

How Legends Developed about the First Jebtsundamba: In Reference to the Khalkha Mongol Submission to the Manchus in the Seventeenth Century¹⁾

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0. Introduction

In 1979 the present author published "Jūshichi seiki Shinchō kizoku ji no Haruha Mongoru 十七世紀清朝歸屬時のハルハ・モンゴル (The Khalkha Mongols at the time of their submission to the Ch'ing Dynasty in the seventeenth century)", a maiden article based on her graduation thesis at Kyoto University and master's thesis at Osaka University, in which she pointed out grave errors in the then commonly-accepted view of history.

That common view had it that, when Mongolia was invaded by the Oyrat army of Galdan Boshoghtu Khan the Dzungar chief in 1688, the Khalkha Mongol princes gathered in a great assembly, at which they debated whether to go over to the Russians or to the Manchus for protection, and were persuaded by their grand lama Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, who favored going to the latter on the grounds that, while the Russians were non-Buddhists and of different customs, the Manchus professed Buddhism and were thus more trustworthy. As far as we can see in such primary sources as *The Ch'ing Veritable Records* 清實錄 and *Beye dailame wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe* / *Ch'in-cheng p'ing-ting shuo-mo fang-lieh* 親征平定朔漠方略, however, Galdan's invasion was so swift that the Khalkhas had no time for convening an assembly of princes, only to be cut up by the numerically-superior enemy and routed in utter confusion seeking protection under the Manchus. It was only after the fugitive Khalkha princes had in 1691 pledged allegiance to Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙 of the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty at Doloon Nuur in Inner Mongolia, their place of refuge, that Jebtsundamba Khutughtu was installed by the Manchu emperor as the supreme grand lama over the Khalkhas.

By the time of the present author's publication of the article above, there had existed practically not a single specialized study, general histories aside, in

Khalkha Mongol history of the Ch'ing times. The general histories, too, were not much above discussing the distribution of Mongol pastures going as far back as the seventeenth century only on the basis of such mid-nineteenth-century Chinese sources as *Sheng-wu chi* 聖武記 (1842) and *Meng-ku you-mu-chi* 蒙古游牧記 (1859), or projecting back onto the time of the Khalkha submission to the Manchus in the seventeenth century the situation existing in 'Outer Mongolia' in the Republican period following their 1911 declaration of independence from the Ch'ing and election of the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutughtu as khan.

In her article the present author conclusively established that legends about the First Jebtsundamba were later inventions, and that the Khalkha Mongols had originally been organized in two wings, Left and Right, previous to Galdan's invasion, to be divided into three khanates (later four aimags) only after their 1691 submission to the Manchus.

Since the publication of that article Japanese studies in Khalkha Mongol history of the Ch'ing times have improved by leaps and bounds both in quality and quantity. Morikawa Tetsuo 森川哲雄, Futaki Hiroshi 二本博史, Oka Hiroki 岡 洋樹, Yanagisawa Akira 柳澤 明, and Hagiwara Mamoru 萩原 守 have published their studies, while Shimada Masao 島田正郎 has brought out his multivolume work on Mongol laws.²⁾ Also Russo-Manchu relations of that time are now treated in Yoshida Kin'ichi's 吉田金一 work.³⁾ It is to the present author's great satisfaction that some of them have come up with clear answers to a number of questions left by her for further study.

The Khalkha Mongols were the former selves of the present-day Mongolian nationals, whose state used to be called the Mongolian People's Republic from 1924 to 1992. From 1911 on the eve of the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty to 1924, with a short intermission, the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, commonly known as Boghda Gegen, was head of the Khalkha Mongol state. It is not an overstatement that study of the Jebtsundamba Khutughtus, reincarnating from the First to the Eighth, and Khalkha history of the Ch'ing times, both being the very basis of national identity, are now the most important subjects to the Mongolian people of today, who have given up socialism and are in search of their own history.

The present article discusses in what process legends took shape about the First Jebtsundamba, a question to which only a conjectural answer could be given in the earlier article, this time utilizing the results of Japanese studies of Khalkha history that came out since the publication of the latter. Progress has been made possible to a great extent owing to the new accessibility of Jebtsundamba biography in several different versions published in 1981-1982 in the *Śata-piṭaka* series. Heartfelt thanks are due, in this connection, to Dr. Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口 瑞鳳, who taught the present author how to read Tibetan historical texts for three years and moreover introduced her to important passages in such difficult hagiographies as *The Biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*.

1. Origin of the Khalkha Mongols

Early in the sixteenth century the Mongols regained their unity under Batu Möngke Dayan Khan, a Chinggisid, who reorganized pro-Yüan Mongol groups into six myriarchies, or *tümen*. A myriarchy originally used to be an organizational unit of nomads capable of delivering ten-thousand soldiers, but the appellation was in those days applied to a higher-ranked group under which many groups of nomads were gathered. The six myriarchies were: the Chakhar, the Khalkha and the Uriyangkhan belonging to the Left Wing, and the Ordos, the Tümed and the Yöngshiyebü belonging to the Right Wing. The Khalkha myriarchy of the Left Wing, from which the present-day Mongolian nationals have descended, owed its name to a river flowing in the Khölön Buyir region, and was a latter-day form of the Five Appanages (*wu t'ou-hsia* 五投下) commanded by the Jalayir Kuo-wang 國王 in the imperial period.⁴⁾

The Uriyangkhan myriarchy revolted against the grand khan after the death of Dayan Khan, to be disbanded and absorbed in part by the Khalkha myriarchy in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁾ The tribal name Uriyangkhan had been known since the earliest times, and the myriarchy seems to have originated in the Uriyangkhan chiliarchy that guarded the tomb of Chinggis Khan in the Kentei Mountains. The old pastures of the Uriyangkhan myriarchy in the north of the Gobi Desert were taken over by the Khalkha myriarchy, which moved in from the east and spread itself over them in the mid-sixteenth century. The Uriyangkhans, now a subgroup of the Khalkha myriarchy, eventually settled in present-day Tuva, giving rise to the name Tangnu Uriyangkhai 唐努烏梁海, or the Uriyangkhans of the Tangnu Mountains, for its inhabitants in the Ch'ing times. → 91

Each of the seven sons of Dayan Khan born to Mandukhui Khatun married into an outstanding tribe in his myriarchal fief, of which he became head. Geresenje, Dayan Khan's youngest son, married into the Khalkha myriarchy and was called Jalayir-un Khong Tayiji. His two wives were from the tribes Öjiiyed and Uriyangkhan. As Geresenje had seven sons himself, their fiefs to the north of the Gobi came to be collectively known as the Seven-Banner Khalkha, in distinction from the Five-Camp Khalkha, who stayed behind to the south of the Gobi and survived in part into the Ch'ing times as the Bagharin and the Jarud. The Seven-Banner Khalkha, its name notwithstanding, comprised thirteen camps or *otoghs*. Moreover, the Khalkhas were at no time administratively organized in seven banners, for only Geresenje's six sons out of the seven had had offspring.⁶⁾

