

THE WRITINGS OF GENERAL LU: RELIGION AND RULE
IN KHALKHA MONGOLIA AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH
CENTURY

Alice W. Seddon

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies,
Indiana University
November 2009

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Master's Thesis Committee

Christopher P. Atwood, Ph.D.

György Kara, Ph.D.

Elliot Sperling, Ph.D.

© 2009
Alice W. Seddon
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Part 1: Journal.....	14
BT 26, autumn.....	15
BT 27.....	18
BT 27, summer.....	18
BT 28, spring.....	19
BT 29, autumn.....	20
BT 29, winter.....	21
BT 30, summer.....	22
BT 30, autumn.....	24
BT 31.....	24
BT 31, spring.....	24
BT 31, spring.....	26
Part 2: Praise for Khankhökhi.....	32
Part 3.....	46
Poems.....	47
North of the High Holy One (version A).....	47
North of the High Holy One (version B).....	49
The Hunt.....	50
The Way of This World.....	51
Why Carry a Tune.....	51
Hunting Elk.....	52
The Magic of Women.....	52
A Cause for Meditation.....	52
The Three Precious Things.....	53
One in Justice.....	53
A World Without Permanence.....	54
The Joy of Moving Camp.....	54
Awakening Understanding.....	55
The Five Jewels.....	55
Wool.....	56
Writing.....	56
Sitting on Khökhi's Summit.....	57
Difference of Birth.....	57
Love and Learning.....	57
Songs.....	58
Meritorious Meeting.....	58
Hey, The Rich Khökhi (version A).....	58
Hey, The Rich Khökhi (version B).....	59
The Elk of High Khökhi.....	60
Pangare-Brown Pacer (version A).....	60
Pangare-Brown Pacer (version B).....	62
The Sharp-Shooting Bow.....	63
Lofty and Lovely (version A).....	64

Lofty and Lovely (version B).....	65
The Elk of Our Khökhii.....	65
The Crest of Khökhii Mountain.....	66
Dubia.....	67
The Guru and the Three Jewels (version A).....	67
The Guru and the Three Jewels (version B).....	68
Wide Cloud.....	69
Meadow Flowers.....	70
Accolades for Racehorses, Benediction for a <i>Ger</i>	70
Sources.....	74
Bibliography.....	77

Introduction

Sedbazarîn Luwsandondow has been recognized as “one of the enrichers of the treasury of late 19th century Mongolian literature”¹ since at least the late 1960’s, included in surveys of Mongolian literature by Ts. Damdinsüren, Heissig, and D. Tserensodnom. However the Mongolian literary historian M. Gürsed wrote in 1989 that up to then the writer’s specific contributions had remained obscure,² and his works were mainly unpublished, collected by researchers who traveled to Uws *aimag* in the 1960’s and 70’s, copying manuscripts and putting into writing songs and poems they heard performed. To remedy this situation Gürsed compiled the extant works, compared different versions and transcribed manuscripts from their original Uighur-Mongolian script into the modern Cyrillic script. The resulting oeuvre was published in 1989, with a preface by J. Tsoloo, an introduction by Gürsed and 22 tales and reminiscences about the poet, under the title *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowin büteel*, or *The Works of the Poet S. Luwsandondow*. My translations in Parts 1 and 3 are of the works in this book, while I have translated Part 2 from a photocopy of the manuscript written in the Uighur-Mongolian script which Gürsed transcribed into Cyrillic Mongolian in the book. Because the translations are mostly from the Cyrillic script, this introduction uses forms of words and names transcribed from that script – thus I write “Luwsandondow” rather than “Lubsangdondub.”

The very first publication of a work of Luwsandondow’s was in 1880, when the Russian A. M. Pozdneyev included two versions of the poem “Öndör bogdîn ard” or “North of the High Holy One” in a book on Mongol folk songs. One version collected in

¹ M. Gürsed, Introduction to *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowin büteel*, 5.

² Ibid., 6.

Uliastai names its singer as “26-year-old Lubsang Dongdog.” While Pozdneyev, who collected the songs in 1878-79, does not identify him as the author, that was Luwsandondow’s age in 1879.³ Incidentally, Gürsed suggests that in this case Pozdneyev identified a lyrical recitation of a poem as a song.⁴ After this book, the next publication did not occur until 1960, when the prominent Mongolian author, archaeologist and historian Kh. Perlee published a Cyrillic version of the long poem “Khankhökhiin magtaal” or “Praise for Khankhökhiin Mountain” in the literary journal *Tsog*. In 1968, M. Gürsed published a study of Luwsandondow in *Mongolîn uran zokhiolîn toim*, or *Survey of Mongolian Literature*, edited by Ts. Damdinsüren. From that point, the poet’s place in his country’s literature began to be recognized.

