Mōko seijishi*, pp. 224-225.

ramakyō), referring mainly to the Geluk Buddhist tradition in Manchuria-Mongolia. Many of these publications and studies, even those that did not focus on the study of religion, remarked on the significance of the Geluk Buddhist traditions in the region and amongst its people. The main reason was that the Geluk School of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism, which was the dominant Buddhist institution in the Manchuria-Mongolia region, held both religious and political authority in the region, as well as economic and social importance.

As we have discussed in Chapter II, the thousands of Buddhist monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria were home to tens and thousands of monks that made up to 40% of the male population. Economically, the Buddhist institution in the Manchuria-Mongolian regions also possessed enormous wealth in the Qing period. These details that would be become evident to scholars in the postwar were not completely lost on the Japanese after they annexed the Manchuria-Mongolia region. Photographs taken in the region after the Russo-Japanese War often centered on Buddhist monasteries and monuments, as well as their prominent monastic populations. After all, these Buddhist institutions tended to be the only permanently standing architectures and resources in the region, this is especially so when one trails aways from the metal veins of the Southern Manchurian Railway and its Japanese settlement towns.

With the publication of Kawaguchi Ekai's 河口慧海 (1866-1945) travelogues on his journeys to Tibet, Nepal, and India from 1900 to 1915, there had already been a "Tibet fever"[438] in Japan created by this Zen monk, who would be recognized as the first Japanese person to visit Tibet. Through Kawaguchi's personal observations, which were largely

[438] Naoji Okuyama, "The Tibet Fever among Japanese Buddhists of the Meiji Era". In Esposito, Monica (ed.). *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th centuries.* (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008).

informed by a colonial gaze, the domestic Japanese audience were introduced to "Lamaism," a powerful but "backwards" kind of Buddhism that dominated the Himalayan regions. The Japanese association of "Lamaism" with Manchuria-Mongolia, thousands of miles away from Lhasa, would not become common until after the Russo-Japanese War. Although as mentioned above, there was an explosion of Japanese studies on "Lamaism" in the Manchuria-Mongolia region, peaking towards the late 1930s, the first of such studies were in fact Japanese translations of Russian studies of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia.

In 1917, just months after the breakout of the Russian Revolution, Ishikawa Kisaburo 石川喜三郎 (1864-1932), a leading Japanese theologian of the Orthodox Church in Japan, published his Japanese translation of the Russian theologian Ioann Popov's research on "Lamaism."[439] In the preface to the volume, the well-known Japanese Buddhist studies scholar Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866-1945) remarks on the timeliness of the work: while Tibet had been long known as a "secret nation," with visitors stepping foot in the region from Japan and other foreign countries, it is no longer "secret." As Tibet was gaining international attention, not many studies on its religion existed. Observant of Japan's public education needs, Ishikawa steps up and translates Popov's work in his personal time off from work. Japan would undoubtedly produce more superior studies on Lamaism eventually.[440]

For the translator Ishikawa Kisaburo himself, the translation was not only a timely contribution to the study of religion, but a collection of crucial knowledge both for the development of Japanese Buddhism into a Pan-Asian religion, and for the Empire of Japan to

[439] Popov, I., trans. Ishikawa, K., 石川喜三郎, *Chibetto Mōko himitsu Ramakyō taikan* (Tōkyō: Nichi-Ro Shuppan Kyōkai, 1917)

[440] Popov, I., trans. Ishikawa, K., *Chibetto Mōko himitsu Ramakyō taikan*, pp. 1-2.

better govern the colonies in an informed manner. In the introduction to the translation, Ishikawa laments that ignorance of "Lamaism," a unifying Buddhism that has proselytized the entire Tibetan and Mongolian regions, on the part of Japan is extremely regrettable. He argues that in order to have a comprehensive understanding of Buddhism, one cannot be ignorant of "Lamaism," the oldest Buddhist tradition in Tibet and Mongolia, which he refers to as the "heart of Asia."[441] He further adds that since the Japanese people have a mission to broadly develop the Manchuria-Mongolia region in the future, it is extremely necessary to have a grasp of the religion that commands people's thoughts and beliefs in the region.[442]

In addition to translating and building upon Russian studies to boost their knowledge of "Lamaism" in Manchuria-Mongolia, Japanese intelligence officials also took advantage of their on-the-ground military presence to produce their own surveys. In the preface to a general survey done on the geography, history, society, and economics of Eastern Inner Mongolia compiled by the Kwantung Governor-General's Army stationed in Manchuria published in 1915, ten years after Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War,[443] the Chief of Army Staff of the Kwantung Army, Nishikawa Torajirō explains the importance of knowing everything about Mongolia for the young expanding Japanese Empire in the context of a new Russo-Japanese relation, revealing an urgency of knowledge production competition with Russia:

---

[441] Popov, I., trans. Ishikawa, K., *Chibetto Mōko himitsu Ramakyō taikan*, pp. Introduction, p. 2

[442] Popov, I., trans. Ishikawa, K., *Chibetto Mōko himitsu Ramakyō taikan*, pp. Introduction, p. 2

[443] Kantō Totokufu Rikugunbu 関東都督府陸軍部, *Higashi Mokō* 東蒙古 (Tokyo: Miyamoto burindō, 1915), preface.

> "Historically, the land of Mongolia has always been connected to Manchuria. Since Eastern Mongolia can be understood as a part of Manchuria both administratively and geographically, its ups and downs are extremely closely tied with [Manchuria]. Although our people have the ambition to develop research [on Mongolia], relevant written works are lacking. Those people in Russia have been cultivating comprehensive Mongolia-related research for more than half a century. It is unfortunate that we do not measure up. Now that ten years have passed since the Russo-Japanese War, there has been an awakening of national discourse that steadily sings out for the cultivation of Manchuria-Mongolia all around our nation. This is an opportunity to officially publish the many years of research that our Army has produced…"[444]

In a similar publication published a year before, *The Truth of Eastern Mongolia* (1913), the author Matsumoto Shun, a specialist in East Asian geopolitical affairs and an Engineer Lieutenant Colonel of the Japanese Army, digs further to contextualize the need to know about "Lamaism" in geopolitical terms, but also forecasted the general colonial attitudes towards "Lamaism" that would come to dominate legislated policies towards the religious practices of the people living in Manchuria-Mongolia.

Matsumoto elaborates that the land of Mongol was "distanced from modern culture" as well as "non-achieving and powerless," the result of being a mere bulwark for China for centuries. Aristocrats who read only Buddhist texts day and night were allowed to rule, "leaving the people of [Mongolia] to live mindlessly befriending grass and wild animals in

[444] Kantō Totokufu Rikugunbu, *Higashi Mokō*, preface.

the large desert…"[445] Matsumoto believes that since Russia was well-informed about Mongolia and its religion "Lamaism," they were able to take advantage of the Qing's collapse and instigate the Jebtsundampa, the equivalent of the Dalai Lama in Mongolia and its theocratic ruler, to announce their political independence and escape the binds of Republican China so that Mongolia could eventually become a part of Russia.[446] Therefore, as a growing empire that has claims to Manchuria, Matsumoto insists that it is necessary for Japan to know the neighboring place, from its natural resources to its "superstitious" but politically significant "Lamaism."[447]

C. The Great Ideological Wall of the "Lamaist Sphere"

As more works began to be produced both for the public and for elite military and political circles on "Lamaism" from the 1910s to the 1940s, one noteworthy expression of the geopolitically significant "Lamaism" on the part of the Japanese Empire was through historicizing and spatializing "Lamaism." The time and space of "Lamaism" was narrated through the concept of the "Lamaist sphere" (Jp: *ramakyō-ken*) or sometimes the "Lamaist region" (Jp: *ramakyō chitai*), which encompasses Mongolia, Manchuria, and Tibet. As noted by the Japanese scholar of modern Buddhist history Osawa Koji, the idea of the "Lamaist sphere" is not just a term used to describe the geographical spread of Tibetan and Mongolian

[445] Sen Matsumoto 松本雋, *Higashi Mokō no shinsō* 東蒙古の真相 (Tokyo: Heilinkan, 1913), p. 2.

[446] Sen Matsumoto, *Higashi Mokō no shinsō*, p. 3

[447] Sen Matsumoto, *Higashi Mokō no shinsō*, p. 5

Buddhism in the Asian continent; it is very much a geopolitical concept on its own.[448] The concept of the "Lamaist sphere" allowed for a different geopolitical imagination of East and Inner Asia that could bypass modern national boundaries and ideas of nationhood. In other words, tapping into the "Lamaist sphere" meant tapping into a multi-ethnic and transregional East and Inner Asian network created and maintained through Tibetan Buddhism and Qing-era frontier governing administrative strategies that informed the status-quo in the region even after the fall of the Qing Empire in 1912.

The Japanese saw value in this geopolitical re-imagination of the contested borderlands between Russia and China – it could aid the expansionist policies of empire deeper into the western part of the continent, but also serve as a "great wall" that buffers the Japanese sphere of influence from expanding Soviet presences in the area. This geopolitical arrangement would also serve to challenge Sino-centric and nationalistic definitions of "China," legitimating the separation of the ethnic frontiers from the Republican Chinese map of "China."

For example, Nakamura Kyōshin (1893-1961), a Shingon Buddhist priest who was involved in the Japanese Lamaism Research Center set up in Inner Mongolia, noted in 1941 the geopolitical significance of the "Lamaism sphere" (J. *ramakyō-ken*),[449] especially vis-à-vis China: "What we esoteric Buddhists must contemplate is that the Lamaists maintain a major religious sphere [of influence] that penetrates Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and India,

[448] Kōji Ōsawa 大澤広嗣 and Naoki Nakanishi 中西直樹 eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū* 戦時下「日本仏教」の国際交流 (Tokyo: Fuji shuban, 2019), p. 183.

[449] 喇嘛教圏、ラマ教圏

outlining the Chinese continent. We must strive to be inseparable with them and establish a true friendship."[450]

In an essay outlining the future of esoteric Buddhists in Asia in the sectarian newspaper of the Shingon Buddhist School in 1942, Hashimoto Kōhō, one of the Japanese Buddhist studies scholars at that time who traveled extensively in the Manchuria-Mongolia region, remarked on the purge of Buddhism and the bloody solution to the "lama question" in Mongolia People's Republic under Soviet rule,[451] but also the potential of using these anti-Buddhism incidents as an opportunity to insert Japan as a protector and benevolent patron of Buddhism, despite the fact that Japanese Buddhism suffered greatly not long ago in the nation-wide persecution of the tradition in the *haibutsu kishaku*[452] campaign under the emergence of State Shinto in the Meiji period.

Hashimoto explains to his fellow esoteric Buddhists that the "Lamaist" sphere of influence across East and Inner Asia is in fact an even superior Great Wall against Communism: "Lamaism is the same kind of esoteric Buddhism as our Shingon Buddhism. It is not only the belief of the Mongolian people in Inner and Outer Mongolia, as well as in Manchuria, it also possesses definitive influence in Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, Kham, and

---

[450] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū,* p. 186.

[451] Under the leadership of Khorloogiin Choibalsan (1895–1952), approximately 18,000 lamas were killed in a socialist purge lasting eighteen months from late 1937 to mid-1939, and all but a handful of Buddhist monasteries were destroyed across the country. See Kaplonski, *The Lama Question,* p. 5.

[452] *Haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈 often refers to the nationwide campaign to "abolish Buddhism and destroy Shākyamuni" in Meiji Japan (1868-1912). Sparked by the official policy of *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離, or "separating Shinto and Buddhism," the persecution campaign caused significant damage to Buddhism in Japan.

Tibet, at least in regions where Mongolian and Tibetan people live. Looking at a map you will see the uniqueness of these regions: inwardly, it hugs central China, and outwardly, it connects the red Soviets. It is a great anti-Communism wall that surpasses even the Great Wall of China built by the First Emperor. This region's affairs directly affect central China, and by extension, it can also become a threat to our Empire. However, these millions of Lamaists of Mongolia and Tibet are absolutely incompatible with Communism ideology; they are fulling their mission as a sufficient anti-Communism Wall. As Buddhists, especially esoteric Shingon Buddhists who share similar lineage traditions with them [Mongolians and Tibetans], there is nothing we seek other than the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."[453]

D. Towards a Buddhist Pan-Asianism

Amidst the numerous surveys, reports, essays, and travelogues published on 'Lamaism' in the strategic regions of the Japanese Empire, where it competed with the Soviet Union and Republican China, there emerged increasingly specialized knowledge produced by Japanese Buddhists themselves. Notably, Buddhists from the Shingon tradition, the primary lineage holders of esoteric Buddhism in Japan, contributed significantly to this body of work.

At the beginning of Japan's modernization and industrialization movements after the Meiji Restoration, Buddhism in Japan was heavily persecuted in a nation-wide nativist

[453] Kōhō Hashimoto 橋本光寶, "Mikkyōto no shinro 密教徒の進路," *Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Shūhō* 浄土真宗本願寺派宗報, no. 173 (1942): p. 6.

campaign after the announcement of the state policy of the separation of Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*) in 1868. Buddhism, a tradition that originated in India and transmitted to Japan via China and Korea, was seen by Japanese nativists as intrinsically "foreign," while on the other hand, State Shinto, with its reverence to the Japanese Imperial Household and the deification of the Japanese Emperors, was promoted as patriotic duty and a national morality. As a result, between 1868 and 1872, tens of thousands of Buddhist temples were eradicated across Japan, which quickly drove Japanese Buddhism into a state of existential crisis. Instead of disappearing into history or moving into the background behind the rise of State Shinto orthodoxy, the various Japanese Buddhist traditions spent the next decades leading up to the Pacific War transforming themselves from "heretics" of the nation to "martyrs" for the empire.

As observed by the American historian James E. Ketelaar's *Of Heretics and Martyrs* (1990),[454] in the years following the "abolish Buddhism, destroy Shākyamuni" (*haibutsu kishaku*) campaign, there was an attempt by Japanese Buddhist apologists to place Buddhism firmly in the (hi)story of Japan, while also emphasizing Buddhism's compatibility with the nation's modern pursuits in the creation of a "New Buddhism." At the same time, new histories about Japanese Buddhism were written where the "exteriority" of Buddhism was highlighted as a positive and not a negative quality. This "exteriority" or "foreignness" was what Buddhism was criticized for in nativist critiques, but Buddhists of modern Japan were able to use the religion's transnational and cosmopolitan properties that State Shinto lacked to turn themselves successfully from "heretics" of a nationalist Japan to "martyrs" of an

[454] James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji* Japan*: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990).

increasingly more multi-cultural Japanese empire expanding into the Sino-Russian borderlands. Ketelaar notes that the transformation from heretics to martyrs was not simply an invention of tradition, it was also the establishment of a new orthodoxy to "restrain the proliferation of unauthorized discourse, and thus as an attempt to obtain political power." The "exteriority" that Japanese Buddhists used to create "historical autonomy" was also the reason for its global concerns and Pan-Asianism under the Japanese Empire. As Japan advances towards "total war" with the breakout of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, every aspect of Japanese society was fully mobilized. Japanese Buddhism was on the frontline of these changes.

Many Japanese Buddhist traditions capitalized on this Buddhist Pan-Asianism in the first decades of the twentieth century before 1945 and established temples, monasteries, and missionary programs across Japan's expanding empire, from Taiwan to Korea. The Japanese Shingon Buddhists, who saw their unique esoteric Buddhist tradition as the closest to "Lamaism" in Manchuria-Mongolia and Tibet in terms of shared lineage and practices, took initiatives to produce specialized knowledge of religion in the "lifeline" of the empire. In a bid to prove themselves relevant for the empire as well as vital in comparison to the other competing missionizing Japanese Buddhist schools in the colonies, the Japanese Shingon Buddhists unified across sectarian divides and established the research centers and institutes specifically dedicated to the *knowing* of "Lamaism."

In 1938, Takahashi Daizen 高橋大善, a Shingon missionary of the Koyasan sub-temple in Beijing, established the "Japanese Lamaist Studies Headquarter" (*Nihon rama*

kenkyūjo) in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia.[455] Soon after, the "Lamaism Research Institute of the Shingon School" (*Shingon-shū ramakyō kenkyūjo*) was established under the Shingon School's "Asia Development Department" (*kōa-bu*) in 1941.[456] The aim of the "Asia Development Department" of the Shingon School, as the name suggested, was not only to draft policy plans for "Lamaism" but also to promote an interconnected network for all esoteric Buddhist traditions across Asia. Knowledge production on "Lamaism" in the "Lamaist sphere" was one step towards the building of a religious co-prosperity sphere in the greater East Asian region.[457]

In practice, the "Lamaism Research Institute of the Shingon School" featured training programs in Tokyo for Japanese monks to be dispatched to the Manchuria-Mongolia region. The curriculum included surveys on esoteric Buddhism, language classes on Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese, geography and history courses, explanations on current affairs in Mongolia and northern China, introductions to "Lamaist" practices, as well as medicine and acupuncture classes.[458]

In a set of multi-lingual propaganda literature produced in 1941 by the Development of Asia Department of the Shingon Sect Religious Affairs Institute (*shingon-shū shūmujo kōabu*), we find how "Lamaism" across Inner Asia was encouraged to join a Pan-Asian

[455] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū,* p. 185.

[456] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū,* p. 179.

[457] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū,* p. 186.

[458] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū,* p. 186.