Geresenje's sons divided the camps among themselves when they inherited them. Their respective sons did the same in turn. Thus there came to be many Chinggisid lords, or *noyans*, who were descendants of Dayan Khan, in the Khalkha in the early seventeenth century. Each of the Khalkha lords belonged to either the Left or the Right Wing and obeyed the orders of its leader. The direct descendants of Geresenje's eldest son bore the title Jasaghtu Khan, or a reigning

khan, and were leaders of the Khalkha Right-Wing. The descendants of Geresenje's third son bore the title Tüshiyetü Khan, or an associate khan, and were leaders of the Left Wing.⁷⁾

The Khalkhas north of the Gobi were of the same blood as the Mongol tribesmen south of the Gobi, whose lords were of the same Chinggisid family. When in 1636 the Mongols south of the Gobi became vassals to the Manchu Latter Chin 後金 Kingdom, which adopted the dynastic style Ta Ch'ing 大清 in the same year, the Khalkha lords left behind to the north of the Gobi were shaken. While those in the Left Wing in charge of the east sent embassies to the Manchus to profess friendship, those in the Right Wing in charge of the west followed their leader Jasaghtu Khan in entering into an alliance in 1640 with their longtime enemies, the chiefs of the Oyirad tribes to their west.

The *Mongol-Oyirad Code* of 1640, drawn up on the occasion, was both a treaty of alliance between the Khalkha and the Oyirad and at the same time a collection of legal guidelines for settling intergroup disputes that would take place within the allies, each of which was a federation of independent nomadic groups or tribes, each governed by a chief with immunity. It provided that spoils in people and livestock and fugitives be returned to their original owners.⁸⁾ The alliance was further strengthened by multiple exchanges of marital ties between the princely houses of the Khalkha and the Oyirad.

2. Puzzles about the title Jebtsundamba

2.1 The reincarnation of Tāranātha

The First Jebtsundamba Khutughtu was born a second son of Gömbü Tüshiyetü Khan of the Khalkha Left Wing in 1635 in the middle of the situation just described. After his death in 1723, his rebirth, the Second Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, too was born a grandson of Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan, who was an elder brother of the first reincarnation.

Apart from the formal title derived from Tibetan *rje btsun dam pa*,⁹⁾ his later reincarnations were commonly referred to by the Mongols as *Boghda Gegen*, or 'His Holiness'. The first reincarnation alone was called *Öndör Gegen*, or 'His Tallness', on account of his remarkable height. In Tibetan *rje btsun* means 'reverend sir', and *dam pa* 'noble one'. *Khutughtu* is a Mongolian term of respect originally meaning 'a blessed one', which later came to be applied to a monk of high virtue who would continuously redeem sentient beings by returning to this world life after life, and be finally adopted by the Ch'ing imperial court as an official title. *Khubilghan* is a Mongolian translation of Tibetan *sprul sku* or 'an incarnation'. *Rin po che*, a Tibetan term of respect for an incarnate lama meaning 'a jewel', is translated into Mongolian as *erdeni*. All those three terms, *khutughtu*, *khubilghan* and *erdeni*, are usually rendered by the Chinese *huo fo* 活佛, or 'a living Buddha', which is nothing but a gross mistranslation, for it is only a Bodhisattva that will return to this world life after life in order to save sentient beings, while a

Buddha, who has entered into nirvāṇa and thus gone out of the cycle of rebirths, will never again be born into this world.

Abadai, great-grandfather of the First Jebtsundamba, was the eldest son of Noghonokhu, third son of Geresenje, founder of all the Khalkha princely houses. Abadai's grandson was Gömbü, whose son was the First Jebtsundamba. Abadai is well-known as the first introducer of Tibetan Buddhism into the Khalkha and founder of the Erdeni Juu monastery in the summer of 1585 at the ruined city of Qara Qorum. In 1586 he personally paid a visit to the Third Dalai Lama who was then making a preaching tour in the Tümed tribe south of the Gobi, and received from the latter the title Vachir Khan, or *rdo rje rgyal po* in Tibetan. It was the very first khanship among the lords of the Khalkha tribe.¹⁰⁾ → ?!

Of the biographies of the First Jebtsundamba, which at least three are known to exist, the oldest was written in Tibetan by his disciple Dzaya Paṇḍita Blo-bzang-'phrin-las in the master's lifetime early in the eighteenth century. The author was born in 1642 in the Khangai Mountains and received from his master the title Noyan Khutughtu. He travelled to Tibet at the age of nineteen, spent the next eighteen years in studies there, and received from the Fifth Dalai Lama the title Dzaya Paṇḍita, or 'a victorious scholar'. After returning to the Khalkha he founded a mobile monastery in the Khangai, which became famous later as the *Zaya-yin küriye*. The latest date found in the text of his Jebtsundamba biography is 1702, which seems to indicate that the author died earlier than the death of his master in 1723.¹¹⁾

Blo-bzang-'phrin-las begins his biography of the First Jebtsundamba with a genealogical account of how many generations had transpired between Chinggis Khan and his hero. Not only on the paternal side but also on the maternal, the First Jebtsundamba was a Chinggisid, as his mother Mkha-'gro-rgya-mtsho, or Khandujamtsu in Mongolian, was a daughter of a daughter of a younger brother of Abadai. According to our biographer the start of his hero's religious life was as follows:

At the age of four (1638), the First Jebtsundamba became a pious layman (*dge bsnyen*, *upāsaka*) under Byams-pa-gling No-mon Khang. At the age of five (1639), he was for the first time enthroned, and received the consecration of a monk (*rab byung*, *pravrajita*) from the rebirth of Mkhas-grub Sangs-rgyas-yeshes, Dben-sa Incarnation (Blo-bzang-bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho), together with the name Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan (Lobsangdambijaltsan in Mongolian).¹²⁾

Our author then continues:

Thereafter he was recognized as a reincarnation of Rje-btsun-dam-pa upon inquiring Their Holinesses the Victorious Master and Disciple (the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama).

Rje-btsun-dam-pa, here referred to as the former birth of the First Jebtsundamba of the Khalkha, is Rje-btsun Tāranātha Kun-dga'-snying-po, author of the famous *History of Indian Buddhism* (*Rgya gar chos 'byung*). Tāranātha, always called the Reverend Sir (*rje btsun*), was born in 1575 on the border between Dbus (Central Tibet) and Gtsang (Western Tibet) and grew up to be a monk of high virtue in the Jo-nang Sect, a subsect of the Sa-skya Sect. He is famous in the history of Tibetan Buddhism for the many outstanding works written by him, and known to have founded in 1615 the Rtag-brtan-phun-tshogs-gling monastery in Gtsang.¹³⁾ Date of his death is unknown.

The Jo-nang Sect, Tāranātha in particular, had close ties with the Bka'-brgyud Sect.¹⁴⁾ The Karma Sect, the most-hated enemy to the Dge-lugs Sect of the Fifth Dalai Lama, was a part of the Bka'-brgyud Sect. Why did the Dalai Lama recognize the young son of a powerful Khalkha chief as the reincarnation of a leading monk in his enemy sect, the Jo-nang? This has long been the biggest of puzzles about the Jebtsundamba. To state the conclusion first, the Jebtsundamba never received his title from the Fifth Dalai Lama. We shall see why in the following.

2.2 Relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba

Let us return to the biography by Blo-bzang-'phrin-las. According to him, the First Jebtsundamba travelled to Tibet in 1649 at the age of fifteen. He made a pilgrimage to such famous monasteries as Sku-'bum, Bya-khyung-dgon, Byang-ra-sgreng, Rin-chen-brag, Thang-sag-dga'-ldan-chos-'khor, Stag-lung, Se-ra and Dga'-ldan, and received the consecration of a novice (*dge tshul*, *śramaṇera*, 沙彌) from the Panchen Lama himself at Bkra-shis-lhun-po. On the twenty-fifth day of the fourth lunar month, 1651, he for the first time met the Fifth Dalai Lama. That date is followed by a lengthy account of what Buddhist teachings the hero received from the Dalai Lama. Then it is said that eventually the Panchen Lama confirmed the visitor to be a reincarnation of Tāranātha.¹⁵⁾

Strangely enough, the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama makes no mention of the Jebtsundamba's visit on that date. It instead gives a rather brusque statement under the date the twelfth Tibetan month, 1650:

'Jam-dbyangs-sprul-sku, son of Thu-shi-ye-thu rgyal-po of the Khal-kha, Do-go-long tshe-ring from the O-rod, and many other travellers (*grul pa*) arrived.¹⁶⁾

Similarly, the autobiography of the First Panchen Lama simply says under the date the third Tibetan month, 1651:

'Jam-dbyangs-sprul-pa'i-sku and the disciples, Thu-shai-thu and the sons, and many other clerical and lay travellers arrived from the Khal-kha.¹⁷⁾

But the Panchen Lama does not say anything about either recognizing the visitor as a reincarnation of Tāranātha or bestowing a title on the latter.

'Jam-dbyang-sprul[-pa'i]-sku, the title applied to the First Jebtsundamba by both the Fifth Dalai Lama and the First Panchen Lama in their autobiographies, means 'an incarnation of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī'. This manner of reference indicates that the First Jebtsundamba had already been recognized as a reincarnation by the time he embarked on his Tibetan pilgrimage, and that the recognition was not given him by either the Dalai or the Panchen.

As pointed out earlier by the present author, *The Ch'ing Veritable Records* of Emperor Shun-chih 大清世祖章皇帝實錄 report under the date the day of *chi you* 己酉, the fifth lunar month, the fourth year of Shun-chih 順治 (1647), or two years previous to the First Jebtsundamba's pilgrimage to Tibet:

Ombu Erdeni 俄木布額爾德尼 under Jasaktu Han 札薩克圖汗 of the Kalka 喀爾喀, Danjin Hütuktu 丹津胡土克圖 under Nomun Han 諾門汗, Jebdzundamba Hütuktu 澤卜尊丹巴胡土克圖 under Tusiyeu Han 土謝圖汗 and others presented the throne with their local products. They were given banquets and gifts according to the precedents.

This contemporary report establishes beyond any doubt that the Jebtsundamba Khutughtu had had his title even before he embarked on his Tibetan journey.

Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, the first biographer and personal disciple of the First Jebtsundamba, who knew the fact that his master had been recognized as a reincarnation of Rje-btsun Tāranātha previous to the meeting with the Dalai and the Panchen in Tibet, inserted the ambiguous passage without a chronological date, "Thereafter he was recognized as a reincarnation of Rje-btsun-dam-pa upon inquiring Their Holinesses the Victorious Master and Disciple", directly after his hero's consecration as a monk at the age of five.

Such reservation is no longer found in Jebtsundamba biographies written still later. The anonymous Jebtsundamba biography written in Mongolian in 1859, well-known owing to C. R. Bawden's modern edition in romanized transcription of the original text and English translation, tells the lives of the first through seventh reincarnations, but gives only the dates of birth and enthronement for the fourth through seventh. According to this text, the First Jebtsundamba visited Tibet in 1649, received the consecration of a novice (*gečül*) from the Panchen Lama in 1650, and heard the empowerment of Vajrapāṇi (*vačir erke*) from the Dalai Lama, who granted him the title Jebtsundamba Lama and the use of a yellow parasol.¹⁸⁾

A. M. Pozdnev, who himself made a field survey in Mongolia in 1892, seems to have collected many written materials and oral traditions there. He reports on the First Jebtsundamba thus:

In the fall of the sixth year of the reign of Shun Chih, in the Yellow Ox year (1649), the Gegen left for Tibet. His caravan wintered, according to custom, in Kumbum, and in the spring of the following year (1650) it arrived in the land of the Eternal Dzuu. The first visit made by the Gegen was to Dashi-lhumbo, to visit the renowned superior of that monastery, Lubsang-choiji-jaltsan, who was subsequently proclaimed the first Panchen-erdeni by Navan. The Gegen presented this Lubsang-choiji-jaltsan with a large number of gifts, received the vows of getsül from him, and listened to several precepts combined with the ordinations, the most important of which was the Yamantakain-wang. From here, the Khalkha Gegen set out for the Potala to see the Dalai Lama, Navan-lobsang-jamtso; the latter, having received still more gifts, taught the Vajra dhara erkein-wang to the Gegen and then began to expound to him a great number of profound theories of various sorts. Occupied in such a manner, the Gegen spent more than a half a year in Potala, and it is not in any way surprising if it occurred to the Dalai Lama during that time to take advantage of his personality for the sake of his own advancement. Navan undoubtedly saw the young Khalkha lama as his obedient disciple and decided to proclaim him a khubilgan of Taranātha.¹⁹⁾

Actually the situation surrounding the First Jebtsundamba's visit to Tibet was an extremely tense one. In 1642 Güüshi Khan of the Oyirad was called in by the Dge-lugs Sect and conquered entire Tibet. Thereafter, under his protection, the Fifth Dalai Lama started a thorough persecution of his rival sects. Along with his archenemy the Karma Sect, the Jo-nang Sect too was severely suppressed. The latter was subsequently banned outright in 1650, and its main monastery, Rtag-brtan-phun-tshogs-gling, was converted into a Dge-lugs establishment, to be renamed Dga'-ldan-phun-tshogs-gling in 1658.²⁰⁾

Dr. Yamaguchi Zuihō's recent studies have brought to light the truth that the Fifth Dalai Lama, however, did not win the position of the supreme clerical and lay leader of entire Tibet in 1642, as we have hitherto been led to believe by his own propaganda. It was actually Güüshi Khan of the Oyirad who ascended the throne of King of Tibet, while Regent (*sde srid*) Bsod-nams-rab-brtan, appointed by the khan, took charge of the lay government of Tibet. The Fifth Dalai Lama was then elected no more than head of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy. The Dalai Lama, who was skilled in political maneuvers, took advantage of the deaths of Güüshi Khan in the twelfth month of 1654 and of the regent in 1658 and grabbed the supreme power in Tibet by cleverly meddling in their succession. Then he either rewrote or destroyed earlier literature detrimental to his interests.²¹⁾

It was exactly in the year 1650, when the First Jebtsundamba entered Tibet, that the Jo-nang Sect, to which his former incarnation Tāranātha had belonged, was banned, and that the Rtag-brtan-phun-tshogs-gling monastery, founded by the latter, was turned into a Dge-lugs possession. More details lack in extant Tibetan sources, for they have come down to us censored by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The First Jebtsundamba, who left the Khalkha in 1649 and may have wintered at the Sku-'bum monastery in Kokonor as reported by Pozdneyev, must have arrived in Tibet not later than the spring of 1650. Where in Tibet did he sojourn after his arrival in spring and before his meeting with the Dalai Lama at the end of the same year? The truth is that he was on a pilgrimage to the monasteries founded by his former incarnation.