Buddhist Fellowship led by the Japanese Shingon Buddhists to fight against the encroachment of Western imperialism in Asia and the spread of Communist ideologies.

Published simultaneously in Japanese, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan, this set of propaganda texts recognizes "Lamaism" as the kind of Buddhism traditionally practiced amongst the Manchus, Mongols, and Tibetans of Inner Asia and targeted specifically non-Han (Chinese) Buddhist communities of the post-Qing landscape. In service of the expanding Japanese Empire and of promoting the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Japanese Shingon Buddhists used emotive Buddhist languages to envision an imagined solidarity between the Japanese and Inner Asia Buddhists based on shared esoteric traditions and tantric lineages. Japan Shingon Buddhists, who are also part of the larger Tantric Buddhist tradition along with the Buddhists of Inner Asia, saw "Lamaism" as "the most similar" to the tantric Buddhist tradition of Japan. Furthermore, Buddhists of Manchuria and Mongolia and beyond in Tibet were described as fellow Buddhist brothers in the mission to "empower Asia" (*kōa*) in the "great land of tantra." Moreover, the material maintains that although "foreigners of Europe and America [*ōbei*] have belittled us and made us laughing stocks… we should commit to the principle of 'Asia for Asians."

With regard to increasing specialized knowledge production on "Lamaism," the Lamaism Research Institute of the Shingon School engaged in the collection of materials, publication of studies and resources, monthly research seminars, lectures, and dispatches of missionary monks and "Lamaism" research students. Many key Japanese experts on Tibeto-Mongolian religion, history, and culture were mobilized for these endeavors. As Japan enters an era of "total war," the audience of these research activities also included not only civilians and monastics waiting to be dispatched to Manchuria-Mongolia and beyond, but also the military.

In 1941, a colloquium on "Lamaism" was carried out in the Soldiers' Hall (*gunjin kaikan*) in the Kudan area of central Tokyo, where the headquarter of the Military Reserve Association (*zaigō gunjin-kai*)[459] was located. Lectures on the history, doctrines, and spread of "Lamaism" were given by Aoki Bunkyō (1886-1956), the famous Shin Buddhist priest who traveled to Tibet, and Hashimoto Kōhō, one of the leading Japanese Buddhist studies scholars at the time who had journeyed extensively in the Manchuria-Mongolia region.[460] Talks on current and future plans with regard to "Lamaism" were given by the Nichiren School Buddhist priest Naito Chōhō 内藤潮邦（1912-1992), who worked as a researcher for the East Asia Research Society (*Tōa kenkyūjo*), the ethnic Mongolian councilor Hafeng'a (хафунга 1908-1970) of the Manchukuo embassy in Japan, the representative of the Mongolian United Autonomous Government Guo Xingde 郭興德, and the former head of the "Asia Development Department" of the Shingon School Kusanagi Zengi (1884-1969). Other participants included high-profile members of the Good Neighbor Association (*zenrin kyōkai*), the East Asia Development Board (*kōa-in*), and Japanese explorers with experience traveling through Tibet.[461]

Fearing the risk of air bombing destroying valuable intelligence, the "Lamaism Research Institute of the Shingon School" relocated in 1943 from Tokyo to the library of the

[459] 在郷軍人会

[460] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū*, p. 188.

[461] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū*, p. 188.

Koyasan University in the mountains of Koyasan in Wakayama prefecture.[462] The temples of Koyasan, which were historically the hub of esoteric Buddhist practices in Japan, at that time also hosted the "Koyasan Esoteric Buddhism Institute for the Development of Asia" (*Koyasan kōa mikkyō gakuin*), which served as the training ground of "Lamaist" monastic exchange students from the Manchuria-Mongolia region. These exchange programs both re-narrated Japanese colonial discourses of "Lamaism" to the ethnic Mongolian Buddhist monks and taught them about the more "modernized" Buddhism that Japan had to offer, which we will discuss in detail in the sections below.

Although many of the empire's expansionist plans were abruptly called to a halt in 1945 following Japan's unconditional surrender to the Allies, it seems that the research activities of the "Lamaism Research Institute of the Shingon School" continued to carry on after 1945 into the early 1950s, albeit briefly.[463] Despite being short-lived, the knowledge produced by the "Lamaism Research Institute of the Shingon School," as well as by other initiatives previously mentioned above, were more than intellectual discussions on paper. Their discourses and proposals on "Lamaism" would underscore colonial policy on religion in the Manchuria-Mongolia region, which would later inform a legacy of colonial regulations of Buddhism on the ethnic frontiers at the Sino-Russian borderlands.

E. Solving the "Lama Problem" through Transnational Monastic Reform

With an increasing *knowing* of "Lamaism" in Japan, the religion of the Mongolian, Manchu, and Tibetan people on the Sino-Russian borderlands also became associated with

[462] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū*, p. 192.

[463] Kōji Ōsawa and Naoki Nakanishi eds., *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū*, p. 195.

the discourse of the "Lama problem" (*rama mondai*), in which "Lamaism" is often described as superstition and an unproductive burden to be "modernized" by Japanese Buddhism and empire's modernizing transformations.

In the 1915 Kwantung Governor-General's Army report on Eastern Inner Mongolia,[464] "Lamaism" is explained as "a sect of Buddhism," however as one that has devolved into "superstition" and "absurdity" with its adoption of the belief in reincarnated lamas.[465] The report goes on, "shameless lamas of later generations have gradually forgotten the fundamental Buddhist teachings… [unlike] the various Buddhist sects of our nation (Japan) who have only one main deity, Lamaism modifies pure Buddhism with Tibetan and Indian demonic deities and worships dog-faced human-bodied rakshasa and secret Buddhas featuring a couple in embrace."[466]

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, Japanese policies towards "Lamaism" were drafted with the presumption that it was a kind of Buddhism that was polluted with "superstitious elements." The so-called "problems" referred to the "low quality" of lamas, the heavy economic burdens that lamas and monasteries had created for the Mongolian people, and the issue of depopulation caused by regional over-population of monastics. To solve these "problems," the Manchukuo government, for example, suggested seven articles of reform that leaned into modern monastic education modeled after modern Japanese Buddhism reform and new religious organization structures. As mentioned previously, it is unclear how these Manchukuo policies directed at reforming "Lamaism" were implemented

[464] Kantō Totokufu Rikugunbu, *Higashi Mokō*, p. 95.

[465] Kantō Totokufu Rikugunbu, *Higashi Mokō*, p. 98.

[466] Kantō Totokufu Rikugunbu, *Higashi Mokō*, p. 99.

on the ground. However, the "Manchukuo Empire Lamaist Group" was indeed created on December 5, 1940, in Xinjing, the capital of Manchukuo, and was headed by the Chagan Khutugtu, a high-ranking Mongolian lama, and the Japanese vice director Satō Tomie.[467] As extensively studied in Narangoa Li's work, about two hundred lamas from Inner Mongolia were also sent to Japan via Manchukuo and the Mengjiang governments to study between 1932 and 1945, funded by Japanese Buddhist organizations such as the Jōdo, Shingon, and Tendai schools.[468] These Mongol monks studied at some of the most famous monasteries in Japan, such as the Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, the Chion-in in Kyoto, and the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, or the Esoteric Academy for Asia's Prosperity, on Mount Kōa.

Here, we will focus our discussion on the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, particularly on how the Academy and its curriculum promoted a type Esoteric Buddhist Pan-Asianism in their education of young Mongol lamas from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, as well as how the Academy attempted to solve the "lama problem" through monastic reform. Building upon Narangoa Li's groundbreaking studies on the subject, this chapter offers more close readings of previously uncited publications from the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, in addition to paying more attention to the Mongol students' voices and experiences.

F. Educating Mongol Lamas to Form the "Great Wall of Esoteric Buddhism"

From its establishment in April 1939 to 1945, the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin trained around forty young Mongol monks aged in their teens and twenties. As shown in Narangoa Li's studies, the academy on Mount Kōya, the heartland of Japanese Shingon Buddhism, was

[467] Li Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932-1945," *Critical Asian Studies* 35, no. 4 (2003): p. 501.

[468] Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932-1945," p. 500.

created as a special institution for lama students from Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and north China, and it trained primarily ethnic Mongolian monks. Out of all of the Japanese missionary Buddhist sects, the Shingon school had closer contact with Mongolian Buddhism than another Japanese Buddhist sect that proselytized in Mongolia.[469] Citing a summary document on the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin written by the Kogi Shingon-shū's administration office,[470] Narangoa points out that the academy's main goal was primarily to "…teach the students first and foremost the Japanese language as well as the teaching of Esoteric Buddhism and Japan's spirit and culture. Through religious education, an exemplary character should be formed in order to realize the virtues of friendship among the Asian peoples." The six-point pledge for the students of the academy also reflects Pan-Asianist sentiments: 1) we pledge to foster a national spirit; 2) we pledge to foster a view of "Japanese-Manchuria Unity"; 3) we pledge to nurture the spirit of national harmony; 4) we pledge to nurture the spirit of sacrifice for the greater good; 5) we pledge to nurture a group spirit; 5) we pledge to nurture an industrious spirit.[471]

In the words of the principal of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, Hongen Kondō,[472] who later became the executive director and chief priest of Kongobuji Temple on Kōyasan, the spirit of

---

[469] Li Narangoa, *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932-1945: Reformbestrebungen und Dialog zwischen japanischem und mongolischem Buddhismus,* (Harrassowitz Verla Wiesbaden, 1998), p. 168.

[470] Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō 古義真言宗宗務所, *Shingonshū, Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō* 真言宗、興亞密教学院一覽表 (1939).

[471] 一、吾々ハ国家的精神ヲ養成ス；二、吾々ハ日満一体観ヲ養成ス；三、吾々ハ民族協和ノ精神ヲ涵養ス；四、吾々ハ犠牲奉公ノ精神ヲ涵養ス；五、吾々ハ団体的精神ヲ涵養ス；六、吾々ハ勤労精神ヲ涵養ス

[472] 近藤本玄

the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin lay in a combination of the Shingon Buddhist founder Kūkai (774-835)'s pursuit of Buddhahood as well as the pursuit for the prosperity of Greater East Asia. In a speech dedicated to the Mongol students, Kondō reiterates the academy's pledges and urges the students to work industriously in their fields, and to have determination and the spirit of sacrifice to become "cornerstones East Asia's prosperity" (J. *kōa soseki* 興亜礎石).[473]

The vice principal of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, Shūkai Takamine,[474] who later was also promoted to the executive director and chief priest of Kongobuji Temple on Kōyasan, further clarifies the goals of the academy in a speech given at a relocation ceremony in 1941. Speaking directly to the young Mongol lamas, Takamine explains, "Without a doubt, all of you will become the backbones of Manchukuo. You are studying diligently here from Manchukuo under the mission of becoming leaders of the reform of Lamaism and serving the nation."[475] Writing in 1941 just before the outbreak of the Pacific War, Takamine reminds the young Mongol exchange student monks that while Japan's many young students have taken up arms and deployed to the front lines to fight the United States and Britain, their motherland in Manchukuo was also fighting with all their might. Thus, despite being located in the remote mountain areas of Kōyasan and away from the battlefields of the Second Sino-

[473] Hongen Kondō 近藤本玄, "Mikkyō gakuin seishin 密教学院精神," in Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, (1944), p. 4.

[474] 高峰秀海

[475] Shūkai Takamine 高峰秀海, "Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin iten-shiki ni nozomite 興亜密教学院移転式に臨みて," in Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, (Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944), p. 5.

Japanese War and the Pacific War, the Mongol lamas students were required to learn the "Japanese spirit" and "view the classroom as a battlefield, and vigorously advance in their studies and cultivation without losing their sincere gratitude and dedication."[476]

The ethnic Mongolian councilor Hafeng'a (1908-1970) of the Manchukuo embassy in Japan had a similarly urgent message to the Mongol students coming from Inner Mongolia and Manchukuo. Emphasizing the strategic location and position of Manchukuo in the geopolitical landscape of the time, Hafeng'a stressed to the students that Manchukuo was born with the goal of taking responsibility for Asia's revival and that as "the heart of East Asia," it was not only the first line of defense but also the last.[477] Highlighting the necessity of the "intimacy between Japan and Manchukuo," Hafeng'a argues that Manchukuo's defense is Japan's defense as well. After thanking the Japanese monks at Kōyasan for maintaining this Japan-Manchukuo intimacy through accommodating the Mongol exchange students through an esoteric Buddhist fellowship, Hafeng'a expressed his wishes for his fellow Mongols: "I eagerly anticipate that you will recognize Manchukuo's status vis-à-vis East Asia and the importance of Japan-Manchukuo collaboration and become active religious pioneers in Greater East Asia."[478]

Alluding to Shūkai Takamine's insistence that "classrooms are battlefields," Zengi Kusanagi, who had been the executive director of Kongobuji Temple on Kōyasan, lectures

[476] Shūkai Takamine, "Kōa Mikkyō Gakuen iten-shiki ni nozomite," p. 6.

[477] Hafeng'a 哈豐阿, "Dai-Tōa kensetsu to Nichi-Man kankei no kinmitsuka ni tsuite 大東亜建設と日満関係の緊密化に就いて," in Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, (Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944), p. 7.

[478] Hafeng'a, "Dai-Tōa kensetsu to Nichi-Man kankei no kinmitsuka ni tsuite," p. 8.

the Mongol exchange students in 1941 that the "Greater East Asia War" (J. *Dai-Tōa sensō*) is not only a military war, but an ideological one. He says that although the "Greater East Asia War" will likely last for fifty or even one hundred years, it will eventually come to an end in military battles. What comes next, however, is undoubtedly an "ideological war" (J. *shisō sen*) that in which the Mongol monks must engage in, using their studies of Kūkai's "esoteric Buddhist spirit" to save their own nations.[479] However, in a rather different stance from the other authority figures of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin that prioritized the welfare of the Japanese Empire, Takamine shares the following candid advice to the young Mongol monk students with regard to the future of their nation:

> "To all the young lama monks, work diligently with a clear understanding of the purpose of inviting each of you to Kōyasan. Upon graduation and returning to your home country, you must correct the errors in Lamaism with the spirit of esoteric Buddhism, and through the correction of Lamaism, you must save Mongolia. What Koyasan hopes for from each of you is not for the sake of Japan or for the sake of Koyasan itself. It is to use what you have learned and practiced to save Mongolia and to revitalize the Mongolian people."[480]

The first Mongol lama students sent to Mount Kōya to study were before the official establishment of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin in 1939. Eight young Mongol monks from the Southern Hsinggan Province and the Jehol Province of Manchukuo in eastern Inner

---

[479] Zengi Kusanagi 草薙全宜, "Gakuin-sei ni nozomu 学院生に望む," in Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, (Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944), p. 8.

[480] Zengi Kusanagi, "Gakuin-sei ni nozomu," p. 9.

Mongolia and south Manchuria arrived at Kōya-san as early as 1934. While four of them returned home after a few month due to illnesses caused by food, four others stayed for up to three years to complete their training.[481] Originally, the Mongol students stayed at the Daijō-in, but later moved into Enman-in[482] so that the Mongol students could cook meals on their own.[483] This first group of Mongol monks received training in the Japanese language and studied the history of Buddhism in India, China, and Japan.[484] Some also sat in on the lectures at the Kōya-san University.[485] For the four students who stayed to complete their studies, in the last three month of their study duration, they moved into the living quarters of Japanese Shingon monks and received Shingon initiations, precepts, and empowerments, signaling the official completion of their studies.[486] It was said that these four Mongol monks received an elaborate graduation ceremony at the Kongōbu-ji, the ecclesiastic head temple of Kōyasan Shingon Buddhism.[487]

After the official establishment of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin in 1939, 31 more students from various parts of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in Manchukuo studied at the academy

---

[481] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, pp. 42-43.

[482] 圓満院

[483] 大乘院

[484] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 13.

[485] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 14.

[486] Specifically, 四度加行 (Shido kagyō) refers to the Four Actions, 受戒 (Jukai) refers to Receiving the Precepts, 穿法灌頂 (Senbo kanchō) refers to Empowerment of Wearing the Robe, and 入壇 (Nyūdan) refers to Entering the Mandala.

[487] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 14.

between 1938 to 1943.[488] This time, the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin created detailed school regulations and codes of conduct, which went into effect beginning April 1939.[489] Due to the increase of the number of Mongol students, administrators of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin at the time decided to build a brand-new school to accommodate them. The new construction project was completed in 1941, costing 18,000 *yen.*[490] The school had two floors, equipped with two classrooms, an office, a meeting room, a dormitory supervisor's room, a praying hall, and a cafeteria, in addition to rooms for lodging.[491] In 1943, the location of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin moved again, this time to the Hōki-in, costing another 8,000 *yen.*[492] The account director of the academy explains that this move was due to the closeness of the previous academy to the dormitories of the Kōyasan University and concerns that the young Mongol monks would be "influenced."[493] At this new location, the school added a field for exercising and even a farm.[494]

[488] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, pp. 43-44.

[489] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 14.

[490] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 15.

[491] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 15.

[492] 宝亀院

[493] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 16.

[494] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 16.