The aforementioned Mongolian biography written in 1859 says that the First Jebtsundamba, after he was given the use of his title by the Dalai Lama in 1650, heard from the Panchen Lama the empowerment of Yamāntaka and the initiation and instruction in doctrines of many kinds. Then it says:

Further, he established ceremonial teas (*mangja*, *mang ja*) and offered offerings (*jed*, *'gyed*) in the temples and monasteries, and from the monasteries and temples which he had built in his previous incarnations he had fetched an *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (*ḡaddamba*, *brgyad stong pa*) written in gold on leaves of the sandal-tree and concealed in the treasury, Maitreya (*mayidar*), Lokeśvara (*logasiri*), Tārā (*dara eke*) and other innumerable most blessed Buddha-images and scriptures.²²⁾

Such a passage does not occur in Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, who only makes the vague reference, quoted earlier, to inquiring the Dalai and the Panchen about whose reincarnation his master might be, somewhere in the decade after the vows taken at the age of five and before the visit to Tibet. The author, who was a Dge-lugs sectarian, must have not had freedom to record things having to do with the banned Jo-nang Sect.

It is to be noted that Erdeni Juu, the first Buddhist monastery founded in the Khalkha by Abadai, great-grandfather of the First Jebtsundamba, had been consecrated by a monk of the Sa-skye Sect, and that the sect had been predominant in the Khalkha ever since. Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, too, judged from his title, could by no means have originally belonged the Dge-lugs Sect.

Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, author of the first biography of the First Jebtsundamba, studied in Tibet for eighteen years from 1660 on, in a period after the Fifth Dalai Lama had established his sovereignty there, receiving his title from the latter in person. Himself high in the Dge-lugs clergy, he had to write the biography from the standpoint of his sect. Beyond such personal reasons, however, by the time of his authorship in the early eighteenth century even the Manchu Ch'ing emperor had accepted the Dge-lugs Sect as the dominant power in Tibet and the orthodoxy in Buddhism. Under such circumstances the First Jebtsundamba, for the sake of an official recognition of his position as the supreme hierarch of the entire Khalkha, just had to have received his title from both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama of the Dge-lugs Sect.

Did the First Jebtsundamba actually convert himself to the Dge-lugs Sect on his meeting with the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1650, just when his own Jo-nang Sect was

being banned? We find it very much doubtful considering the circumstances to be discussed in the following chapter, namely the enmity between the Khalkha Left Wing and the Oyirad and the hostile attitude shown him by Galdan Khan of the Oyirad.

3. The Khalkhas from their civil war to submission to the Ch'ing Empire

3.1 Enmity between the Left and Right Wings of the Khalkha

In 1662 an internal strife broke out in the Khalkha Right Wing. Erinchin Lobsang Tayiji, a powerful lord in the wing, attacked and killed Vangchugh Jasaghtu Khan, his kinsman and overlord. Thereupon other lords of the Right Wing, with reinforcements from Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan of the Left Wing, jointly attacked Erinchin, who fled away from his base on Lake Ubsa into Tuva in the north. In the course of this disturbance many of the subjects of Jasaghtu Khan sought refuge under Tüshiyetü Khan. The Manchus learned through the lords of the Khalkha Left Wing that Erinchin had escaped into the Oyirad at that time. Erinchin's grandfather Sholoi Ubashi Khong Tayiji had acted as the vanguard of the Khalkhas in governing the Oyirad tribes and been referred to as Altyn-tsar', or Altan Khan, in Russian documents. Sholoi had been defeated and killed by the allied forces of the Four Oyirad in 1623, but even thereafter his son Ombu Erdeni and grandson Erinchin had kept as their subjects the inhabitants of Tuva, old home of the Oyirad.

The situation, however, was already different after the treaty of alliance of 1640. Erinchin was attacked by both Tüshiyetü Khan of the Khalkha Left Wing and Sengge, chief of the Dzungar tribe of the Oyirad, and was taken prisoner, together with his wives, children and sisters, by the latter in 1667.²³⁾

Sengge was eventually assassinated by his half brothers in 1670 and avenged by his full brother Galdan, who had renounced the vows of a Tibetan Buddhist monk, killed the fratricides and became chief of his tribe in 1671. Galdan had been born in 1644 between Batur Khong Tayiji of the Dzungar and a daughter of Güüshi Khan of the Khoshud enthroned as King of Tibet, and recognized as a reincarnation of Dben-sa-sprul-sku, a monk of high virtue who had died in the preceding year.²⁴⁾ This Dben-sa-sprul-sku is nobody other than the master who officiated at the First Jebtsundamba's taking of monastic vows at the age of five. Thus to Galdan the Jebtsundamba was no less than a disciple of his own former incarnation. In addition he had studied in Tibet for ten years starting in 1655, during which he had been a personal disciple of the Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁵⁾

Galdan assumed the title khong tayiji of his father in 1671 with permission of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and took prisoner his grandfather-in-law Ochirtu Khan of the Khoshud in 1676, thus winning the position of supreme leader of the Oyirad tribal federation. In 1678 the Fifth Dalai Lama bestowed on him the title Bstan-'dzin Boshoghtu Khan, or the Holder of Religion and Mandated King. Galdan Khan, in 1682, in compliance with the treaty of alliance, returned the

person of Erinchin to Chenggün Jasaghtu Khan, successor to the slain elder brother Vangchugh.²⁶⁾

In the same 1682 Jasaghtu Khan requested Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan of the Khalkha Left Wing for return of his former subjects, who had been detained by the latter since the time of the internal strife of 1662. The request was ignored by Tüshiyetü Khan, giving rise to a discord growing worse and worse.

At that time the Ch'ing dynasty had just managed to put down the Rebellion of Three Feudatories 三藩 in 1681 and was getting ready to deal in earnest with the Russian advances in the north. Emperor K'ang-hsi could not afford to be unconcerned about the troubles among the Khalkhas because they were his friends and allies whose land was in the buffer zone between his empire and the Russians. To mediate the quarrel between the two khans, the emperor in 1686 dispatched Minister Arani of the Court of Colonial Affairs 理藩院尚書阿喇尼 along with the abbot of the Dga'-ldan monastery, sent by the Dalai Lama as his representative, to Kūriyen Belchir in the Khalkha land, where they brought the khans together in a meeting of reconciliation.²⁷⁾ Tüshiyetü Khan, however, did not keep his promise at the assembly, returning as he did only half of the old subjects of Jasaghtu Khan. Galdan the Dzungar chief also was angry at and accused the Jebtsundamba of offending the authority of the Dalai Lama by seating himself at the same height as the representative of the Dalai Lama and generally acting as an equal to the latter at the assembly. Thus the quarrel between the two wings of the Khalkha developed into one between the Khalkha Left Wing and the Dzungar.