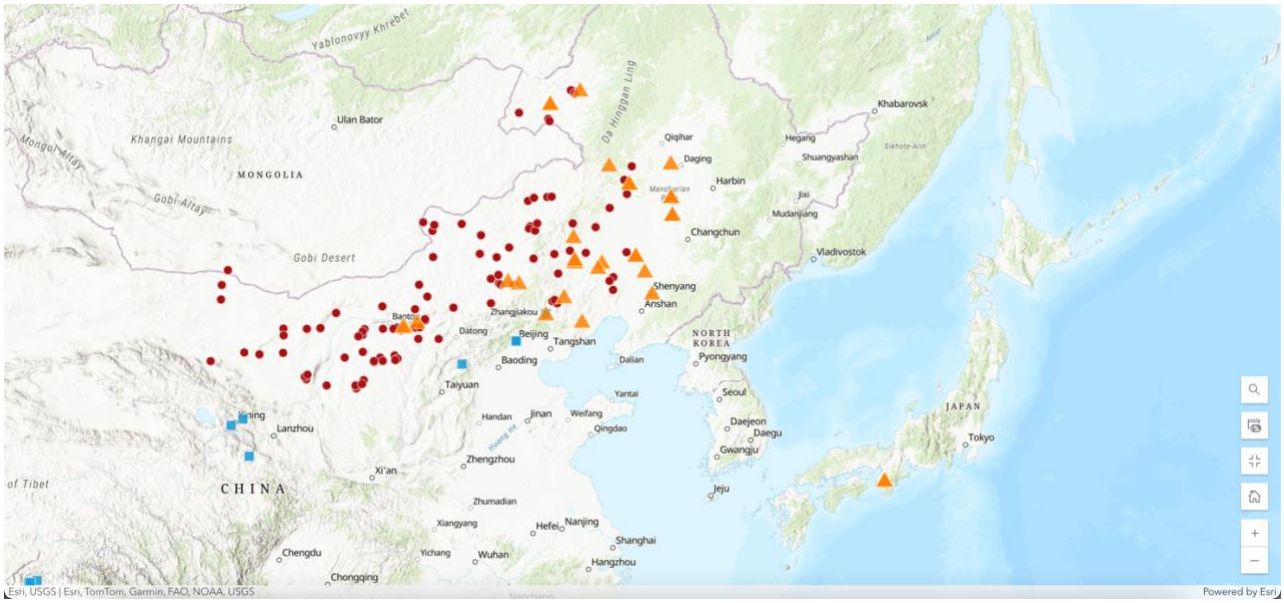


Figure 15. This maps shows where the Mongol students studying at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin came from (in orange triangles), as well as the location of the Gakuin in Japan (also in orange triangles).

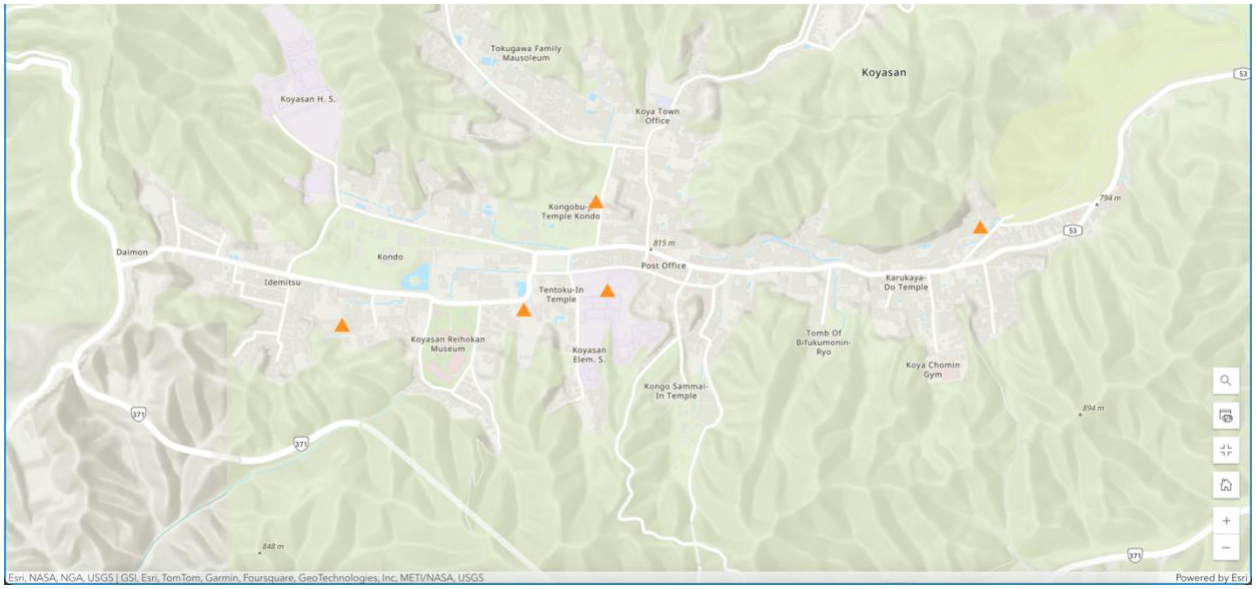


Figure 16. Monasteries and sites that accommodated the location of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin on Kōyasan.

In 1939, the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin's program was four years long and was open to only monks with citizenships from Manchukuo, the Mengjiang Autonomous Government in

Inner Mongolia, and the Republic of China.[495] The program was full-time, with all the students mostly in their teens and twenties, living together in a dormitory. Students were not allowed to leave the academy without teacher's approval.[496]

For first-year students, the curriculum, equivalent to lower-level Japanese elementary school education, was sometimes personally decided by the principal,[497] or based on primary school textbooks in the Japanese language from Manchukuo, as well as children's magazines.[498] It included the following classes: 1) Japanese conversation that taught basic grammar, 2) penmanship (J. *shūji*) that used Japanese elementary and middle school textbooks, 3) arithmetic that used Japanese elementary school textbooks from around the third grade, 4) moral education (J. *shūshin*) that used Japanese elementary textbooks and practical training on daily Japanese etiquette, and 5) sutra chanting that used the Heart Sūtra, the section on positing the meaning (J. *ryūgibun*) in the *Awakening of Faith,* and various mantras.[499]

For second-year students, the curriculum was equivalent to higher-level Japanese elementary school education and included subjects such as general introduction to esoteric Buddhism and the history of Buddhism.[500] The number of classes increased and included the

[495] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[496] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[497] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[498] Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō 古義真言宗宗務所, *Kōyasan* 高野山 (Koyasan: Kogi Shingonshū Sōmusho Gakumubu, 1939), p.13.

[499] Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō, *Kōyasan*, p.13.

[500] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

following: 1) lecturing (J. *kōdoku*) that used higher-level Manchukuo and Japanese elementary school reading textbooks, 2) Japanese grammar in the intermediate level, 3) composition that involved writing in Japanese, 4) arithmetic at the level between fourth and sixth year in Japanese elementary education, 5) moral education using higher level elementary school textbooks, 6) geography and history that covered world geography and the history of East Asia, 7) natural history (J. *hakubutsu*) up to the level of the 5th or 6th grade, 8) history of Buddhism that used middle school textbooks, 8) sutra chanting that used the *Rishu kyō,* or the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcaśatikā,* as well as worship and repentance texts (J. *raisan*).[501]

For third-year students, the curriculum was equivalent to Japanese middle school education and added more focused studies on esoteric Buddhism, exoteric Buddhism, and the history of esoteric Buddhism.[502] It included the following classes: 1) lecturing using Japanese middle school upper-level textbooks, 2) Japanese grammar that continued the teachings of previous classes, 3) composition in Japanese on appropriate topics, 4) geography and history, specifically world geography and the history of East Asia and Japan, 5) history of Japanese Buddhism equivalent to the level of an university-level course, 6) introduction to esoteric Buddhism, 7) readings of Buddhist texts, in addition to special lectures on esoteric Buddhism and foreign language instruction.[503]

[501] Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō, *Kōyasan*, p.13-14.

[502] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[503] Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō, *Kōyasan*, p.14.

In the fourth and last year, the curriculum became more specialized and included more classes on esoteric Buddhism and Buddhist studies, in addition to classes on linguistic and grammatical studies (J. *shōmei*), rituals (J. *hōshiki*), the Tibetan Buddhist canon, and other lectures.[504] This is also when the students got to reside in the local Shingon monasteries for about three month and take precepts and initiations.[505] Students who completed the program up to the third year were considered to have completed the required practices for novice priests in Shingon Buddhism, which were entering priesthood (J. *tokudo*), preparatory application (J. *kegyō*), taking precepts (J. *jukai*), and initiation (J. *kanjō*).[506] The Mongol students who made it to the third year were all given Japanese dharma names.[507]

In a more detailed account of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin's curriculum from 1939, it seems that the Mongol monk students likely dedicated significant portions of their time to Japanese language classes. Other classes included moral education (J. *shūshin*), arithmetic, composition, calligraphy, sutra chanting, gymnastics, and singing. In a given week, eight out of nineteen hours of instructions per week were dedicated to Japanese language study for first-year students.[508] For second-year students, six out of twenty-one instruction hours were dedicated to Japanese language study.[509] For these young Mongol monks studying at one of

---

[504] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[505] Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō, *Kōyasan*, p.14.

[506] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[507] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 42-44.

[508] Kogi Shingon-shū 古義真言宗, *Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō* 興亞密教学院一覽表 (Publisher unknown, October 1939), pp. 5-6.

[509] Kogi Shingon-shū, *Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō*, pp. 4-5.

the most prestigious Buddhist monastic education centers in Japan, the high number of Japanese language instructions is in stark contrast to the low number of hours in the curriculum dedicated to Buddhist studies. For example, for both first and second-year students, only about one hour per week was reserved for the study of Buddhism, and about another for chanting Mahayana sutras in the Japanese Shingon tradition. Very little time was reserved for meditative practices, as listed in the daily schedule below. Most of the classes used textbooks from Japanese and Manchukuo elementary school education, even though the Mongol exchange students were already in their teens and twenties.[510] Second-year students had a similar curriculum, with the addition of classes on daily conversation in Japanese, science, geography, history, current affairs, and Buddhism.[511] According to the school's policies, students who exceled at their studies received awards.[512]

The daily schedule of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin around 1939 is uniformly observed amongst students of all levels:[513]

5:30	Wake up
6:00	Morning service, cleaning, radio gymnastics, roll call, breakfast
8:00-11:00	Classes
11:00	Lunch
12:00-14:00/15:00	Classes
17:00	Dinner

[510] Kogi Shingon-shū, *Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō*, p. 5.

[511] Kogi Shingon-shū, *Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō*, pp. 4-5.

[512] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 39.

[513] Kogi Shingon-shū, *Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō*, pp. 3-4.

19:00-21:00	Self-study
21:00	Curfew, 10-minute silent meditation, roll call
23:00	Lights off

Figure 17. Daily schedule at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin in 1939.

In the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin's 1944 records,[514] the daily schedule of the students changed slightly from the one from 1939, adding a dismissal ceremony and evening service, as well as an earlier bedtime:

6:00	Wake up
6:00-6:30	Cleaning
6:30-7:00	Morning service
7:00-7:30	Breakfast
8:00-11:00	Classes
11:00-11:30	Lunch
11:30-12:00	Noon break
12:00-16:00	Classes
16:00	Dismissal ceremony
16:00-16:30	Dinner
18:00-18:30	Evening service
18:30-21:00	Self-study
21:00	Roll call
22:00	Lights off and bedtime

Figure 18. Daily schedule at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin before 1944.

A special prayer dedicated to the Japanese Emperor and the Japanese Empire was recited every day during the morning and evening services by both the exchange Mongol students and the rest of the monastics and school staffs at Kōyasan,.[515] This prayer had been

[514] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 40.

[515] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 45.

translated into both Tibetan and Mongolian by Shinten Sakai[516] (Japanese Tibetologist) and Genichi Abematsu[517] (Japanese Mongolist), two professors teaching at the Kōyasan University at the time.[518]

The prayer reads as follows:

"May His Majesty the Emperor be in good health.

May the Imperial Army and its soldiers have enduring martial success.

May the spirits of the fallen heroes protect our nation.

May the wounded soldiers quickly recover.

May we unite our hearts and strengths.

May our national prestige flourish.

May our enemies surrender.

May East Asia prosper together.

May these blessings extend to the entire dharma realm, ensuring equality and mutual benefit."[519]

The Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin had thirty-one staff members in total from 1937 to 1944, with regular changes. The staff, from the principal to lecturers, were all male Japanese Shingon monastics and/or university lecturers mostly associated with Shingon Buddhism.[520]

---

[516] 酒井真典

[517] 棈松源一

[518] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 45.

[519] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. vi.

[520] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, pp. 41-42.

The principal of the academy was served by the executive director or head abbot of the Kongobuji Temple on Kōyasan, the headquarter temple of the Shingon school. All classes were carried out in Japanese. Although the lecturers taught classes on Tibetan Buddhism and the Tibetan canon, it is unclear what their command of Tibetan was, or if they knew any Mongolian to communicate with the Mongol exchange students, except for a few non-monastic Tibetologists and Mongolists.

Compared to the kind of Geluk Buddhist monastic education that these Mongol monk students might have had back in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, the curriculum at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin was not very rigorous and was a very water-downed version of the strict monastic training within the Shingon Buddhist school. In Inner Mongolian monasteries, monastic education followed an extremely rigorous curriculum based on the "five major and minor sciences" that required five to ten or even more years to complete.[521] Indian in origin, the five major sciences include: the science of words (T. *sgra rig pa*), i.e., grammar; the science of syllogisms (T. *gtan tshigs rig pa*), i.e., logic; the science of healing (T. *gso ba rig pa*), including medicine, alchemy, etc.; the science of construction (T. *bzo rig pa*), including physical sciences, engineering, painting, sculpture, etc.; and the science of inner meaning (T. *nang don rig pa*), i.e., the study of Buddhism. While the five minor sciences include: grammar (T. *sgra*), poetics (T. *snyan ngag*), metrics (T. *sdeb sbyor*), drama (T. *zlos gar*), and lexicography (T. *mngon brjod*).[522] Although in *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, George

[521] Tangjisi 唐吉思 (Tenggis), *Menggu zu fojiao wenhua diaocha yanjiu* 蒙古族佛教文化调查研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2010), p. 20.

[522] José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Press, 1996), p.18.

Dreyfus reminds us that this model is ideal and that different Geluk monastic institutions' curricula differ from it in varying degrees,[523] the classic Geluk monastic curriculum was still maintained in many major monasteries in Inner Mongolia well into the twentieth century. For those Inner Mongolian monks who wished to further advance their training, especially in the higher levels of tantric Buddhism, they had to travel thousands of miles across tough terrains to study with specialized tantric colleges with the major monastic centers in Tibet. [524]

In comparison, it is obvious that the studies at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin was less about preparing the young Mongol men for priesthood in Shingon Buddhism, nor was it about helping the Mongol students to achieve the spiritual goals within their own Geluk Buddhist tradition. Looking at the academy authorities' discourses on the purpose of the school and the school's curriculum and schedules, it is evident that the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin was mainly concerned with educating a new generation of geopolitically aware and "modernized" Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist leaders who could help maintain the "Great Wall of esoteric Buddhism"(J. *mikkyōteki banri no chōjō*) as a line of "ideological defense" (J. *shisō kokubō*) for imperial Japan's expansionist interests on the Asian continent, as suggested by Eiryū Kagawa,[525] the dean of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin.[526]

---

[523] Georges Dreyfus, *The sound of two hands clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 101-102.

[524] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 235.

[525] 香川英隆

[526] Eiryū Kagawa 香川英隆, "*Kōyasan Kōa mikkyō gakuin no kyōiku* 高野山興亜密教学院の教育*,"* in Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, (Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944), p. 20.

Writing on Manchukuo and Mengjiang's education policies on the Geluk monks in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s, Fengchun Yu pointed out that the "Japanization of Lamaism" was a main goal for these two "puppet states" of the Japanese Empire. By turning these young Mongol monks into spokesmen of Japanese culture and training them into future teachers of other similar "Lama schools" back home, other monks on the continent could be gradually "reformed."[527] Indeed, these young Mongol lamas were expected to help "reform" their own Buddhist traditions back home, so that the biopolitical "lama problem" perceived through a colonial lens would be solved and "backward" lamas transformed into modern citizens of a prosperous Great East Asia. This strategy is not unlike other Japanization (J. *kōminka*) movements led by various missionary Japanese Buddhist organizations that existed in colonial Korea and Taiwan amongst their Buddhist communities, as demonstrated in recent scholarship.[528] While both colonial Korea and Taiwan suffered a much longer period of Japanese occupation and *kōminka* policies, in our case in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, organizations such as the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin had a rather short life on the continent. Before the next cohort of Mongol students could arrive at

[527] Fengchun Yu 于逢春, "Manshū-koku oyobi Mongyō seiken no rama-kyō sōryo kyōiku seisaku 「満洲国」及び「蒙疆政権」のラマ僧侶教育政策," *Nihon no kyōiku shigaku: Kyōiku shigaku kai kiyō* 日本の教育史学 ： 教育史学会紀要 45 (2002): p. 206.

[528] See Kan Zhengzong and Hwansoo Kim's works, especially Kan Zhengzong 闞正宗, *Taiwan Ri zhi shi qi fo jiao fa zhan yu huang min hua yun dong : "huang guo fo jiao" de li shi jin cheng (1895-1945)* 臺灣日治時期佛教發展與皇民化運動 ： 「皇國佛教」的歷史進程(一八九五−一九四五) (Taipei: Bo yang wen hua shi ye you xian gong si, 2011); Hwansoo Kim, *The Korean Buddhist Empire: A Transnational History, 1910-1945* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), and Hwansoo Kim**,** ***Empire of the Dharma: Korean and Japanese Buddhism, 1877–1912*** (Harvard University Press, 2013).

Kōyasan after 1944, the Japanese Empire met its defeat in August 1945 and the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin disbanded soon after.

G. Lamas Adrift in the Currents of Changing Times

On the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, Narangoa Li concludes in her monograph *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932-1945* (1998) that "Given the short period of its existence, it is difficult to assess how successful the academy was in training young Mongolians." She comments on the short-lived academy as an "opportunity for interaction between young Japanese and Mongolian clerics" and "an interesting approach to an intercultural bridge."[529] In a different article from 2003, Narangoa suggests that "Although many monasteries sent young lamas to Japan to study, most of the lamas remained faithful to their belief in the tenets of Mongolian Buddhism. Only a few of the lamas who studied in Japanese Buddhist temples and schools were attracted to the religious forms they were introduced to in Japan."[530] This is a very accurate depiction of the Mongols' reception of Japanese policies in Inner Mongolia at the time. Here, we will take a look at what some of the Mongol lamas students at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin thought about their stay on Kōyasan, as well as what other Mongol monks, Buddhist leaders, and political leaders viewed Japanese intervention and their attempted reforms at Inner Asian Buddhism.

In a 1944 publication of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin,[531] the Mongol exchange students' personal "reflections" on their experiences living in Japan were printed after the academy

---

[529] Narangoa, *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932-1945*, p. 179.

[530] Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932-1945," p. 505.

[531] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, (Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944).

authorities speeches. Interestingly, the eleven essays written by the young Mongol monk students did not discuss Buddhism (whether their own traditions or that of Japan), doctrines, rituals, or anything related to Buddhist monastic training. Likely composed under duress, the essays predominantly echoed the academy's pledges and expressed a sense of gratitude for and a sense of mission towards the pan-Asianist project in the Japanese Empire. The eleven essays were mostly written in and about 1942, the year of the tenth anniversary of the creation of Manchukuo.

Reflecting on welcoming the arrival of the Manchukuo national flag from the East Asia Development Board (J. *Kōa-kyoku*) at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin in 1942, a Mongol student named "Laibao" remarked that "For all of us who came to welcome this precious national flag, we must always nurture a national perspective and work hard to training our bodies and minds."[532] Commenting on what he and the other Mongol exchange students have learned at Kōyasan, Laibao interestingly simultaneously raises the Mahayana Buddhist idea of "four compassions" and the Confucian-inspired "seven teachings," ideas that are were not commonly emphasized in traditional Inner Asian Buddhist monastic education.

For Laibao, the "four kindness" (J. *shion*) refer to the Mahayana Buddhist idea of the four types of compassions received from our parents, all sentient beings, state rulers, and the Three Jewels. As for the "seven teachings" (J. *shichikyō*), Laibao argues that they are 1) regular discussions between the peoples of different nations to increase national self-defense; 2) uniting in harmony to discuss national affairs; 3) respecting national character (J. *kokufū*), manner (J. *rei*), and duty (J. *gi*); 4) preserving the purity of society and family by rectifying

[532] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 33.

the differences between men and woman and respecting the order between the young and the elderly; 5) being filial to our parents and learning from our teachers; 6) not abandoning rituals that revere the lineage shrines and temples of our ancestors; 7) looking up to a virtuous teacher with deep worship while respecting the path (J. *michi*) and honoring virtues (J. *toku*).[533] Concluding his thoughts on the arrival of the Manchukuo national flag at Kōyasan, Laibao declares, "We know well that any nation will prosper without doubt if it carefully adheres to and does not violate these seven teachings. Therefore, we have decided that we must dedicate our lives in the future to the prosperity of Manchukuo and the development of Greater East Asia."[534]

Another Mongol student, Chogtu, expressed similar sentiments. Also writing about the arriving of the Manchukuo national flag at Kōyasan, he expressed gratitude to the Manchukuo government for "honoring the missions of our academy's students."[535] Ending his short essay in a vow, Chogtu writes, "…inspired by the government's displaying of the national flag, we gazed upon it with reverence, and from the depths of our hearts, recited the pledges [of the academy]. Remembering our homeland, contemplating our duty of studying abroad, and hastening to apply ourselves diligently to our studies so that in the future, we can devote our lives to serving our country and be capable of repaying our debt of gratitude. We pledge to hone our minds and bodies so that we can contribute to the first battle of the Greater East Asia Holy War."[536]

---

[533] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 33.

[534] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 33.

[535] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 33.

[536] Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, *Kōa mikkyō,* Vol. 1, p. 33.

There is very little material preserved in any language on how the Mongol students who studied at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin thought about their experiences aside from these limited essays likely written under Japanese supervision. In her study of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, Narango Li conducted interviews with some of the Japanese teachers who had taught the Mongol students back in the 1940s. In one interview with Chiaki Tanaka, who taught the Japanese language to the Mongolian students for two months at the academy, he said that many of the young lamas from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria initially struggled to adapt to the school system, with some even expressing openly that life in Japan was not pleasant and that everything in Mongolia was much better and that "he wanted to return home as soon as possible." However, Tanaka says, because they were young, they quickly picked up everything, including the Japanese language.[537]

In another interview with a former staff of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, Narangoa talked with the first home director and teacher of the Mongolian students, Horiuchi Kanjin, who remembered that “the young Mongolian Lamas were generally very quiet, and there were rarely any complications. When asked about the relationships between Mongolian and Japanese students, Horiuchi Kanjin responded, ‘The Mongolian Lamas lived day in and day out with Japanese students, yet the relationship was somewhat distant.’”[538]

As discussed in the previous sections, one of the goals of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin was to produce the future leaders and teachers of a “reformed Lamaism” based on Japanese standards. Records show that at least one Mongol student who had studied at the Kōa

[537] Narangoa, *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932-1945*, p. 177.

[538] Narangoa, *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932-1945*, p. 179.

Mikkyō Gakuin did eventually return to Inner Mongolia to teach other Mongol lams. Bao Renzhong, who was one of the first Mongol students sent to Kōyasan in 1939, became one of two teachers at a "Lama school" set up under Japanese support in eastern Khorchin, Inner Mongolia, which was included into Manchukuo's Southern Hsinggan Province at the time.[539] This "lama school" was created in 1938 at the site of an abandoned temple to educate young monks with modern knowledge and "promote a self-realization for Lamaism's reform."[540] Around 1940, the school had 106 students aged between twelve to thirty-two and had a simple curriculum that involved Japanese language instruction (six hours per week), labor (six hours per week), sutra study in Mongolian (six hours per week), physical education (two hours per week), music (one hour per week), and visual arts (one hour per week).[541] However, unlike the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin on Kōyasan in Japan, this "lama school" in Inner Mongolia was not well-received by the locals, both monastic and lay. It seems that most monk students did not attend voluntarily but were forced by the local authorities.[542]

In the postwar oral histories and memory writings on the Japanese occupation period, especially those published in the Communist People's Republic of China, we can find some snippets about these Japanese-sponsored "lama schools" taught by the Mongol graduates of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin. In these accounts, Inner Mongolian elders often remember two distinct types of Mongol lamas attending the "lama schools": those who collaborated with the

[539] Masao Kobayashi 小林真夫, "Manshūkoku lama kyō no genjō 満州国喇嘛教の現状," *Tōyō* 東洋 [*The Oriental* Review] 42, no. 12 (1940): p. 110.

[540] Masao Kobayashi, "Manshūkoku lama kyō no genjō,", p. 110.

[541] Masao Kobayashi, "Manshūkoku lama kyō no genjō,", p. 110.

[542] Masao Kobayashi, "Manshūkoku lama kyō no genjō,", pp. 110-111.

Japanese imperial regimes who also tended to be the "good students" at the "lama schools" that eventually got to study in Japan, and the ones who did not cooperate with the Japanese in the "lama schools" by refusing to speak in Japanese.[543] It seems that the latter students often met with corporal punishment and verbal abuse from the Japanese teachers.[544] Knowing this, older lamas and teachers in the monasteries in Inner Mongolia later declined invitations to have their young students sent to the "lama schools" both locally and in Japan.[545]

The Inner Mongolian tulku and reincarnation lineage holder, the 17th Kanjurwa Khutugtu (1914-1978), a revered reincarnated lama and one of the prominent religious leaders of Geluk Buddhism that lived during Japan's occupation of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, discussed his opinions on the Japanese intervention of Mongolian Buddhism in his biography.[546] In 1943, he led a delegation of influential Mongolian Buddhist lamas to a trip to Japan under the invitation of Japan and with funding provided by the pro-Japanese Mongolian government of Mengjiang in Kalgan. According to the Kanjurwa Hutugtu, the objective of the trip was to visit various Japanese Buddhist centers and to observe the general conditions in Japan. They visited many Buddhist sites in Tokyo and Kyoto, including the

---

[543] Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Neimenggu zizhiqu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議內蒙古自治區委員會文史資料委員會, *Neimenggu wenshi ziliao* Vol. 34: *Weiman Xing'an shiliao* 內蒙古文史資料第三十四輯：偽滿興安史料 (Hohhot: Neimenggu wenshi shudian, 1989), pp. 138-139.

[544] Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Neimenggu zizhiqu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, *Neimenggu wenshi ziliao* Vol. 34: *Weiman Xing'an shiliao*, p. 139.

[545] Shewang 舍旺, "Shen xiang Gegen miao de mozhao 伸向葛根廟的魔爪," in *Weiman shiliao congshu: Weiman shehui* 偽滿史料叢書：偽滿社會 (Jilin: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1993), p. 632.

[546] Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha: Biography of the Kanjurwa Khutughtu* (Albany: State University of New York, 1983).

Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin on Kōyasan, and "were welcomed and treated very warmly and hospitably."[547] He says,

> "It was our feeling that the Japanese objective in this undertaking was to impress the Mongols that they also are devoted Buddhists, to have us observe the ceremonies in their temples, and thus to influence us and, in turn, Mongolian Buddhism. This was not a direct and forceful influence, but rather a tactful and subtle one."[548]

The Mongolian Buddhist leader was also impressed by the Shingon Buddhists on Kōyasan who were receiving lectures on "Lamaism," but questioned the purported "closeness" between the Japanese Buddhist tradition and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. Mentioning his thoughts on the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, Kanjurwa Khutugtu remarks,

> "Our party was deeply impressed with the temple center at Koyasan, near Osaka, in a beautiful secluded area in the forested mountains. This center serves as the headquarters of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, the sect in Japan that is closest to Tibetan Buddhism, both religions being the esoteric tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. Prior to my visit, a training school had been established for lamas brought from Mongolia, and we were interested in visiting with these young monks. It seemed to us that the Japanese were having difficulty changing their ideas and attitudes. Although quite young, in their twenties, these young men were already somewhat set in their ways. Japanese Buddhism seemed to us much closer to Chinese Buddhism and to have a spirit rather different from that to which we were accustomed."[549]

---

[547] Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha,* p. 151.

[548] Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha,* p. 151.

[549] Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha,* p. 153.

Finally, commenting rather briefly on the Japanese efforts to reform Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism, the Kanjurwa Khutugtu concludes, “We were very impressed with our visit to Japan and welcomed closer relations with the Japanese Buddhist leaders, but we did not welcome changes in our traditional culture, least of all our religious institutions.”[550] This sentiment is also found in the opinions of the Inner Mongolian Prince Demchugdongrub, the then leader of the Pan-Mongolist movement and the Japanese-backed Mengjiang state. In his memoir of his travels in Inner Mongolia, the Japanese Buddhist studies scholar and Tibetologist Kōhō Hashimoto notes that Prince Demchugdongrub, being a devout Geluk Buddhism himself, was indeed satisfied with the existing form of Buddhism in his country and was not receptive to any kind of reform and Japanese intervention.[551]

In the larger historical context, as the general literacy rate in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria increased since the fall of the Qing Empire in 1911, more and more Mongols became more educated through modernized schools set up by the local Mongol rulers, as well as by the Chinese and the Japanese, and the Geluk Buddhist monastery was no longer the only institution on the grasslands that provided an education and upward social mobility. As a result, many young Mongols became increasingly more critical towards the old status quos, including Buddhism. Criticizing the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist institution as instruments of Qing imperial rule, a corrupt socio-economic burden on the Mongol people, as well as collaborators with modern colonial powers became a dominant voice amongst the

---

[550] Paul Hyer and Sechin Jagchid, *A Mongolian Living Buddha*, p. 154.

[551] Kōhō Hashimoto 橋本光寶, *Mongoru fuyu no tabi* モンゴル・冬の旅 (Tokyo: Nonburusha, 1999), p. 52.

progressive Inner Mongolian youth. Recording what he witnessed in 1943, the Japanese scholar of Tibetan Buddhism, Gajin Nagao writes about the changing intellectual landscape of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria and comments that criticizing Buddhism had become fashionable: “In the past, it was a common custom that the most outstanding among men would become lamas. Those who became officials, policemen, or soldiers were considered inferior, unable to become lamas. However, nowadays officials, having studied in Japan or having lived in Chinese-speaking areas and become proficient in Chinese language and customs, possess considerably more modern knowledge compared to lamas. They feel superior in this regard and even criticize the existence of lamas. Moreover, criticizing lamas is a general trend among Mongolian youth today and is rather fashionable."[552]

So, what did the thousands of Mongol monks spread across the monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria think about this changing intellectual landscape, from the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin to “lama schools,” from Japanese to Chinese occupation, and from reincarnated *khubilgans* to progressive anti-Buddhism youth? The answer is not easy to obtain. For the thousands of Inner Mongolian monks and their oft-forgotten lay followers, their voices were either left out of history or were forcibly erased and altered later to fit various ideological frameworks. However, from a rare conversation recorded in 1940 between six unnamed Mongol lamas of the Batu Khagalga Süme monastery in eastern Inner Mongolia, and a Masao Kobayashi, a third-year research student of the Takushoku University in Tokyo, we can perhaps get a small glimpse of a few different perspectives that we have not yet mentioned in the discussions of this chapter.

[552] Gajin Nagao 長尾雅人, *Mōko gakumondera* 蒙古学問寺 (Tokyo: Zenkoku shōbo, 1947), pp. 162-163

The conversation took place on August 7, 1940 in front of a large Buddha statue in a building of the Batu Khagalga Süme monastery in the then Southern Hsinggan province of Manchukuo. The interpreter was none other than Bao Renzhong, one of the first students and graduates of the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin on Kōyasan. The first question asked, "What do you think of Japan and Manchuria?" Lama B answered, "Japan helps Manchuria, and today we can see that Manchukuo has been established peacefully. I think Japan and Manchukuo is one nation and I am very grateful." Lama C purportedly agreed.

The second question asked, "Comparing now to when Buddhism first came to Mongolia, how do you feel?" Lama B answered again, "Although the times have changed quite a lot, Buddhism has not changed. It is just as before, flourishing."

"However, nowadays lamas have lost their political status and the qualifications as the teachers of society. What do you think of that?" Lama A replies, "We cannot speak of such matters as they are difficult, but today's Buddhism is as splendid as always, and we are studying just like others have done before."

"The number of lamas is decreasing nowadays, isn't this evidence for Buddhism's decline?" Lama A replies, "It was because the currents of the times made it so. It does not mean the decline of Buddhism."

"What do you mean by the changing currents of the times?" Lama A replies, "The laity have not been supporting the monasteries as before." Lama B agrees.

"Why is that? Aren't lamas themselves the cause?" Lama A explains, "The reason is the decrease of agricultural production and therefore the decrease in assets. That has improved since the establishment of Manchukuo." Lama B adds, "It was also because we were mistreated badly when it was the Republican Chinese era." Lama C speaks, "Lamas

only need to study; it is not necessary to work. For that reason, we need the laity's donations and the nation's protection."

"Taking a lot of donations from the laity and causing them large economic burdens, isn't that a detrimental to Mongolia's development?" Lama B replies, "I don't think that's the case. Entrusted by the laity, we conduct rituals and chant sutras on their behalf, praying for their happiness in this and the afterlife. That much is only natural." Lama A offers a different perspective, "Recently, the temple's finances have become very strained, but this is not how things should be."

Moving on from questions on the state of Mongolian Buddhism, Kobayashi asks, "What do you think about Japanese Buddhism?" Lama A replies, "We have heard from Renzhong many times that it's flourishing, but because I have never seen it myself, I cannot say anything. I only know that even in Japan, there exists the same kind of Buddhism as our own."

Kobayashi tries to explain, "I can guarantee that Japanese Buddhism is clearly more advance than Mongolian Buddhism. Have you not considered to let this excellent Buddhism to help your tradition prosper once again as it in the past?" Lama A declined, "Our Buddhism is prospering as well. There is no need for that." Lama D, speaking for the first time, agrees, "I agree. I think we must increase the number of our disciples and study hard."