3.2 Galdan's invasion and the Khalkha submission to the Ch'ing Empire

In the autumn of 1687, Shara, son of Chenggün Jasaghtu Khan of the Khalkha Right Wing who had died directly before the assembly of the preceding year, set out with a few lords for the Dzungar seeking help from Galdan. Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan of the Left Wing pursued them and killed Shara on his way. The khan also went after and killed Dorjijab, younger brother of Galdan who had looted people and livestock of the Khalkha Right Wing. That was the last straw. In the spring of 1688, Galdan Boshoghtu Khan, chief of the Dzungar tribe, commanding thirty-thousand Oyirad troops, marched into the western Khalkha land over the Khangai Mountains.

Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan, supreme leader of the Khalkha Left Wing, intercepted the enemy at a place called Temür but suffered a crushing defeat and fled to the Ongin. Galdan divided his army into two detachments, himself leading one across the Tuula and into the pastures of Chechen Khan on the Kerülen, while sending the other to Erdeni Juu on the Orkhon to attack Jebtsundamba Khutughtu. Jebtsundamba fled south with the wives and children of his elder brother Tüshiyetü Khan, until he reached the border of the Sönid tribe south of the Gobi and sought protection of Emperor K'ang-hsi on the second day of the seventh lunar month.²⁸⁾

In the autumn of the same year Galdan returned from the Kerülen and looted along the Tuula. In the meanwhile Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan gathered together all of his men on Lake Ologhoi Nuur, where a decisive battle was fought between the Oyirad and Khalkha armies on the third and fourth days of the eighth lunar month. Three days into the battle the Khalkhas were routed, and Tüshiyetü Khan had to cross the Gobi in his flight to join Jebtsundamba at the Sönid.²⁹⁾

The multitude of the Khalkha also fled south in a stampede, leaving their home north of the Gobi completely in Galdan's hands. The Manchu emperor tried to relieve the plight of the Khalkha refugees, numbering in hundreds of thousands, by allocating them pastures with livestock to herd inside the border and transporting grains in from China.

Late in the summer of 1690 Galdan, with his twenty-thousand troops, marched south from the Kerülen. In the eighth lunar month, his army confronted the Manchus at Ulan Butung 300 kilometers north of Peking. As terms of peace Galdan demanded that the persons of Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü Khan and Jebtsundamba be handed over to him. They were rejected by Prince Fuciowan 裕親王福全, elder brother of the emperor and commander-in-chief of the Manchu army. Then Rje-drung Khutughtu, a high-ranked monk and representative of Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho of the Fifth Dalai Lama, came from Galdan with the reduced terms of sending Jebtsundamba alone to the Dalai Lama in Lhasa.³⁰⁾ Those circumstances make clear that, not only Galdan, but also the Dge-lugs Sect still regarded Jebtsundamba as its enemy at that point in time.

Galdan turned back and left for the north of the Gobi before the arrival of Manchu reinforcements. Thus saved of their lives, Tüshiyetü Khan and Jebtsundamba, in the fifth lunar month of 1691, pledged their allegiance to Emperor K'ang-hsi at Doloon Nuur, where their ancestor Khubilai Khan had once founded the city of Shangdu 上都. At the assembly they were joined by Chechen Khan of the Khalkha Left Wing and Tsewangjab, younger brother of the slain Shara Jasaghtu Khan, of the Right Wing.³¹⁾ This was how the Khalkha tribesmen north of the Gobi, the so-called Outer Mongolian Khalkhas, came to be vassals of the Manchu emperor more than half a century later than their brethren south of the Gobi did.

There were those Khalkha lords who went over to the Russians, as it was about the time of the Treaty of Nerchinsk being concluded between the Manchus and the Russians. Most of the twenty-odd Khalkha lords who had pledged allegiance to Russia by the spring of 1689 were those from the Tüshiyetü Khanate of the Left Wing who had been cut off in the north from their kinsmen. From the Right Wing only Gendün Dayiching, cousin of Erinchin Lobsang Tayiji responsible for the internal strife in the Khalkha, and his two sons pledged allegiance to the Russians. Gendün's tribe, to be known as the Khotoghoyid in the Ch'ing times, had its pastures next to Siberia, and his family had had relations with the Russians ever since early in the seventeenth century. Such being the case,

it was not at all surprising that he then went over to the Russians. Still most of the Khalkha lords who had signed on in the treaty of allegiance to Russia turned their backs to the latter in the second half of 1689, a few including Gendün going over to Galdan. After the assembly at Doloon Nuur in 1691, more and more of them came over to the Manchus, until Gendün Dayiching himself paid a visit to the imperial court in 1694. In the end almost all of the Khalkha lords, who had once pledged allegiance to the Russians, came over to the Manchus.³²⁾

4. How legends developed about the First Jebtsundamba

4.1 The three Jebtsundamba biographies compared

It is now very clear that a great assembly of Khalkha princes could not have been held at the time of Galdan's invasion, at which Jebtsundamba Khutughtu allegedly decided for them to seek protection of the Manchu emperor. Still there must have been a reason why such a tale was invented in the Khalkha in the Ch'ing times. Let us conclude the present article by outlining when and how the legend evolved.

As pointed out already in the present author's article of 1979, the ultimate source of the legend of the great assembly of the Khalkha princes, which became popular quoted in Chang Mu's 張穆 *Meng-ku you-mu-chi* 蒙古游牧記, is found in a note in Sungyün's 松筠 *Sui-fu-chi-lüeh t'u-shih* 綏服記略圖詩, author's preface dated 1796. The text runs:

Earlier the Jun Gar Ölet 準噶爾厄魯特 were most overbearing and engaged in hostility and killings with the Kalka 喀爾喀 without stopping. In the twenty-seventh year of K'ang-hsi (1688) the Kalka were enfeebled and no longer able to resist the enemy. They discussed the matter and thought that it was expedient to go over to the Oros 俄羅斯 who were close by, and requested Jebdzundamba Hütuktu 哲布尊丹巴胡土克圖 to make a decision for them. At that time the Hütuktu said: 'We have enjoyed the benevolence of the Imperial Court in the greatest manner. Suppose we go over to the Oros seeking refuge from the war. But the Oros in the first place do not believe in Buddha, and their customs are not like ours, being different of speech and different of dress. It will certainly not be a strategy for an everlasting peace. Rather we should move inside bringing the whole tribes along and surrender ourselves to the Great Emperor from the bottom of our hearts. Then we may court a blessing for ten-thousand years.' They all rejoiced and made obeisance to him. Tusiye Han 土謝圖汗 then invited the Hütuktu along and came over with his people to submit to the emperor.³³⁾