On this topic of monastic education, Kobayashi asked, "The banner government has already created Lama schools for that purpose of monastic education. I believe we must support it and ensure the development of excellent education through schools. What you do you think?" To this, Lama A rebuffs, "The schools teach various things besides the Buddhist

classic texts. Those are not necessary. We only need to study the Buddhist texts. I believe schools are not necessary."[553]

As such, the conversation went on for more questions. In Kobayashi's words, they "exposed" the Mongol monks' "lack of self-reflection," a sign that they were both stuck in the "uncivilized" past and needed to be "saved" from themselves by Japan and its modernized Buddhist organizations, who were now the "leaders" of Greater East Asia. But for some of these Mongol monks who lived and breathed on the lands of interconnected Buddhist Inner Asia, the modern spatiality of the "nation," as well as the temporality of "progress" were not necessarily the central concerns in their lives. Despite being swept up in the tides of changing times, their Buddhism and its vast monastic networks never waned and have always prospered in the ocean of Buddhist texts, even when iron birds were flying in the sky and wars fought at their doorstep, with or without a powerful patron.

[553] Masao Kobayashi 小林真夫, "Manshūkoku lama kyō no genjō 満州国喇嘛教の現状," *Tōyō* 東洋 [*The Oriental* Review] 42, no. 12 (1940): p. 110.

VI. Conclusion

This dissertation has mapped the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network in Inner Mongolia and Mongolia and explored the layers of negotiations surrounding Buddhist mobility and agency beyond the modern Chinese nation-state and Japanese Empire. It was divided into four chapters that examine various aspects of Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism and its interactions with Chinese and Japanese authorities from the late Qing Dynasty through the early twentieth century.

Through mapping out the remaining 110 Buddhist monasteries spread across Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, Chapter II set a conceptual and spatial groundwork by analyzing the integration of Inner Mongolia and parts of Manchuria into the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist world during the Qing Period. This expansive Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network, radiating from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, was facilitated by Qing patronage, the spread of the Geluk Buddhist monastic institution from Tibet, and the support of the local Mongol laity. It provided Inner Mongolian Buddhists, both monastic and lay, with mobility beyond the geographical and administrative confines of "Inner Mongolia," despite the Qing's "divide and conquer" ruling policies. This network enabled the Inner Mongol Buddhists to envision their identity as part of both the multicultural Buddhist Qing empire and a larger Geluk Buddhist community that stretched from Tibet to Manchuria.

After the collapse of the Qing at the turn of the twentieth century, how did the new players and power brokers of East Asia make sense of this this Inner Asian Buddhist network that stretched from Tibet to Manchuria? How would you turn the Inner Mongol Buddhists into citizens of ethnically “harmonious” modern nations and empires, who had been dependent on the multicultural Buddhist Qing to envision their identities? Chapter III focused

on the attempts by Republican China, Manchukuo, and the Inner Mongolian Mengjiang government to make sense of, regulate, and discipline Geluk Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. Despite Western influence, these modern East Asian states retained significant aspects of imperial Qing norms in regulating Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism in their modern constitutional practices. Post-Qing regulation of Buddhism in both modern China and Japan involved overlapping and competing legal frameworks tailored to different Buddhist traditions and ethnicities. For example, while Buddhism in China and Japan were regulated as *fojiao* and *bukkyō*, in the Inner Asian context it was regulated as "Lamaism," necessitating unique reforms based on the assumption that Inner Asian Geluk Buddhism was "uncivilized," "backwards," and thus a biopolitical issue. This legacy of violent colonial governance of religion persisted into the People's Republic of China (1949-), highlighting the contingent nature of these modern states.

In Chapters IV and V, we explored two case studies of how different Inner Asian Buddhists participated in the maintenance and further expansion of the Geluk Buddhist network beyond Inner Asia into modern China and Japan. Facilitated by new forms of knowledge production on Inner Asian Buddhism, such as Orientalist scholarship and colonial surveys, renewed interests in tantric Buddhism and its soteriological powers emerged amongst the intellectual and elite Buddhists of modern China on the one hand and sparked more Pan-Asianist Buddhist missions in modern Japan. These early twentieth-century Chinese and Japanese reactions to Inner Asian Buddhism sometime accorded with the state policies discussed in Chapter III, but at other times they contributed to the transmission and survival of the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network through sponsorship. As for the Buddhists in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, they chose different paths, maintaining and

further expanding their connections based on changing circumstances. While some relied on the authority and efficacy of the Geluk Buddhist leaders like the 9th Panchen Lama to remind their fellow Mongols of their identities for Pan-Mongolist projects, others saw alternative modern monastic education opportunities and chances to build new identities in the Buddhist Pan-Asianist visions of missionary Japanese Buddhism.

In Chapter IV, we discussed how the Ninth Panchen Lama's performances of the nine Kālacakra initiations across Buddhist Inner Asia and into previously untapped territories in China catered to different audiences and needs, generating new meanings in various contexts. The Panchen Lama used these initiations to strengthen ties with Inner Mongolian patrons and expand the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network. For Inner Mongolian donors, the rituals reinforced faith and promoted communal gatherings, while Chinese donors saw political and soteriological potential in Tibeto-Mongolian tantric rituals to save the nation from calamities, imperialism, and war. This interest was part of a larger tantric revival in 1920s and 1930s China, driven by the geopolitical significance of Tibetan Buddhism, its perceived closeness to Indian Buddhism thanks to nineteenth century Buddhist Studies scholarship, and the soteriological powers it promised. The Panchen Lama's rituals, sponsored by affluent donors, facilitated through modern technology, and publicized by media, highlighted modern Chinese Buddhists' fascination with Inner Asian esoteric Buddhist tradition despite their state's attempts at regulating it as a biopolitical problem.

Turning further east, Chapter V introduced how understanding "Lamaism" was crucial for navigating and governing the Sino-Russian borderlands for the expanding Japanese Empire post-Russo-Japanese War. Japanese Buddhists, in an attempt to make themselves relevant to the empire-building project driven by anti-Buddhist State Shinto

ideologies, saw “Lamaism” as a tool for a Buddhist Pan-Asian alliance, leveraging the Inner Asian Buddhist tradition to create a buffer against Communist influences from the north. This was especially true for the Japanese Shingon Buddhists, who argued that their esoteric tradition was doctrinally and ritually more intimately connected to Inner Asian Buddhism than other Mahayana Japanese Buddhist traditions. The Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin on Kōyasan, Japan, was created for this purpose. Through investigating the history of the Buddhist academy where more than thirty Mongol lama students from Inner Mongolia and Manchuria studied, it is clear that focus was less on training Mongol students for priesthood in Shingon Buddhism or helping them reach spiritual goals in their own Geluk Buddhist traditions. Instead, the academy aimed to educate a new generation of geopolitically aware, “modernized” Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist leaders who would become an ideological defense that is the “Great Wall of esoteric Buddhism” for Japan’s expansionist interests. As discussed in the chapter, the academy was short-lived and the reception of its legacy mixed. From the limited number of voices from the young Mongol exchange students emerging through the pages in the archives, we see that while some spoke of their studies at the Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin in Pan-Asianism languages, others continued to put their faith in the venerable old traditions of Geluk Buddhist monasticism, declining the push to modernization. The majority of the voices of these students, however, has been lost.

Much more research is needed on the topic of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. This dissertation has barely scratched the surface of the rich histories and stories that the regions offer. There are perhaps around two thousands Buddhist monasteries in the regions that have not be recorded, catalogued, and studied. This situation has not been helped by the fact that it has become increasingly more challenging to conduct research, both in the

archives and in the fields, on ethnic minority religions within the borders of today's People's Republic of China. State-sponsored Sinicization campaigns taking place in today's Inner Mongolia and in the Mongol regions in northeast China, from the renaming of indigenous landscape to the active erasure of Mongolian language and culture, have also made identifying and researching on the lost monasteries more difficult.

As discussed earlier in Chapter III and V, due to the short histories of Republican China and Japanese occupation in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, damage of their colonialist policies on Buddhism was rather limited. Large scale destruction and religious oppression resembling the 1920s and 1930s Stalinist purge in Outer Mongolia mostly took place during the Land Reform Movement and Cultural Revolution periods when the Communist People's Republic of China took over control in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria following the end of WWII in 1945. The Cultural Revolution alone resulted in over 22,000 deaths and 300,000 injuries in Inner Mongolia according to the PRC's official statistics,[554] and by the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, about less than 500 Buddhist monasteries out of more than two thousand survived.[555] The situation was similarly terrible in Tibet, where many Buddhist sites were also permanently destroyed.

Writing in 1956, Robert Miller, Antoine Mostaert, and Martin Yang reports that in the PRC's policies on Buddhism in Inner Mongolia, "Attention is less aimed toward destruction of the religion by direct attack than by cutting the ground out from under it. Education and medicine, for example, have been taken over by secular authorities; opportunities are open

[554] Brown, "The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia 1967–1969: The Purge of the 'Heirs of Genghis Khan,'" pp. 173–187.

[555] Delege, *Neimenggu lamajiao shi*, p. 777

for Mongol youth to participate in many other fields than simply herding or the clerical life."[556] Miller et al. also mention other strategies, including "nationalizing" Inner Asian Buddhism with Chinese Buddhism through the Buddhist Association of China, and dividing the monastic population amongst themselves and disrupting traditional power dynamics:

> "Distinction is made between the high dignitaries of the Church and the ordinary lama – propaganda and attack against the higher lamas was conducted on the basis that they were an exploiting group comparable to landlords and 'reactionaries.' Some 'upper-class' lamas have been able to reform themselves through contributions to drives such as the Resist America, Aid Korea Movement. Ordinary lamas are persuaded to take up secular occupations, given a chance to 'reform themselves through labor,' or even to participate in political activities. Lower rank lamas were given the chance to be re-educated, and some have become representatives to local People's Congresses."[557]

But the story of Inner Asian Buddhism did not stop there. In addition to attempts at revitalizing Buddhism throughout the Inner Asian Geluk Buddhist network in recent decades since the 1980s, many Inner Asian Buddhists also traveled across the world and has further expanded their traditions' reach in transnational, transcontinental, and transpacific ways. One prime example would be the 14th Dalai Lama and his monastic centers in India, who made Geluk Buddhism a household name around the globe. Others, such as the Mongol *khubilgans* the 7th Changkya Khutugtu (1891-1957) and the 17th Kanjurwa Khutugtu (1914-1978),

---

[556] Robert Miller, Antoine Mostaert, Martin Yang, *A Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region*, p. 295.

[557] Robert Miller, Antoine Mostaert, Martin Yang, *A Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region*, p. 295.

accompanied Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists' retreat to Taiwan in 1949 and helped established Geluk Buddhist communities on the island that are still flourishing today. Other major Geluk lamas such as the 8th Arjia Khutugtu (1950-), who is the religious teacher of many Mongol Buddhists in diaspora, helped open several Geluk Buddhist centers across the United States to further the tradition of Geluk monastic education. There are of course also many lesser-known lamas adrift in different corners of the world, often in exile and in between states, who are constantly negotiating with various types of ongoing national and imperial violence, in attempts to stay afloat in the changing tides of time.

References:

Primary Sources:

1. "500,000 in Tribute to Panchen Lama: Oriental Tribesmen Gather to Pay Homage to Spiritual Leader of Tibet." *New York Times,* February 14, 1936, 10.

2. "Banchan dashi li neidi hou gongjian jiuci miaode shilun jingang fahui [biaoge] 班禪大師蒞內地後共建九次妙德時輪金剛法會[表格]." *Xichui xuanhuashi gongshu yuekan* 西陲宣化使公署月刊, Volume 1, Issue 7/8 (1936): 190. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫].

3. "Banchan lianri dengzuo shuofa 班禪連日登座說法." *Shen bao* 申報, May 9, 1934. No. 7. [Accessed from the Shen Bao Online Database 申報全文數據庫].

4. Banchan zhujing bangongchu 班禪駐京辦公處. "Banchan gedi bangongchu yilanbiao 班禪各地辦公處一覽表." *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 1(1929), in *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成, edited by Huang Xianian 黃夏年, Volume 30. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan, 2006.

5. Banchan zhujing bangongchu 班禪駐京辦公處. "Banchan quandao hou neimeng zhi qingkuang 班禪勸導後內蒙之情況," *Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan* 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 Volume 1, 3+4(1929), in *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成, edited by Huang Xianian 黃夏年, Volume 30. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan, 2006.

6. Bing 冰. "Shilun jingang fahui gongfeng ji 時輪金剛法會躬逢記." *Shehui zhoubao (Shanghai)* 社會週報（上海）, Volume 1:6 (1934): 110-111. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫].

7. Boyan Mandu 博彥滿都. "Huiyi xinhai geming 回憶辛亥革命." In *Neimenggu Xinhai Geming Shiliao* 內蒙古辛亥革命史料. Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1979.

8. "Gechu zhi baojing fashi han: Hangzhou shilun jingang fahui laihan 各處致寶靜法師函：杭州時輪金剛法會來函," *Hongfa shekan* 弘法社刊 25(1934): 142-143. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫].

9. Goto, Tomio 後藤富男. *Mōko seijishi* 蒙古政治史. Tokyo: Takayama shoin, 1938.

10. Hafeng'a 哈豐阿. "Dai-Tōa kensetsu to Nichi-Man kankei no kinmitsuka ni tsuite 大東亜建設と日満関係の緊密化に就いて," in *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1, by Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院. Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944.

11. "Haolaiwu huaxu: Hu Die Xu Lai jiang canjia shilun jingang fahui 好萊塢花絮：胡蝶徐來將參加時輪金剛法會." *Linglong* 玲瓏, Volume 4: 14 (1934) [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫].

12. Hashimoto, Kōhō 橋本光寶. "Mikkyōto no shinro 密教徒の進路." *Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Shūhō* 浄土真宗本願寺派宗報, no. 173 (1942).

13. Hashimoto, Kōhō 橋本光寶. *Mongoru fuyu no tabi* モンゴル・冬の旅. Tokyo: Nonburusha, 1999.

14. Hu, Shuibo 胡水波. "Shilun jingang fahui xunli 時輪金剛法會巡禮," *Xinsheng zhoukan* 新生週刊, Volume 1:14 (1934). [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫].

15. Huang, Fensheng 黃奮生. *Mengzang xinzhi* 蒙藏新誌. Guangzhou: Zhonghua shuju, 1938.

16. Hyer, Paul and Sechin Jagchid. *A Mongolian Living Buddha: Biography of the Kanjurwa Khutughtu.* Albany: State University of New York, 1983.

17. Kagawa, Eiryū 香川英隆. "*Kōyasan Kōa mikkyō gakuin no kyōiku* 高野山興亜密教学院の教育.*"* In *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1., by Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院. Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944.

18. Kantō Totokufu Rikugunbu 関東都督府陸軍部. *Higashi Mokō* 東蒙古. Tokyo: Miyamoto burindō, 1915.

19. Kobayashi, Masao 小林真夫. "Manshūkoku lama kyō no genjō 満州国喇嘛教の現状." *Tōyō* 東洋 [*The Oriental* Review] 42, no. 12 (1940).

20. Kōchō, Ogurusu 小栗栖香頂. *Ramakyō enkaku* 喇嘛教沿革. Kyoto: Ishikawa Shundai, 1877.

21. Kogi Shingon-shū 古義真言宗. *Kōa mikkyō gakuin ichiran hyō* 興亞密教学院一覽表. Publisher unknown, October 1939.

22. Kogi Shingon-shū shūmujō 古義真言宗宗務所. *Kōyasan* 高野山. Koyasan: Kogi Shingonshū Sōmusho Gakumubu, 1939.

23. Kondō, Hongen 近藤本玄, “Mikkyō gakuin seishin 密教学院精神,” in *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1., by Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院. Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944.

24. Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院, *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1,. Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944.

25. Kusanagi, Zengi 草薙全亘, “Gakuin-sei ni nozomu 学院生に望む,” in *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1., by Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院. Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944.

26. Manshūkoku kokumuin 満州国国務院. *Manshūkoku hōrei shūran* 満洲国法令輯覧, vol.2. Shinkyō: Manshū gyōsei gakkai, 1943.

27. Manshūkoku mōseibu chōsaka 滿洲國蒙政部調查科. *Rama-byō oyobi rama-sū* 喇嘛廟及喇嘛數. Shinkyō: publisher unknown, 1936.

28. Manshūkoku mōseibu 滿洲國蒙政部. *Rama-byō oyobi meishō koseki chōsahyō* 喇嘛廟及名勝古蹟調查表. Shinkyō: publisher unknown, 1937.

29. Manshū Teikoku seifu 満州帝国政府 ed. *Manshū kenkoku jūnen shi* 満州建国十年史. Tokyo: Hara shōbō, 1969.

30. Matsumoto, Sen 松本雋. *Hisashi Mokō no shinsō* 東蒙古の真相. Tokyo: Heilinkan, 1913.

31. Matsuoka, Yōsuke 松岡洋右. *Ugoku Manmō* 動く満蒙. Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1931.

32. “Mengzang shijian: Beiping shilun jingang fahui zhuiji: shilun jingang fahui xizai jiujie daochang 蒙藏時間：北平時輪金剛法會追紀：時輪金剛法會息災救刼道場.” *Mengzang xunkan* 蒙藏旬刊, 33 (1932). [Access from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

33. Mengzangyuan 蒙藏院. *Mengzangyuan zhaoji Mengshi huiyi yishilu* 蒙藏院召集蒙事會議議事錄. 1924.

34. Nagao, Gajin 長尾雅人. *Mōko gakumondera* 蒙古学問寺. Tokyo: Zenkoku shōbo, 1947.

35. Popov, I. *Chibetto Mōko himitsu Ramakyō taikan.* Translated by Kisaburō Ishikawa 石川喜三郎. Tōkyō: Nichi-Ro Shuppan Kyōkai, 1917.