Sungyün heard this story from Gejayidorji, then almost eighty years old, while he was stationed in Urga as Grand Minister Superintendent of Kuren 庫倫辦事大臣 from 1785 to 1791. Gejayidorji was grandson of Chaghundorji Tüshiyetü

Khan, elder brother of the First Jebtsundamba, and himself elder brother and guardian of the Second Jebtsundamba.³⁴⁾

The Mongolian biography of the First Jebtsundamba written in 1859 tells the following story without a chronological date:

When he was inquired by the Khalkhas representing the intention of all, concerning the peace and well-being of all living creatures, who all said to him: 'Do you decide, O Serenity, how to enjoy good order', he said: 'The realm of the Emperor of the Yellow Kitad who are called the Russians of the north, is a peaceful and great country, but the faith has not flourished there, and moreover the edge of his garment is wrongly turned. Therefore he is impossible. The realm of the Emperor of the Black Kitad in the south is firmly established and peaceful and moreover the Buddhist faith has spread there, and in particular the garment of the Emperor of the Manchus is like the garment of heaven, and as for his treasures, they are composed of jewels, silk tissues and scarves of the gods and dragons, and since he is such a great and virtuous emperor as this, if we go in that direction our realm will be consolidated and all living things will rejoice in peace.' They submitted to the Great Emperor of the Manchus and assured a ceremonial of rewards and kind favours, causing the Yellow Faith to flourish, and enjoyed good order.³⁵⁾

The first Jebtsundamba biography by Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, written early in the eighteenth century, only tells of Galdan's invasion and the Khalkhas' submission to the Manchus, with no reference to a great assembly of the princes, as follows:

In the second month of the year of dragon called *mam 'byung* (1688), Po-shog-thu marched out from his own country and conquered only two chiefs called the El-ci-ken of the Khal-kha Right Wing. Thence he gradually arrived in the middle of the Khal-kha, and, as his fortune was on the rise, he caused the multitude of the Khal-kha to flee. He destroyed some of the temples and monasteries at Er-te-ni Jo-bo and also sacred images in them. He destroyed big and small Buddha images in the camp (*sgar* = *küriye*) of the saint (*rje 'di* = the First Jebtsundamba Khutughtu) and also all of the monastery of Ri-bo-dge-rgyas-gling (= *Dga'-ldan*). Thus he performed many evil deeds. Then, just as it is said that by evil deeds of one person the deeds of many Buddhas are brought to an end, the saint knew that the power of karma was bringing misfortune to the Khal-kha, and travelled in the direction of the Great Emperor (*gong ma rgyal po* = the Manchu emperor). Despite unlucky happenings in the few days spent on his travel, he arrived without delay at two chiefs including Ta'i-ching of the U-rāng-khang of the Khal-kha Left Wing. He was treated by the two with utmost respect which left nothing to be further desired. At that time the Great Emperor dispatched Be'a Kha-ta-la-ra

Am-pang (= be kadalara amban) and other high officials to welcome him, and bestowed food, money and livestock on his companions and also abundant presents on the saint himself.³⁶⁾

The text above is reproduced word by word by Ngag-gi-dbang-po in his biography of the First Jebtsundamba in Tibetan, written in 1839 when the Fifth incarnation was enthroned in Urga, with some insertions. The first insertion occurs after the description of Galdan Boshoghtu Khan's invasion of the Khalkha, in reference to the Jebtsundamba's decision to go to the Manchu emperor made upon his realization that the force of karma was bringing misfortune to his people, which says:

He destroyed big and small Buddha images in the camp of the Supreme Patron Saint (*skyabs mgon mchog* = the Jebtsundamba) and also all of the monastery of Ri-bo-dge-rgyas-dga'-ldan-bshad-sgrub-gling (= Dga'-ldan). Thus he performed many evil deeds. Then, by the order of the saint himself, rituals were performed by the reincarnation of Grub-chen Legs-tshogs and Mer-gen No-min Han for the sake of the prosperity of Buddhist faith in general and the accomplishment of the Four Deeds. Just as it is said that by evil deeds of one person the deeds of many Buddhas are brought to an end, the Supreme Patron Saint himself saw with his unhindered eyes of wisdom that the power of karma was bringing misfortune to the Khal-kha, that he himself would be a cause of deliverance from curse for the Great Emperor (*gong ma chen po*), and that the merit of his own benefit would also be great in directing the Buddhist sentient beings toward enlightenment under the Great Manchu Emperor (*'jam dbyangs gong ma chen po*), and secretly travelled on horseback in the direction of the country of the Emperor with more than a hundred companions headed by the incarnation Blo-bzang-bstan-'dzin-rgyal-mtshan.

Ngag-gi-dbang-po, moreover, inserts a lengthy account of how the saint dispatched messengers to the ashan-i amban (= *shang shu shih lang* 尙書侍郎 or Vice Minister), a Manchu high official in charge of the frontier defense for the emperor, to ask for an imperial protection and instructions, which goes as follows:

"Rje-btsun-dam-pa Ho-thug-thu has sent his retainers with the following requests: 'Your Majesty the Great Emperor had bestowed a fief on me with orders that I strive to uphold the Buddhist faith. When I was practicing Buddhism accordingly, the Oyirad of haphazard behavior came and burned down my temples and monasteries, completely destroying Buddhism with them. While I have no choice other than again obeying the imperial orders, I have had in my heart since olden days the wish to live as a subject of the heavenly god in a corner of your frontier. Because I, the Ho-thug-thu, have

happened to be born in a corner of my own land, being such a rustic person, I neither knew how to appeal my wish growing evermore nor was able to speak what I felt. As my disciples are very large in number, if it is possible to rely on the power of Your Majesty the Great Emperor for their upkeep, my wish will be fulfilled. If Your Majesty the Great Emperor deigns to behold me with eyes of compassion and bestows on me some suitable land as my fief, I shall be very much obliged. Then my temples and monasteries will be freshly rebuilt, and coincidentally with that all the tayijis of the Left and Right Wings will enter into a religious master-disciple relationship with me, enabling us all to serve your imperial rule.’ ”

To this the Manchu emperor supposedly replied:

“You, the Khal-kha and the O’i-lud (= Ögeled), have since former times been sending us tributes, and we have given you assistance. Now you have made up your mind and appealed to us about many circumstances. Although your decision is well made, for the time being it is better to send men to and consult with the Tsha-kan Han of the O-ro-su.”

Ngag-gi-dbang-po thereafter follows his text with further quotations from Blo-bzang-’phrin-las, citing imperial presents, and again inserting a new passage stating that the emperor detailed about two hundred troops to defend Jebtsundamba’s place of residence.³⁷⁾

Sungyūn had been told the legend of the great assembly of the Khalkha princes some half a century earlier than Ngag-gi-dbang-po’s authorship of his biography of the First Jebtsundamba. Ngag-gi-dbang-po, who obviously knew the legend himself, could not find a place in his narrative to fit it in, as he was faithfully following the text of his predecessor, Blo-bzang-’phrin-las, with supplements here and there. To make up for the omission of the legend, he seems to have invented Emperor K’ang-hsi’s words favoring a consultation with the Chaghan Khan of the Oros, or the Russian tsar’.

4.2 Actual circumstances in the Khalkha in the mid-eighteenth century

When the Khalkha lords submitted to the Manchus, the Ch’ing court appointed them jasaks, or banner commanders, and graced them with titles and court ranks following the precedents of their brethren in Inner Mongolia. Then no banner pasturelands were allocated to them, of course, for they were in temporary refuge in Inner Mongolia. It was only in 1781, or fully ninety years after their submission, that high officials were dispatched by the imperial court to demarcate the tribal borders of the Khalkha pasturelands.³⁸⁾ In the Ch’ing times the Khalkha princes were called the outer jasaks (*wai cha-sa-k’o* 外札薩克) as against the Inner Mongolian princes who were the inner jasaks (*nei cha-sa-k’o* 內札薩克), giving rise to the common term ‘Outer Mongolians’ (*wai meng-ku* 外蒙古) for the

Khalkha tribes. Still the Mongols of both Inner and Outer Mongolia were 'Outer Mongols' (*wai-fan meng-ku* 外藩蒙古). Those princes of the former Khalkha Left Wing were first organized into two leagues, the Tüshiyetü Khanate and the Chechen Khanate; later, nineteen banners were separated from the Tüshiyetü Khanate to form anew the Sayin Noyanate in 1725. The Right-Wing princes were organized into the single league of the Jasaghtu Khanate.

It was only after Galdan's forces were crushed by the Manchu expeditionary army in the north of the Gobi in 1696 and Galdan himself died of an illness in the Altai Mountains in the following year, that the Khalkhas were able to return to their homeland. Still they remained in war against the Dzungars to their west, now headed by Tsevangrabsan, nephew of Galdan. In 1754 an internal strife broke out in the Dzungars and Amursana, son of Tsevangrabsan's daughter, surrendered himself to the Manchus. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Ch'ing emperor Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 in 1755 sent his large army into the Ili and destroyed the Dzungars. Amursana then established himself in the Ili and declared independence from the Manchus, but died of smallpox in Siberia in 1757. Thereupon all the Oyrat tribes submitted to the Ch'ing emperor.

Just before Amursana revolted from the Ch'ing, the imperial court had learned of the plot and ordered Jasak Ch'in Wang Erinchindorji of the Khalkha to send him under guard to Jehol 熱河. Amursana made good his escape on the Irtysh, and Erinchindorji had to be executed in Peking in 1756.³⁹⁾ Erinchindorji was son of Tüshiyetü Khan and elder brother of the Second Jebtsundamba. Chinggünzab of the Khotoghoyid, a tribe on the northwestern border of the Khalkha, whose ancestor Gendün Dayiching had once pledged allegiance to the Russians, revolted from the Ch'ing in the same year accusing the latter of putting a Chinggisid prince to death on a false charge.

The revolt was quickly put down owing to the Second Jebtsundamba's cooperation with Emperor Ch'ien-lung and Chinggünzab's lack of plan. The Second Jebtsundamba, whose mother was from the Khotoghoyid tribe, begged the emperor for Chinggünzab's life in vain.⁴⁰⁾

According to Russian sources, about the same time there was a movement in the Khalkha favoring submission to Russia. The way the Russian authorities in Siberia saw it, whether or not the Khalkha as a whole would come over to the Russians depended entirely on the Second Jebtsundamba Khutughtu's will. Shortly before 'the assembly of princes at Urga in the white month', or the *smön lam* festival in the lunar New Year, when many Khalkha chiefs came together to honor the Khutughtu, however, the Second Jebtsundamba passed away of smallpox at the age of thirty-four in the twelfth lunar month of the twenty-second year of Ch'ien-lung, or February 1758.⁴¹⁾

The fact was, contrary to the Russians' wishful thinking, that both the Second Jebtsundamba Khutughtu himself and the multitude of Khalkha princes were very much negative about turning to the Russians. 'The assembly in the white month' was being held only to practice their faith and make homage to the

Khutughtu, at which they would never make such a decision as to go over to the Russians.⁴²⁾ Be that as it may, we may point out here that the circumstances of that time bear uncanny resemblance to the legend of the great assembly of Khalkha princes at the time of Galdan's invasion.

The legend that the First Jebtsundamba Khutughtu had decided in favor of submission to the Manchus at a great assembly of Khalkha princes in 1688 was first told by Gejayidorji, elder brother of the Second Jebtsundamba, to Grand Minister Superintendent Sungyün, whom the Ch'ing court had dispatched to Yeke Kūriye 庫倫 soon after its permanent settlement on the Tuula.⁴³⁾ The first incarnation and the second, his rebirth, were one and the same in *anima* though different in *persona*. The legend, therefore, can be safely said to concern the first and second incarnations at the same time.

5. Conclusion

Emperor K'ang-hsi, whose vassals the Khalkha princes became in the seventeenth century, had been brought up by a Mongol empress-dowager, and felt such strong affinities with the Mongols as to embark himself on a military expedition under his personal command into Mongolia to save the Khalkhas who had come to him seeking help. To his grandson Emperor Ch'ien-lung, however, the Mongols were no more than his retainers inherited from the ancestors. Particularly after the destruction of the Dzungar Oyirad in the mid-eighteenth century, who had been longtime rivals of the Khalkha and a nuisance to the Ch'ing court, relationship changed between the Manchus and the Khalkha. Now the Khalkha Mongols, who had long defended the Ch'ing frontiers, had less importance. It was only natural that a turning point was reached in the history of the Khalkhas upon the fall of the Dzungars.

The Third Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, despite the wish of Khalkha princes, was reborn in Tibet in compliance with the desire of Emperor Ch'ien-lung.⁴⁴⁾ All his later reincarnations up to the eighth were to be born in Tibet, too.

The Manchu-Mongol relationship in the second half of the eighteenth century and later again changed with the start of the Opium War in 1840, causing the Ch'ing court to depend more and more on China. Late in the nineteenth century a large number of immigrant Chinese farmers and merchants streamed into Mongolia from China, now impoverished from overpopulation. This stirred up among the Mongols resentment at the Ch'ing rule and antipathy against the Chinese early in the twentieth century.

The Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, born in Tibet in 1871 and enthroned at Yeke Kūriye in 1874, grew up to be a Mongol nationalist more radical than Mongols in such atmosphere of the time until he was elected to lead the Khalkha Mongol independence in 1911.

The eighth reincarnation proudly announced in his letter addressed to all the princes of the Tūshiyetü Khanate sometime before the declaration of independ-

ence:

"I also have in myself the souls of the one who used to be the son of Tüshiyetü Khan of the Khalkha (= the First Jebtsundamba) and the son of Darkhan Ch'in Wang who succeeded him (= the Second Jebtsundamba), and thus belong to the Golden Clan."⁴⁵⁾

The reason why the Eighth Jebtsundamba, a monk and Tibetan by birth as he was, qualified both as the khan of the Mongols in 1911 and as the head of state of the newly-established people's government in 1921, must have been that he was regarded as a descendant of Chinggis Khan just as much as his first and second incarnations had been, hence a legitimate successor to the traditional Mongol khanship.