36. Qiang, Sheng 強生. “Shilun jingang fahui zai lingyin 時輪金剛法會在靈隱.” *Guoli Zhejiang daxue xiaokan* 國立浙江大學校刊 173 (1934): 1805-1808. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

37. “Qinghai shilun jingang fahui 青海時輪金剛法會.” *Zhonghua (Shanghai)* 中華（上海）, 55 (1937): 33-34. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

38. Shanghai Buddhist Studies Publications 上海佛學書局. “Shilun jingang fahui zhuanhao 時輪金剛法會專號.” *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 78(1934), in *Minguo mizong qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國密宗期刊文獻集成, edited by Yu Ruihua 于瑞華, Volume 41: 343-418. Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2008.

39. She, Wang 舍旺. “Shen xiang Gegen miao de mozhao 伸向葛根廟的魔爪.” in *Weiman shiliao congshu: Weiman shehui* 偽滿史料叢書：偽滿社會. Jilin: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1993.

40. Shen, Bozhan 沈伯展. “Shilun jingang fahui di toushi 時輪金剛法會底透視.” *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119 (1934): 3-6. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

41. Shen, Shanhong 沈善鉉. “Huangmiu juelun de shilun jingang fahui 荒謬絕倫的時輪金剛法會.” *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934): 12-14. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

42. Shilun jin’gang fahui 時輪金剛法會. *Shilun jingang fahui cuoyao* 時輪金剛法會撮要, in *Minguo shiqi fojiao ziliao huibian* 民國時期佛教資料彙編, edited by Tian Qi 田奇, Volume 13: 423-660. Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010.

43. “Shilun jingang fahui xiaoxi: Hangzhou shiwusuo jinxun: Banchan jueding nianwuriliu qijie laihang 時輪金剛法會消息：杭州事務所近訊：班禪決定廿五日六起節來航.” *Cihang huabao* 慈航畫報 41(1934): 1. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

44. “Shilun jingang fahui zhi huaxu 時輪金剛法會之花絮.” *Daya huabao* 大亞畫報, November 2, 1932, No. 337. 1. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

45. Steele, A. T. “Life in Mongolia Lacking in Luxury: American Missionary Found Teh Wang’s Palace Far from Comfortable.” *The New York Times*, June 17, 1934. E8.

46. Takamine, Shūkai 高峰秀海. “Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin iten-shiki ni nozomite 興亜密教学院移転式に臨みて,” in *Kōa mikkyō* 興亜密教, Vol. 1., by Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin 高野山興亜密教学院. Koyasan: Kōya-san Kōa Mikkyō Gakuin, 1944.

47. Tanaka, Seijun 田中清純. *I shūkyō nichishi shinzen* 依宗教日支親善, in *Shiryōshū: Senjika “Nihon Bukkyō” no kokusai kōryū* 資料集：戦時下「日本佛教」の国際交流, Volume 10: 10-89. Kyoto: Ryukoku University Asian Buddhism and Culture Research Center, Interwar Japanese Buddhism and International Relations Research Team, 2019.

48. The Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. “Introduction to the Kalacakra.” Accessed January 7, 2020. https://www.dalailama.com/teachings/kalachakra-initiations.

49. Wakatake, Jō 和加竹城 and Isao Hayashida 林田勲. *Mōkyō no shigen to keizai* 蒙疆の資源と經濟. Tokyo: Fusanbō, 1938.

50. “Xiaoping: Shilun jingang fahui 小評：時輪金剛法會.” *Shehui xinwen* 社會新聞, Volume 7:1 (1934): 1. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

51. Xu, Yanying 徐雁影, “Shilun jingang fahui zhong suojian: shilun jingang fahui zhong zhong lama songjing qingxing 時輪金剛法會中所見：時輪金剛法會中眾喇嘛誦經情形.” *Liangyou* 良友, 89 (1934): 26. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

52. You, Qing 又青, “Minghu shilun jingang fahui 鳴呼時輪金剛法會.” *Renmin zhoubao* 人民週報, 119(1934): 10. [Accessed from the Chinese Periodical Database 全國報刊數據庫]

53. “Zai hang juxing zhi shilun jingang fahui yuanman 在杭舉行之時輪金剛法會圓滿.” *Shen bao* 申報, May 17, 1934, No.8. [Accessed from the Shen Bao Online Database 申報全文數據庫]

54. Zhaqi, Siqin 札奇斯欽 (Sechin Jagchid). *Wo suo zhidao de De wang he dangshi de Neimenggu* 我所知道的德王和當時的內蒙古. Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2005.

55. Zhongguo di’er lishi dang’an guan 中国第二历史档案馆编 ed. *Zhonghua minguo shi dang’an ziliao huibian* 中华民国史档案资料汇编, vol. 5, no.1. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994.

56. Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Neimenggu zizhiqu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議內蒙古自治區委員會文史資料委員會. *Neimenggu wenshi ziliao* Vol. 34: *Weiman Xing'an shiliao* 內蒙古文史資料第三十四輯：偽滿興安史料. Hohhot: Neimenggu wenshi shudian, 1989.

57. Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan eds. 中國藏學研究中心, 中國第二歷史檔案館. *Jiushi Banchan neidi huodong ji fanzang shouzu dang'an xuanbian* 九世班禪內地活動及返藏受阻檔案選編. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1992.

58. Zhonggong zhongyang tongzhanbu 中國中央統戰部. "Neimenggu zizhi zhengfu shizheng gangling 內蒙古自治政府施政綱領," in *Minzu wenti wenxian huibian* 民族問題文獻匯編. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1991.

Secondary Sources:

59. Atwood, Christopher. *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

60. Atwood, Christopher. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire.* Facts on File, 2004.

61. Barrett, T. H. "Buddhism and Law in China: The Emergences of Distinctive Patterns in Chinese History." In *Buddhism and Law: An Introduction*, edited by Rebecca R. French and Mark A. Nathan. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2014.

62. Berger, Patricia Ann. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

63. Bishop, Peter. *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

64. Brown, Kerry. "The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia 1967–1969: The Purge of the 'Heirs of Genghis Khan.'" *Asian Affairs* 38, no. 2 (2007): 173-187.

65. Buswell, Robert E. and Donald S. Lopez, eds. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

66. Cabezón, José Ignacio and Roger R. Jackson. *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre.* Ithaca: Snow Lion Press, 1996.

67. Cabezón, José Ignacio ed. *Tibetan Ritual.* Oxford University Press, 2010.

68. Carrai, Maria A. “Learning Western Techniques of Empire: Republican China and the New Legal Framework for Managing Tibet.” *International Legal Theory* 30 (2017): 801–824.

69. Charleux, Isabelle. *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure.* Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Institut national d’histoire de l’art, 2006.

70. Charleux, Isabelle. “Buddhist Monasteries in Southern Mongolia.” in *The Buddhist Monastery: A Cross-Cultural Survey*, edited by Pierre Pichard, Lagirarde F., and École française d’Extrême-Orient. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2013.

71. Charleux, Isabelle. *Nomads on Pilgrimage: Mongols on Wutaishan (China), 1800-1940.* Leiden: Brill, 2015.

72. Chen, Xiaomin 陈晓敏. *Qingdai zhujing lama yanjiu* 清代驻京喇嘛研究. Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 2011.

73. Chia, Jack Meng-Tat. *Monks in Motion: Buddhism and Modernity Across the South China Sea.* Oxford University Press, 2020.

74. Delger (Delege). *Yuwan Ulus-Un Üy-E-Yin Monggol-Un Lama-Yin Shasin*. Hohhot: Öbör monggol-un arad-un keblel-un qoriy-a, 1989.

75. Delege 德勒格. *Neimenggu lamajiao shi* 内蒙古喇嘛教史. Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1998.

76. Delege 德勒格 and Wuyun Gaowa 烏雲高娃 eds. *Neimenggu lamajiao jinxiandaishi* 内蒙古喇嘛教近现代史. Hohhot: Yuanfang chubanshe, 2004.

77. Dreyfus, Georges B.J. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

78. Duara, Prasenjit. *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

79. Dubois, Thomas D. *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia: Manchuria 1900-1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

80. Elverskog, Johan. *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism, And the State in Late Imperial China.* Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006.

81. Feldman, Ilana. *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008.

82. Foret Phillipe. *Mapping Chengde: A Qing Landscape Enterprise.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

83. Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text,* no. 25/26 (1990): 56-80.

84. Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society.* Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991.

85. Hauser, G. A. and Thomas W. Benson. *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.

86. Heissig, Walther. *The Religions of Mongolia.* Berkeley: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

87. Hirokawa Saho 広川佐保. "Mōkyō seiken no tai-Mongoru seisaku – Manshūkoku to no hikaku o tsūjite 蒙疆政権の対モンゴル政策―満州国との比較を通じて." In *Nihon no Mōkyō senryō: 1937–1945* 日本の蒙疆占領: 1937−1945, edited by Uchida Tomoyuki 内田知行 and Shibata Yoshimasa 柴田善雅. Tokyo: Kenbun shuppansha, 2007.

88. Hopkins, Jeffrey. *Kālacakra Tantra Rite of Initiation: For the Stage of Generation.* Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

89. Humphrey, Caroline and Hurelbaatar Ujeed. *A Monastery in Time: The Making of Mongolian Buddhism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

90. Huricha 胡日查. *Qingdai Neimenggu diqu siyuan jingji yanjiu* 清代内蒙古地区寺院经济研究. Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2009.

91. Huricha 胡日查. *Qingdai menggu simiao guanli tizhi yanjiu* 清代蒙古寺庙管理体制研究. Shenyang: Liaoning chubanshe, 2013.

92. Hyer, Paul. "Lamaist Buddhism and Japanese Policy in Mongolia." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1953.

93. Hyer, Paul. "Politics and Religion in Inner Mongolia: Japan's Plans for the 9th Jebtsundamba 'Living Buddha.'" *The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs,* no. 1 (2013): 64-74.

94. Hyer, Paul and Sechin Jagchid. *A Mongolian Living Buddha: Biography of the Kanjurwa Khutughtu.* Albany: State University of New York, 1983.

95. Jagchid, Sechin and Paul Hyer. *Mongolia's Culture and Society*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1979.

96. Jagou, Fabienne. *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*. Translated by Rebecca B. Buechel. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2011.

97. Jansen, Berthe. *The Monastery Rules: Buddhist Monastic Organization in Pre-Modern Tibet*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018.

98. Jerryson, Michael K. *Mongolian Buddhism: The Rise and Fall of the Sangha*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2007.

99. Jian, Jinsheng 簡金生. "Jindai hanren de Xizang guan: 1912-1949 近代漢人的西藏觀：1912−1949." PhD diss., National Taiwan Normal University, 2014.

100. Josephson, Jason A. *The Invention of Religion in Japan.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

101. Kaizhao, Jiamuyang 嘉木扬・凯朝. *Zhongguo Mengguzu diqu fojiao wenhua* 中國蒙古族地區佛教文化. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2009.

102. Kan, Zhengzong 闞正宗. *Taiwan Ri zhi shi qi fo jiao fa zhan yu huang min hua yun dong: "huang guo fo jiao" de li shi jin cheng (1895-1945)* 臺灣日治時期佛教發展與皇民化運動: 「皇國佛教」的歷史進程(一八九五−一九四五). Taipei: Bo yang wen hua shi ye you xian gong si, 2011.

103. Kaplonski, Christopher. *The Lama Question: Violence, Sovereignty, and Exception in Early Socialist Mongolia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.

104. Ketelaar, James E. *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji* Japan*: Buddhism and Its Persecution*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990.

105. Kiba, Akeshi 木場明志 and Joi Tei 程舒偉. *Shokuminchiki Manshū no shūkyō: Nitchū ryōkoku no shiten kara kataru* 植民地期満洲の宗教: 日中両国の視点から語る. Tokyo: Kashiwa shōbo, 2007.

106. Kim, Hwansoo Ilmee. *Empire of the Dharma: Korean and Japanese Buddhism, 1877–1912.* Harvard University Press, 2013.

107. Kim, Hwansoo Ilmee. *The Korean Buddhist Empire: A Transnational History 1910-1945.* Harvard University Press 2018.

108. King, Matthew. *Ocean of Milk, Ocean of Blood: A Mongolian Monk in the Ruins of the Qing Empire*. Columbia University Press, 2019.

109. Kollmar-Paulenz, Karénina. “Visualizing the Non-Buddhist Other: A Historical Analysis of the Shambhala Myth in Mongolia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” *Cross-Currents,* 31(2019): 306-38.

110. Kōmoto, Yasuko 高本康子. “Nihonjin no Chibetto-kan: Meiji ikō o chūshin ni 日本人のチベット観 一明治以降を中心に一.” PhD diss., Tohoku University, 2006.

111. Kōmoto, Yasuko 高本康子. *Kindai Nihon ni okeru Chibetto-zō no keisei to tenkai* 近代日本におけるチベット像の形成と展開. Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, 2010.

112. Lai, Yonghai 賴永海. *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi* 中國佛教通史, volume 15. Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2010.

113. Lin, Hsiao-ting. *Tibet and Nationalist China’s Frontier: Intrigues and Ethnopolitics, 1928–49.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006.

114. Lopez Jr., Donald S. “‘Lamaism’ and the Disappearance of Tibet.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 1, (1996): 3-25.

115. Lopez Jr., Donald S. *The Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

116. Luo, Tongbing. “The Reformist Monk Taixu and the Controversy about Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Republican China.” in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries Volume I,* edited by Monica Esposito. Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2008.

117. Matsutaka, Yoshihisa Tak. *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932.* Harvard University Asia Center, 2003.

118. Miller, Robert J., Antoine Mostaert, and Martin Yang. *A Regional Handbook on the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region.* New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1956, Subcontractor’s monograph HRAF-60 Wash-7.

119. Miller, Robert J. *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia.* Asiatische Forschungen 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959.

120. Myers, Ramon Hawley, Mark R. Peattie, and Jingzhi Zhen. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945.* Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1984.

121. Narangoa, Li. *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932-1945: Reformbestrebungen und Dialog zwischen japanischem und mongolischem Buddhismus*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verla, 1998.

122. Narangoa, Li. “Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945.” in *Critical Asian Studies* 35, vol. 4 (2003): 491-514.

123. Narangoa, Li. “Mongol Nationalism, Chinese Colonialism, and Japanese Imperialism in Inner Mongolia, 1936-1945.” In *Zentral-Asiatische Studien 38, 2009,* edited by Peter Schweiger. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009.

124. Nieptuski, Paul K. *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709-1958.* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010.

125. Niu, Song 牛颂. *Yonghegong: Zhongguo zangchuan fojiao zhuming gusi* 雍和宫：中國藏傳佛教著名古寺. Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo chubanshe, 2001.

126. Oidtmann, Max. *Forging the Golden Urn: The Qing Empire and the Politics and the Politics of Reincarnation in Tibet.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.

127. Okuyama, Naoji. "The Tibet Fever among Japanese Buddhists of the Meiji Era." In *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th centuries,* edited by Esposito, Monica. Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008.

128. Oljeyitogtakhu (Wuliji Taogetao 乌力吉陶格套) ed. *Irgen ulus-un jasang-un gajar-aca Monggol Orun-tu jorigulun togtagagsan khauli durim (Minguo zhengfu youguan Menggu de falv* 民国政府有关蒙古的法律). Chifeng: Neimenggu kexue jishu chubanshe, 2015.

129. Ōsawa, Kōji 大澤広嗣 and Naoki Nakanishi 中西直樹 eds. *Senjika Nihon bukkyō no kokusai kōryū* 戦時下「日本仏教」の国際交流. Tokyo: Fuji shuban, 2019.

130. Qiaoji 喬吉. *Neimenggu simiao* 内蒙古寺庙. Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1994.

131. Qiaoji 喬吉. *Menggu fojiao shi* 蒙古佛教史. Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 2008.

132. Qi, Baishun 齐百顺. *Riben qinzhan shiqi “Xing’an sheng” jingji tongzhi zhengce yanjiu* 日本侵佔時期“興安省”經濟統制政策研究. Shenyang: Liaoning chubanshe, 2016.

133. Rakow, Katja. “Kālacakra in Transition: From the Apocalypse to the Promotion of World Peace,” in *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond,* edited by István Keul. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.

134. Rawski, Evelyn S. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions.* University of California Press, 1998.

135. Scott, Gregory Adam. “The Buddhist Nationalism of Dai Jitao.” *Journal of Chinese Religions,* 39:1 (2011): 55-81.

136. Sewell, Bill. *Constructing Empire: The Japanese in Changchun, 1905—45.* University of British Columbia Press 2019.

137. Spivak, Gayatri C. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory,* edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

138. Suzuki, Nirei 鈴木仁麗. *Manshūkoku to Uchi Mongoru: Man-mō seisaku kara Kōan-shō he* 満州国と内モンゴルー満蒙政策から興安省統治へ. Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2012.

139. Tamanoi Mariko. *Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan.* University of Hawai’i Press, 2009.

140. Tangjisi 唐吉斯. *Mengguzu fojiao wenhua diaocha yanjiu* 蒙古族佛教文化調查研究. Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2010.

141. Tapies, Rosalia Avila. “Kindai ni okeru kyū Manshū he no Nihonjin no ijū oyobi sono teichaku pata-n ni tsuite 近代における旧満州への日本人の移住およびその定着パターンについて.” *Konan Daigaku kiyō bungaku hen rekishi bunka tokushū* 甲南大学紀要文学編歴史文化特集, no. 129 (2002): 34-59.