List of Abbreviations

- AFPL: *The Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan*. Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series, Vol. 12, ed. by Ngawang Gelek Demo, New Delhi, 1969.
- Bawden: Bawden, Charles R., *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga*. Asiatische Forschungen, Band 9, Wiesbaden, 1961.
- CWJP: *Collected Works of Jaya-Pāṇḍita Blo-bzañ-hphrin-las*, Vol. 4. Śāta-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 281, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 125–156 (Vol. 4, fol. 62v–78v).
- DL-V: *Za hor gyi bande ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du kū la'i gos bzang*.
- Galdan: Galdan, *Erdeni-yin erike*. Monumenta Historica, Tom. 3, Fasc. 1, Ulaanbaatar, 1960.
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Notes

- 1) The present article is an English version of the Japanese original titled “Jebtsundanba issei densetsu no seiritsu: Jūshichi seiki Haruha Mongoru no Shinchō kizoku ni kanren shite ジェブツンダンパー世傳説の成立—十七世紀ハルハ・モンゴルの清朝歸屬に關連して—”, published in *Tōyōgaku*, Vol. 74, Nos. 3/4, 1993. It is based on an earlier paper, “Tibeto-Mongol relations at the time of the First Rje btsun dam pa Qutuytu”, read at the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Narita, 1989, with extensive revision throughout. See Miyawaki 1992.
- 2) *Hoppō Yūrashia hōkei no kenkyū* 北方ユーラシア法系の研究, *Shinchō Mōko Rei no kenkyū* 清朝蒙古例の研究, *Minmatsu Shinsho Mongoru hō no kenkyū* 明末清初モンゴル法の研究, and *Shinchō Mōko Rei no jikkōsei no kenkyū* 清朝蒙古例の実効性の研究, all in *Tōyō Hōshi Ronshū* 東洋法史論集 series, Vols. 4–7, Sōbun Sha 創文社, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1992.
- 3) *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku* ロシアの東方進出とネルチンスク條約, Kindai Chūgoku Kenkyū Sentā 近代中國研究センター, 1984.
- 4) Okada 1975.
- 5) Okada 1986–87, Okada 1988.
- 6) Miyawaki 1983, pp. 166–170.
- 7) Miyawaki 1983, pp. 183–184; Miyawaki 1991, pp. 48, 50–52.
- 8) Miyawaki 1984, pp. 96–101.
- 9) The name Jebtsundamba is spelled Zhavzandamba in Modern Khalkha.
- 10) Miyawaki 1983, p. 174.

- 11) Okada 1985, pp. 226, 229–230.
- 12) CWJP, pp. 126–127. Modern Khalkha sources spell the personal name of the First Jebtsundamba Zanabazar. According to Bawden, p. 44, he was named Jñānavajra (*cnana bacar*) upon taking the vows of pious layman in 1638. This is a Sanskrit form corresponding to Tibetan Ye-shes-rdo-rje. Zanabazar is Jñānavajra pronounced Mongolian way.
- 13) Tucci, Vol. 1, pp. 163–164. Yamaguchi 1988, pp. 321–322.
- 14) Tucci, Vol. 1, p. 128.
- 15) CWJP, pp. 127–129. Okada 1985, p. 229.
- 16) DL-V, Ka, fol. 154r, lines 1–2.
- 17) AFPL, fol. 141r, line 5.
- 18) Bawden, pp. 9–10, 44.
- 19) Pozdneyev, p. 327.
- 20) Yamaguchi 1988, p. 321.
- 21) Yamaguchi 1992.
- 22) Bawden, p. 10. His English translation on p. 45 is somewhat confused.
- 23) Miyawaki 1983, pp. 152, 183–191.
- 24) Okada 1979, p. 14.
- 25) Miyawaki 1991, p. 14.
- 26) Miyawaki 1983, 1991.
- 27) Miyawaki 1979, pp. 123–124.
- 28) *Ch'in-cheng p'ing-ting shuo-mo fang-lueh* 親征平定朔漠方略, chap. 4, pp. 15–20. Miyawaki 1979, p. 127.
- 29) *Ta-Ch'ing Sheng-tsu Jen Huang-ti shih-lu* 大清聖祖仁皇帝實錄, under K'ang-hsi 27/8th month/ting mao 丁卯. Miyawaki 1979, p. 127.
- 30) Okada 1979, pp. 33–34.
- 31) *Ta-Ch'ing Sheng-tsu Jen Huang-ti shih-lu*, under K'ang-hsi 30/5th month/ping hsü shuo 丙戌朔 to chi ch'ou 己丑.
- 32) Yanagisawa 1992.
- 33) *Sui-fu-chi-lueh t'u-shih*, p. 14: The work is printed as a supplement to *I-li tsung-t'ung shih-lueh* 伊犁總統事略, which is titled *Hsi-ch'ui tsung-t'ung shih-lueh* 西陲總統事略 in an edition.
- 34) *Sui-fu-chi-lueh t'u-shih*, p. 15r. *Ch'in-ting wai-fan Meng-ku Hui-pu wang-kung piao-chuan* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳, chap. 47, p. 12. Miyawaki 1979, p. 129.
- 35) Bawden, pp. 10, 45–46.
- 36) CWJP, pp. 138–139.
- 37) LWJ, pp. 127–133.
- 38) Oka 1988.
- 39) Morikawa 1979, p. 78, states that Erinchindorji angered Emperor Ch'ien-lung and was beheaded in the presence of his younger brother the Second Jebtsundamba and Tüshiyetü Khan, following Zlatkin. Actually the prince seems to have been allowed to commit suicide according to *Ch'in-ting wai-fan Meng-ku Hui-pu wang-kung piao-chuan*, chap. 47, p. 11v, where the emperor decrees: “但念乃祖乃父、夙著勤勞、朕尚不忍加以顯戮、著賜自盡 (Only in consideration of the earlier efforts of his grandfather and father, we do not have the heart for an ordinary execution. As a favor let him kill himself)”.
- 40) Morikawa 1979. Morikawa 1985, pp. 4, 8.
- 41) Morikawa 1985.
- 42) Morikawa 1985, pp. 28–29.
- 43) Yeke Küriye, now Ulaanbaatar, kept moving until 1778, hence not a city of fixed location, according to Galdan, pp. 110–138 (Yanagisawa 1986). *Küriye* originally meant ‘an enclosure’, then ‘a camp’ or ‘a mobile monastery’ (Miyawaki 1986). Yeke Küriye was not the same as Ri-bo-dge-rgyas-gling, now Gandan, which was a monastery of fixed location, but the great mobile monastery which followed Jebtsundamba on his transhumance. The relationship between the two closely resembles the one between the khan’s horde (*ordo*) and his city in the imperial period of

Mongol history. *Da Kūriye* is another name for Yeke Kūriye. Russian *Urga* is a corruption of Mongolian *örgöge*, a respectful reference to *ger*. Chinese *K'u-lun* 庫倫 derives from *kuren*, Manchu form of *kūriye*.

44) Oka 1991.

45) Sárközi, pp. 105, 110.