142. Temole 忒莫勒. “Qingdai Huhehaote Ningqisi bufen Mengwen dang’an guankui 清代呼和浩特宁祺寺部分蒙文档案管窥.” *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University (Philosophy & Social Sciences)*, no.3. (1997).

143. Tsultemin, Uranchimeg. *A Monastery on the Move: Art and Politics in Later Buddhist Mongolia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2020.

144. Tuttle, Gray. “Tibet as the Source of Messianic Teachings to Save Republican China: The Ninth Panchen Lama, Shambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra.” In *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries Volume I,* edited by Monica Esposito. Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2008.

145. Wallace, Vesna. *The Inner Kālacakratantra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001.

146. Wallace, Vesna. “Buddhist Laws in Mongolia.” In *Buddhism and Law: An Introduction,* edited by Rebecca R. French and Mark A. Nathan. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2014.

147. Wallace, Vesna ed. *Buddhism in Mongolian History, Culture, and Society*. Oxford University Press 2015.

148. Wang, Yi. *Transforming Inner Mongolia: Commerce, Migration, and Colonization on the Qing Frontier.* Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021.

149. Wu, Lan. *Common Ground: Tibetan Buddhist Expansion and Qing China's Inner Asia.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2022.

150. Wu, Wei. *Esoteric Buddhism in China: Engaging Japanese and Tibetan Traditions, 1912-1949.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2024.

151. Yang, Haiying. *Chibetto ni mau nihontō: mongoru kihei no gendaishi* チベットに舞う日本刀: モンゴル騎兵の現代史. Tokyo: Bungeishunjū, 2014.

152. Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit. "The Kālacakra Empowerment as Conducted by Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche." In *As Long as Space Endures: Essays on the Kālacakra Tantra in Honor of H. H. The Dalai Lama*, edited by Edward A. Arnold. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2009.

153. Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. University of California Press, 1999.

154. Yu, Fengchun 于逢春. "Manshū-koku oyobi Mongyō seiken no rama-kyō sōryo kyōiku seisaku 「満洲国」及び「蒙疆 政 権」のラマ僧侶教育政策." *Nihon no kyōiku shigaku: Kyōiku shigaku kai kiyō* 日本の教育史学: 教育史学会紀要 45 (2002): 199-217.

155. Zhang, Pengju 張鵬舉 ed. *Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu* 內蒙古藏傳佛教建築, Vol. 1, 2, and 3. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2012.

156. Zhang, Yun 張雲. *Piaobo zhong de foye: jiushi Banchan neidi huodong de qianqianhouhou* 漂泊中的佛爺：九世班禪內地活動的前前後後. Beijing: Zangxue chubanshe, 2002.

157. Zhang, Zhihua 张植华. "Qingdai zhi Minguo shiqi Neimenggu diqu Mengguzu renkou kaikuang 清代至民国时期内蒙古地区蒙古族人口概况." In *Neimenggu jindaishi luncong: Di er ji* 內蒙古近代史論叢–第二輯. Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1983.

Appendix: A List of Buddhist Monasteries in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria

Note: In the following table, the data collected come from fieldwork done by Pengju Zhang (Zhang) and other scholars in Inner Mongolia and the People's Republic of China, as well as from Isabelle Charleux's (IC) field research. See Zhang, Pengju 張鵬舉 ed. *Neimenggu Zangchuan fojiao jianzhu* 內蒙古藏傳佛教建築, Vol. 1, 2, and 3. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2012; and Charleux, Isabelle. *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure.* Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006.

Legend: FD (Foundation Date); PP (Peak Population); CP (Current Population)

Name	FD	PP	CP	Location	Other Names	Source(s)
Ganjuur süme ᠭᠠᠨᠵᠤᠤᠷ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1771	2000	16	呼倫貝爾市新巴爾虎左旗阿木古朗寶麗格蘇木	甘珠爾廟, 壽寧寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 503 IC: 278
Baragun süme ᠪᠠᠷᠭᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1887	1000	18	呼倫貝爾市新巴爾虎右旗阿爾山蘇木	新巴爾虎西廟，達西朋斯格廟，西廟，བག་ཤེས་ཚོག་ལྡིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 522 IC: 278
Jegün köke ger süme ᠵᠡᠭᠦᠨ ᠬᠥᠬᠡ ᠭᠡᠷ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1706	500	12	赤峰市巴林右旗大板鎮	東瓦房廟，薈福寺，東廟	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 93, IC: 278
Gilubar juu ᠭᠢᠯᠤᠪᠠᠷ ᠵᠤᠤ	800	N/A	N/A	赤峰市巴林左旗查幹哈達鄉	真寂寺，善福寺，格里布尔召，召廟	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 132 IC: 277
Cagan büriy_e süme ᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠶᠡ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1743	500	16	赤峰市翁牛特旗烏丹鎮北 4 公里處	查幹布熱廟，梵宗寺，北大廟	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 145 IC: 277

Khagan süme ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1674	500	13	赤峰市阿鲁科尔沁旗罕苏木	罕廟，戴恩寺（誠恩寺），罕五廟，དཀའ་ཡིས་གཡང་ཏེན་ཞིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 175 IC: 278
Balcirud süme ᠪᠠᠯᠴᠢᠷᠤᠳ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1689	800	0	赤峰市阿鲁科尔沁旗巴拉奇如德蘇木境內	巴拉奇如德廟，寶善寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 195 IC: 278
Gempi-yin süme ᠭᠡᠮᠪᠢ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1804	320	20	赤峰市阿鲁科尔沁旗罕苏木	根坯廟，廣佑寺，དགེ་འཕེལ་ཞིང་།，IC: 廣恩寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 211 IC: 278
Luus-un bulag-un süme ᠯᠤᠤᠰ ᠤᠨ ᠪᠤᠯᠠᠭ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1287	N/A	6	赤峰市喀喇沁旗錦山鎮西北 3 公里，海拔 1200 米的獅子崖下	龍泉寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 231 IC: 276
Buyan khorakhci süme ᠪᠤᠶᠠᠨ ᠬᠣᠷᠠᠬᠴᠢ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1679	450	0	赤峰市喀喇沁旗錦山鎮	福會寺, 福薈寺，福慧寺，大廟（科爾沁王府喇嘛廟），Tib: ″蓋草靈，″ IC: Qaracin vang-yin süme	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 245 IC: 276
Maratu süme ᠮᠠᠷᠠᠲᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1745	500	17	赤峰市寧城縣大城子鎮	馬日圖廟，法輪寺，བཀའ་ཤིས་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཞིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 277 IC: 277
Iledte bayaskhulangtu süme ᠡᠯᠡᠳᠭᠡᠭᠴᠢ ᠪᠠᠶᠠᠰᠬᠤᠯᠠᠩᠲᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1661-1722	500	0	赤峰市喀喇沁旗錦山鎮	靈悅寺，མངོན་པར་དགའ་བ་ཞིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 322 IC: 276
Eki yogen? badaragulkhuci süme ᠡᠬᠢ ᠶᠣᠭᠡᠨ? ᠪᠠᠳᠠᠷᠠᠭᠤᠯᠬᠤᠴᠢ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1649	800	45	通遼市庫倫旗庫倫鎮	興源寺，錫勒圖庫倫寺，དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོས་ཀྱགས་ཞིང་།，IC: Siregetü blama küriye,	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 347 IC: 276

					Küriye, Kulun si	
Soyol jokistu süme ᠰᠣᠶᠣᠯ ᠵᠣᠬᠢᠰᠲᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1670	100	45	通遼市庫倫旗庫倫鎮	象教寺，錫勒圖庫倫廟， IC: 上倉	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 377 IC: 276
Buyan barildugulunci ? Süme ᠪᠤᠶᠠᠨ ᠪᠠᠷᠢᠯᠳᠤᠭᠤᠯᠤᠨᠴᠢ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1742	110	N/A	通遼市庫倫旗庫倫鎮	福緣寺，錫勒圖庫倫廟，IC：下倉	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 405 IC: 276
Ökin tengri-yin süme ᠥᠬᠢᠨ ᠲᠡᠩᠷᠢ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1655	100	16	通遼市庫倫旗庫倫鎮	吉祥天女廟，IC: Qanvang süme	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 419 IC: 276
Maidari gegen süme ᠮᠠᠶᠢᠳᠠᠷᠢ ᠭᠡᠭᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1638-1661	500	6	通遼市庫倫旗格樂林蘇木所在地	邁達日葛根廟，壽因寺，格爾林寺，IC：壽恩寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 432 IC: 276
Siramören süme ᠰᠢᠷᠠᠮᠥᠷᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1993	N/A	32	通遼市市區希拉木倫公園北側	希拉木仁廟，吉祥密乘大樂林寺，黃河廟，དཀའ་ཚལ་ལྷོད།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 445 IC: N/A
Bayan khosigu süme ᠪᠠᠶᠠᠨ ᠬᠣᠰᠢᠭᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1644	1000	7	兴安盟科右中旗巴彦胡硕镇	巴音和碩廟，遐福寺，黑大廟，博克達廟, IC: Bayan qosigun-u keid (278)	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 471 IC: 278
Taulaitu gegen süme ᠲᠠᠤᠯᠠᠢᠲᠤ ᠭᠡᠭᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1748	1200	45	烏蘭浩特市葛根廟鎮	陶賴圖葛根廟，梵通寺，葛根廟	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 481 IC: 278
Biragu süme ᠪᠢᠷᠠᠭᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1644	N/A	N/A	赤峰市克什克騰旗經棚鎮	畢如廟，慶寧寺，དགའ་བདེ་ལྷོད།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 531 IC: 277
Bangcan ? Süme ᠪᠠᠩᠴᠠᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	N/A	N/A	N/A	通遼市紮魯特旗格日照魯蘇木巴	板子廟，寶光寺，བཙི་ཞེས་ཟློན་ཚོགས་ལྷོད།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 532 IC: N/A

				彥寶力格嘎查境內		
Wang-un süme ᠸᠠᠩ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	1691-1694	N/A	N/A	烏蘭浩特市普惠街	普惠寺，王爺廟，IC: Vangye-yin süme	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 533 IC: 278
Anggir-un süme ᠠᠩᡤᡳᠷ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	1661-1722	N/A	N/A	興安盟扎赉特旗巴彥扎拉嘎	昂日格廟，鸚鴿廟，白廟子，藏福寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 534 IC: N/A
Rasiyan süme ᠷᠠᠰᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	1925	N/A	N/A	呼倫貝爾市新巴爾虎左旗	延壽寶明寺，阿爾山廟，九世班禪賜名：瑟木丕勒畢都日亞林, IC: Arshan süme	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 535 IC: 278
Darjiiling Süme ᠳᠠᡵᠵᡳᡳᠯᡳᠩ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	2007	N/A	N/A	呼倫貝爾市海拉爾區	達爾吉林廟，安板大廟，དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 536 IC: N/A
Bayan küreng süme ᠪᠠᠶᠠᠨᠭᠦᠷᡝᠩ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	1878	N/A	N/A	呼倫貝爾市陳旗巴音庫仁鎮	巴音庫仁寺，盛祥寺，達日扎楞，བཀའ་ཤིས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 537 IC: N/A
Köke süme ᠬᠥᠬᡝ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	1784	N/A	N/A	呼倫貝爾市鄂溫克旗巴音鎮	呼和廟，廣惠寺	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 538 IC: N/A
Sineken Süme ᠰᡳᠨᡝᠬᡝᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᡝ	1928	N/A	N/A	呼倫貝爾市鄂溫克旗	錫尼河廟，丹巴達傑陵寺，九世班禪：達西松都布林, བསྟན་ལ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 3, pp. 539 IC: N/A
Yeke juu ᠶᠡᠬᡝ ᠵᡡ	1578	300	60	呼和浩特市玉泉區	大召，無量寺，弘慈寺，　དཔག་ཚད་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 93 IC: 271
Siregetü juu ᠰᡳᡵᡝᡤᡝᡨᡠ ᠵᡡ	1585	N/A	N/A	呼和浩特市玉泉區石頭巷北端	席力圖召，延壽寺，ཕྱང་ཞུའ་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 181 IC: 271

Baga juu ᠪᠠᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠵᠦ	1621	150	0	呼和浩特市玉泉區小召前街	小召，崇福寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 227 IC: 271
Tabun suburgantu süme ᠲᠠᠪᠤᠨ ᠰᠤᠪᠤᠷᠭᠠᠨᠲᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1727	N/A	N/A	呼和浩特市玉泉區	五塔寺，慈燈寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 232 IC: 271
Usutu-yin baragun juu ᠦᠰᠦᠲᠦ᠎ᠶᠢᠨ ᠪᠠᠷᠭᠤᠨ ᠵᠦ	1567	200	8	呼和浩特市回民區攸攸板鎮西烏蘇圖村	烏蘇圖召，慶緣寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 256 IC: 272
Lama-yin agui-yin süme ᠯᠠᠮ᠎ᠠ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠠᠭᠤᠢ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1615	400	9	呼和浩特土默特旗	喇嘛洞召，廣化寺，ཀློག་འདུལ་ཚྭང་།, IC: 東廣化寺, Blama-yin agui	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 285 IC: 272
Siramören süme ᠰᠢᠷᠠᠮᠥᠷᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1708	1500	40	烏蘭察布市四子王旗紅格尔蘇木	希拉木仁廟，大廟，普和寺，དཀའ་ཚལ་ཆོང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 305 IC: 275
Biligtü süme ᠪᠢᠯᠢᠭᠲᠦ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1708	200	15	錫林郭勒盟蘇尼特右旗朱日和鎮畢魯圖嘎查	畢魯圖廟，完滿貝勒寺，ཕྱོགས་བདེ་ལྡན་ཆོང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 336 IC: 275
Cagan oboga süme ᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠣᠪᠤᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1709	1000	8	錫林郭勒盟蘇尼特左旗查幹敖包蘇木阿如寶拉格嘎查	查幹敖包廟，慶佑寺，IC: 福佑寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 345 IC: 275
Bayan usun-u khural ᠪᠠᠶᠠᠨ ᠦᠰᠦᠨ ᠤ ᠬᠤᠷᠠᠯ	1756	50	2	錫林郭勒盟蘇尼特左旗洪格尔蘇木希如昌圖嘎查	巴音烏素誦經會，དཀོ་འཛེལ་ཚྭང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 365 IC: N/A
Yangduu-yin süme ᠶᠠᠩᠳᠤᠤ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1864	813	13	錫林郭勒盟阿巴嘎旗洪格尔高勒鎮鎮政府所在地	楊都廟，施善寺，欽定壽昌寺, IC: 楊迪廟	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 373 IC: 276
Beise-yin süme ᠪᠡᠢᠰᠡ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1743	1200	32	錫林郭勒盟錫林浩特市	貝子廟，大廟，崇善寺，དཀོ་འཛེལ་ཚྭང་།, IC: Bandida gegen süme	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 387 IC: 275

Sine süme ᠰᠢᠨᠡ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1745	700	26	錫林郭勒盟東烏珠穆沁旗道特淖尔鎮	新廟，密宗昌盛寺，密宗廣普寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 421 IC: 276
Wanggai süme ᠸᠠᠩᠭᠠᠢ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1916	300	N/A	錫林郭勒盟西烏珠穆沁旗巴拉噶尔高勒鎮	王蓋廟，大乘法胤法輪寺，洞闊巴殿，時輪金剛廟，བཀའ་ཤིས་ཆོས་སྡིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 431 IC: N/A
Khagucid-un süme ᠬᠠᠭᠤᠴᠢᠳ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1700	300	8	錫林郭勒盟西烏珠穆沁旗吉仁郭勒蘇木	廣祥寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 443 IC: N/A
Köke süme ᠬᠥᠬᠡ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1691	N/A	15	錫林郭勒盟多倫諾爾縣	東大倉，匯宗寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 455 IC: N/A
Sira süme ᠰᠢᠷᠠ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1727	3000	0	錫林郭勒盟多倫諾爾縣	西大倉，善因寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 477 IC: N/A
Borotologai süme ᠪᠣᠷᠤᠲᠣᠯᠭᠠᠢ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1721	300	N/A	錫林郭勒盟正鑲白旗伊和淖尔蘇木	寶日陶勒蓋廟，修德寺，ཕྱག་ཏོག་སྡིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 491 IC: N/A
Büridü-yin süme ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠳᠦ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1739	300	12	錫林郭勒盟正鑲白旗布日都蘇木	布日都廟，演教寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 503 IC: N/A
Emci juu ᠡᠮᠴᠢ ᠵᠤᠤ	1669	N/A	N/A	呼和浩特市玉泉區	乃莫齊召，額木齊召， IC: Emci-yin juu	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 512 IC: 272
Corji-yin juu ᠴᠣᠷᠵᠢ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠵᠤᠤ	1653-1710	N/A	N/A	呼和浩特市玉泉區	巧爾齊召，延禧寺	IC: 271
Ordon_u süme ᠥᠷᠳᠥᠨ ᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1908	N/A	N/A	烏蘭察布市四子王旗紅格尔蘇木	王府廟， IC: Amugulang togtagci süme	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 513 IC: 275
Agui-yin süme ᠠᠭᠤᠢ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1669	N/A	N/A	烏蘭察布市察哈爾右旗哈彥忽洞蘇木	阿貴廟， IC: 善福寺， བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་པོ་སྡིང་།， IC: Aguitu juu, 阿貴圖召，奇福寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 514 IC: 274

Cagan tologai-yin khural ᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠲᠣᠯᠣᠭᠠᠢ ᠤᠨ ᠬᠤᠷᠠᠯ	1879	80	N/A	錫林郭勒盟蘇尼特左旗達尔汗烏拉蘇木	查幹陶勒蓋誦經會	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 515 IC: N/A
Uran quddug-un khural ᠦᠷᠠᠨ ᠬᠤᠳᠤᠭ ᠤᠨ ᠬᠤᠷᠠᠯ	1814	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟蘇尼特左旗賽汗戈壁蘇木達尔汗烏拉區	敖蘭胡都格誦經會，དགེ་འདུན་རབ་ཀྱས་ཁྲིད།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 516 IC: N/A
Jirgalangtu-yin süme ᠵᠢᠷᠭᠠᠯᠠᠩᠲᠤ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1855	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟阿巴嘎旗那仁寶拉格蘇木吉日嘎朗圖嘎查	吉日嘎朗圖廟，隆福寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 517 IC: N/A
Khambu-yin süme ᠬᠠᠮᠪᠤ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1727	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟阿巴嘎旗別力古台鎮	漢貝廟，善源寺，IC: 漢白廟	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 518 IC: 275
Khogolatu süme ᠬᠣᠭᠣᠯᠠᠲᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1656	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟西烏珠穆沁旗浩勒圖音高勒鎮鎮政府所在地	浩勒圖廟，施恩寺，སྦྱིན་སྐྱོང་ཁྲིད།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 519 IC: N/A
Ulagan khagalga süme ᠤᠯᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠯᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1650	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟西烏珠穆沁旗烏蘭哈拉嘎蘇木政府所在地	烏蘭哈拉嘎廟，寶成寺，རིན་ཆེན་མཚོག་སྒྲུབ་ཁྲིད།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 520 IC: 276
Morom lama-yin süme ᠮᠣᠷᠣᠮ ᠯᠠᠮ᠎ᠠ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1781	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟東烏珠穆沁旗烏力雅蘇台鎮	喇嘛庫倫廟，集慧寺，集惠寺，སྦྱིན་ཚོགས་ཁྲིད།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 521 IC: 276
Bulag-un süme ᠪᠤᠯᠠᠭ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1791	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟東烏珠穆沁旗道寶拉格蘇木	寶拉格廟，永學寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 522 IC: N/A
Gakhil süme ᠭᠠᠬᠢᠯ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1828	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟東烏珠穆沁旗道特淖尔鎮嘎黑拉區	嘎黑拉廟，教盛法輪寺，盛法寺，བསྟན་དར་ཚོགས་འཁོར་ཁྲིད།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 523 IC: N/A
Hayinggirua süme ᠬᠠᠶᠢᠩᠭᠢᠷᠤᠠ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1666	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟鑲黃旗新寶拉格旗	哈音海日瓦廟，馬王廟，廣益寺，大慈寺，དཀའ་ཛྲན་	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 524 IC: 276

					འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཐྲིན། IC: 普祥寺	
Mintöla gegen keid ᡨᡳᠨᡨᡝᠯᠠ ᡤᡝᡤᡝᠨ ᡴᡳᡩ	N/A	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟正藍旗五一牧場	明如拉葛根廟，明德廟	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 525 IC: N/A
Malurtu-yin süme ᡨᠠᡠᠯᡠᡵᡨᡠ ᠶᡳᠨ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	N/A	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟正藍旗上都鎮	瑪拉日圖廟，禧盛寺，དཀར་ཛའ་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཐྲིན།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 526 IC: N/A
Malagai-yin süme ᡨᠠᡠᠯᡤᠠᡳ ᠶᡳᠨ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	1724	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟太仆寺旗貢寶拉格蘇木	瑪拉蓋廟，咸安寺	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 527 IC: N/A
Shangda-yin süme ᡧᡠᠩᡩᠠ ᠶᡳᠨ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	N/A	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟正鑲白旗伊和淖尔蘇木善達區	善達廟	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 528 IC: N/A
Jigasutai süme ᡮᡳᡤᠠᠰᡠᡨᠠᡳ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	1736	N/A	N/A	錫林郭勒盟正藍旗扎嘎蘇台蘇木政府所在地	扎嘎蘇台廟，བདེ་ཆེན་ཆོས་འཁོར་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 2, pp. 529 IC: N/A
Baragun keid ᠪᠠᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡴᡳᡩ	1757	1500	115	阿拉善左旗賀蘭山南巴潤別立鎮境內	南寺，阿拉善南寺，廣宗寺，དགའ་ལྡན་བཤད་རྒྱས་གླིང་།, IC: 賀蘭山南寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 93 IC: 272
Yamun keid ᠶᠠᠮᡠᠨ ᡴᡳᡩ	1731	547	25	阿拉善左旗巴彥浩特鎮王府街北側	衙門廟，王爺廟，延福寺，དཀོ་རྒྱས་ཐྲིན།, IC: Yamun süme	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 116 IC: 272
Badai-yin jiran-u süme ᠪᠠᡩᠠᡳ ᠶᡳᠨ ᠵᡳᡵᠠᠨ ᡠ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	1755	160	2	阿拉善盟阿拉善右旗巴丹吉林沙漠腹地	巴丹吉林廟，དཀར་ཛའ་ཤེན་རབ་རྒྱས་ཐྲིན།,	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 152 IC: 272
Debseg-un süme ᡩᡝᠪᠰᡝᡤ ᡠᠨ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	1701	300	34	巴彥淖尔盟烏拉特前旗東北山脈中 20 公里處	點不斯格廟，壽華寺, IC: Debüsüi-yin süme	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 164 IC: 273
Agui-yin süme ᠠᡤᡠᡳ ᠶᡳᠨ ᠰᡠᠮᡝ	1803	400	27	巴彥淖尔盟磴口縣沙金套海蘇木境內	阿貴廟，宗乘寺，དཀ་བ་དང་རྒྱས་ཐྲིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 172 IC: N/A

Shaldab-un süme ᠱᠠᠯᠳᠠᠪ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1723	N/A	17	巴彦淖尔盟烏拉特後旗	善岱古廟，烏蓋廟，咸化寺，ཀྲུན་བདེ་ཐྲིན།，IC: Shangda-yin süme，成化寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 189 IC: 273
Jünggar juu ᠵᠦᠩᠭᠠᠷ ᠵᠤᠤ	1623	1000	30	鄂爾多斯市準格尔召蘇木	準格尔召，西召，寶堂寺，དགའ་ལྡན་བཤད་དར་ཆུས་ཐྲིན།，IC: 寶藏寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 219 IC: 273
Üüsin juu ᠦᠦᠰᠢᠨ ᠵᠤᠤ	1736-1740	3000	100	鄂爾多斯市烏審旗烏審召鎮	烏審召，甘珠爾廟，བཀའ་འགྱུར་ཆོས་བཀྲ་གསལ་ཐྲིན།，IC: Ganjuur nom-un süme	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 267 IC: 274
Khaligutu-yin süme ᠬᠠᠯᠢᠭᠤᠲᠤ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1671	200	18	鄂爾多斯市烏審旗巴音柴達木蘇木	海流圖廟，古神廟，དམ་ད་དར་ཆུས་ཐྲིན།，	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 292 IC: N/A
Tokhoi-yin juu ᠲᠤᠭᠬᠤᠢ ᠤᠨ ᠵᠤᠤ	1654	500	N/A	鄂爾多斯市伊金霍洛旗納林陶亥鎮新廟村	陶亥召，吉祥如意寺，新廟，拉西廟，བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་རྫོགས་ཐྲིན།，IC: Toqui-yin juu, Rasi pungsug ling	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 306 IC: 273
Töbed süme ᠲᠥᠪᠡᠳ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1920	N/A	15	鄂爾多斯市鄂前旗上海廟鎮特布德嘎查	特布德廟，吉祥大乘寺，བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཐེག་ཆེན་ཐྲིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 325 IC: N/A
Maidari juu ᠮᠠᠶᠢᠳᠠᠷᠢ ᠵᠤᠤ	1572	N/A	0	包頭市土默特右旗美岱召村	美岱召，靈覺寺，麥達力召，IC: Maidari-yin juu，壽靈寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 336 IC: 271

Badgar juu ᠪᠠᠳᠭᠠᠷ ᠵᠤᠤ	1749	1700	30	包頭市石拐區	五當召，廣覺寺，རྒྭ་ཚེན་དཀོན་ལྡན་ཆོས་གླིང་།, IC: Badgar coiling süme, Udan juu	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 374 IC: 274
Mergen süme ᠮᠡᠷᠭᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1677	500	5	包頭市昆都侖區西月三十五公里處	梅日更召，廣法寺，梵昌寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 424 IC: 274
Köndelen-yin süme ᠬᠥᠨᠳᠡᠯᠡᠨ ᠤ᠋ᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1729	1000	20	包頭市昆都侖區西北烏拉山南麓山下的昆都侖河右岸	昆都侖召，法禧寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 456 IC: 274
Batu khagalga süme ᠪᠠᠲᠤ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠯᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1702	1500	25	包頭市達尔罕茂明安聯合旗百靈廟鎮	百靈廟，廣福寺，བཻལ་ནས་འདབ་ལྡོན་ཁྲི་།, IC: Beile-yin süme	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 479 IC: 275
Siramören süme ᠰᠢᠷᠠᠮᠥᠷᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1769	300	N/A	包頭市達茂旗希拉慕仁鎮，陰山北麓，希拉木仁河畔	希拉木仁廟，席力圖希拉木仁召，普會寺，興源寺，ཀུན་མཐུན་ཁྲི་།, IC: 召河	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 509 IC: 272
Dara eke-yin süme ᠳᠠᠷᠠ ᠡᠭᠡ ᠤ᠋ᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1819	N/A	N/A	阿拉善左旗豪斯布尔都蘇木陶力嘎查	達力克廟，དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀུན་འཕྲུལ་ཁྲི་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 521 IC: N/A
Altan tebsi-yin süme ᠠᠯᠲᠠᠨ ᠲᠡᠪᠰᠢ ᠤ᠋ᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1938	N/A	N/A	阿拉善右旗朝格蘇木駐地南 15 公里的阿拉騰特布希山頂	阿拉騰特布西廟，特布西廟，ལྷ་རིན་ཀུན་དཀའ་ལྡན་ཆོས་ཁྲི་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 522 IC: N/A
Jegün keid ᠵᠡᠭᠦᠨ ᠬᠡᠶᠢᠳ	1799	N/A	N/A	阿拉善左旗	阿拉善北寺，北寺，དགེ་རྒྱུད་ཆོང་།, IC: 賀蘭山北寺	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 523 IC: 272

Kürmetu-yin süme ᠬᠦᠷᠮᠡᠲᠤ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1860	N/A	N/A	阿拉善右旗雅布賴蘇木境內	庫日木圖廟，阿貴廟，བཤད་སྒྲུབ་དྷུ་རྒྱས་ལྷིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 524 IC: N/A
Cogtu küriye süme ᠴᠣᠭᠲᠤ ᠬᠦᠷᠢᠶᠡ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1739	N/A	N/A	阿拉善右旗朝克圖呼熱蘇木駐地	朝克圖庫倫廟，昭化寺，ཞན་བདེ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 525 IC: 272
Tököm-u süme ᠲᠥᠬᠥᠮ ᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1756	N/A	N/A	阿拉善左旗圖庫木蘇木境內	圖庫木廟，妙華寺，ཟངས་འཕྲུང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཨོད་ཟེར་ལྷིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 526 IC: 272
Sharza-yin süme ᠱᠠᠷᠵᠠ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1797	N/A	N/A	阿拉善盟左旗烏力吉蘇木境內	沙日扎廟，བཤེས་ཤོར་ཆར་འདེབས་ལྷིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 527 IC: N/A
Sirga-yin süme ᠰᠢᠷᠭᠠ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1768	N/A	N/A	阿拉善右旗阿拉坦敖包蘇木境內	夏日格廟，ཞྭད་བསྐྱེན་ཆོས་འཁོར་ལྷིང་།，IC: 沙日格廟	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 528 IC: 273
Ulagan suburga-yin süme ᠤᠯᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠰᠤᠪᠤᠷᠭᠠ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	N/A	N/A	N/A	阿拉善左旗敖倫布拉格鎮境內	紅塔廟	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 529 IC: N/A
Khalkha süme ᠬᠠᠯᠬᠠ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1933	N/A	N/A	阿拉善盟額濟納旗達來呼布鎮蘇泊淖尔蘇木駐地	喀尔喀廟，བསྐལ་པ་དྲུ་རྒྱས་ལྷིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 530 IC: N/A
Ejene baragun süme ᠡᠵᠡᠨ ᠪᠠᠷᠭᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1751	N/A	N/A	阿拉善盟額濟納旗達來呼布鎮駐地	額濟納西廟，達西確靈廟，西廟，བཤེས་ཆོས་ཆོས་ལྷིང་།，IC: Ejin blama-yin küriye, Baragun küriye	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 531 IC: 273
Sine baragun süme ᠰᠢᠨᠡ ᠪᠠᠷᠭᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1882	N/A	N/A	阿拉善盟額濟納旗東風城寶日烏拉嘎查境內	額濟納新西廟，新西廟，བཟླ་ཤེས་ཆོས་ལྷིང་།，	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 532 IC: N/A

Düngsigur-un süme ᠳᠦᠩᠰᠢᠭᠤᠷ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1750	N/A	N/A	巴彦淖尔盟烏拉特後旗巴音寶力格鎮	東昇廟	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 533 IC: 274
Kharacilagu süme ᠬᠠᠷᠠᠴᠢᠯᠠᠭᠤ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	N/A	N/A	N/A	巴彦淖尔盟烏拉特後旗潮格溫都尔蘇木境內	哈日朝魯廟，IC: Qara cilagu süme	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 534 IC: 274
Otog juu ᠣᠲᠤᠭ ᠵᠤ	1798	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市鄂托克旗阿爾巴斯鎮腦高岱嘎查	鄂托克召，新召，བཀྲ་ཤིས་དལ་ལ་ལྷན་དུར་ཆུས་ཚྭོང་།，IC: Öljeitu süme，烏力圖吉廟	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 535 IC: 274
Zandan juu ᠵᠠᠨᠳᠠᠨ ᠵᠤ	1661-1722	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市達拉特旗展旦召鎮展旦召嘎查	展旦召，བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱན་ཆུལ་ཚོས་འཁོར་ཡོངས་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 536 IC: N/A
Köng-un juu ᠬᠥᠩ ᠤᠨ ᠵᠤ	1775	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市伊金霍洛旗公尼召蘇木喇嘛敖包嘎查	公尼召，綏福寺，བཀྲ་ཤིས་མེ་འཚུང་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 537 IC: N/A
Ulagan mören süme ᠤᠯᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠮᠥᠷᠡᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1796	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市伊金霍洛旗烏蘭木倫鎮	烏蘭木倫廟，吉祥芒果寺，ཤྭན་ཚོགས་རབ་ཆེན་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 538 IC: N/A
Agula-yin süme ᠠᠭᠤᠯᠠ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1736-1744	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市伊金霍洛旗札薩克鎮孟克慶嘎查	烏拉廟，吉祥福慧寺，བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསོད་ནམས་དང་ཆུས་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 539 IC: N/A
Kharaganatu-yin süme ᠬᠠᠷᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠲᠤ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1652	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市鄂托克前旗查幹陶勒蓋蘇木哈日根圖嘎查	哈日根圖廟，巴吉廟，吉祥大乘寺，བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཐེག་ཆེན་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 540 IC: N/A
Arlai-yin süme ᠠᠷᠯᠠᠢ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1889	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市鄂托克前旗昂素鎮阿日賴嘎查	阿日賴廟，བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཐེག་ཆེན་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 541 IC: N/A
Shükhürhei-yin süme ᠱᠦᠬᠦᠷᠬᠡᠢ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1907	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市鄂托克前旗蘇米圖鎮蘇里格嘎查	蘇里格廟，吉祥賢德寺，བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 542 IC: 274？
Sira juu ᠰᠢᠷᠠ ᠵᠤ	1679	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市杭錦旗獨貴塔拉鎮沙日召嘎查	沙日廟，廣慧寺，ཤེས་རབ་འཕེལ་བ་ཡིན།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 543 IC: N/A

Siratemegetu-yin süme ᠰᠢᠷᠠᠲᠡᠮᠡᠭᠡᠲᠦ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1862	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市杭錦旗伊和烏蘇蘇木寶日胡術嘎查	沙日特莫圖廟，菩提濟度寺，རྣམ་ཐོལ་བྱང་ཆུབ་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 544 IC: N/A
Khabirga-yin süme ᠬᠠᠪᠢᠷᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠤᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1820-1850	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市杭錦旗阿日斯楞圖蘇木巴音寶力格嘎查	哈畢日格廟，修心寺，བཀའ་སྒྲུབ་བསམ་གཏན་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 545 IC: N/A
Cagan süme ᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠰᠦᠮᠡ	1725	N/A	N/A	鄂爾多斯市烏審旗烏審召鎮查幹廟嘎查	查幹廟，དཀྱི་ཤིས་དབལ་ལྡན་གླིང་།	Zhang, Vol. 1, pp. 546 IC: N/A