Over a hundred years before Perlee’s pathbreaking article, in 1854, Luwsandondow was born in Khankhökhiin Banner in northwestern Khalkha Mongolia, a territory covering today’s Öndörkhongai and Tsagaankhairkhan sums in Uvs aimag. Born to a servant in the household, he was adopted by Sedbazar, the banner’s heirless ruler, and given a noble’s education, tutored at home from a young age. He learned not only the Mongol script but also Manchu, Tibetan and Chinese, and was educated in Buddhism and politics. He ruled the banner from 1876 until his death in 1909.

When Luwsandondow succeeded his father as banner ruler, he received the rank of *gün*, or duke. In 1897 he was appointed *Zasagt khan aimgiin tuslakh janjin*, or Assistant General of Zasagt Khan Aimag. After that he became widely known as General Lu; he was also called *Burkhan janjin*, or General Buddha, evidently out of respect for his intellectual and moral qualities. Many of the “legendary tales” that were

³ It should be remembered that Mongolians calculate their age as one year at birth.

⁴ *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowîn büteel*, 17.

collected in what was his banner depict him finding clever solutions to problems of all sorts. For instance, one story tells how he lightened the work of criminal prisoners forced to carry stones for construction of a monastery by forming them into a line to pass along the rocks.⁵ His problem-solving policies were applied most prominently in three cases: in 1881 when lamas caused fighting that destroyed the goods of Chinese shopkeepers near Gandan, he convinced the shopkeepers to drop their demands for reparation by reminding them of the greater cost of moving their shops away from the monastery, as they had been ordered to do⁶: a few years later he helped prevent the opening of a Russian-owned gold mine in Khalkha which was widely opposed by Mongolians but supported by Uliastai's Manchu amban, arguing that his country relied on animal husbandry and the preservation of pastureland, which would be disrupted by mining⁷: and in 1900, when 2000 unpaid soldiers in Uliastai revolted and fled, and other officials were deciding how to recall and punish them, Luwsandondow, hoping to rescue the soldiers from punishment, suggested that each soldier would need to be escorted back to Uliastai by two armed men; this prompted the amban to drop the matter, considering the presence of 6000 soldiers in the city too dangerous.⁸ These examples portray him as a compassionate man who used his cleverness to defend those who needed it and to protect the land and its traditional way of life. They also hint at his attitudes toward Chinese trade practices in Khalkha and toward Manchu rule, often pitching his intelligence against the power of Qing authorities. In time General Lu may have become a sort of mythical folk hero, whose role in some of these tales should not be taken too literally.

⁵ *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowîn büteel*, 120-121.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 113-114.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

The only published tale that overlaps with events in his journal is that of the Uliastai soldiers' uprising (Part 1, pp. 16-17), but no mention is made by General Lu of his purported role. Of course there are many possible reasons for this omission, but even if the tales may exaggerate his actions, the attitudes they ascribe to him are certainly present in his writings.

Luwsandondow's extant body of writings consists of about 20 short poems, the poem "Praise For Khankhökhi Mountain" of around 400 lines, about 10 songs, a journal fragment covering the years 1900 – 1905, accolades for racehorses and a benediction for a new tent. While I will concentrate in the following discussion on the short poems, journal and songs, my conclusions are consistent with the remainder of his known work. In addition, the journal mentions a book called *Buyanî shar dewter*, or *Yellow Book of Merit*, in which he recorded the religious services performed for his mother after her death, but to my knowledge it has not been found. A reminiscence reveals that General Lu had a large library at his banner monastery which was destroyed by fire around 1938.⁹ However, there are tales that he hid some of his works on the mountain just before his death; it is possible, Gürsed suggests, that he wanted to avoid repercussions to his family and banner resulting from criticisms of the Qing in his writing.¹⁰ In any event, it is impossible to know the full extent of his oeuvre.

Still, the extant works provide a fascinating glimpse of the author's concerns. The three genres of poems, journal and songs each focus on a different set of priorities and evidence a different, sometimes seemingly contradictory, sensibility. The poems prioritize humanist themes that represent the author's personal views, including criticisms

⁹ *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowîn büteel*, 108.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

of Buddhist practice. The journal reveals how steeped his public life was in Buddhist ceremony and connects his devotion with his concern for his subjects. Finally the songs prioritize traditional elements of a Mongolian herder's life but link it with Buddhism, including none of the tensions or criticisms present in the poems. Their lack of controversial content is tied to issues of oral transmission.

In Luwsandondow's poems, three themes emphasize his humanist outlook. Firstly, many of his poems explore the sometimes difficult interaction between human experience and Buddhist ideals. In "The Hunt," the author seems to try to reconcile the traditional Mongolian practice of hunting with Buddhist tenets, which of course forbid killing. He presents a classic Buddhist argument against hunting, that one might kill a pregnant animal:

Arrogantly striking down in the hunt
That animal
With protruding teats
That dribbles its rich white milk
Will defile the highest merit.¹¹

But he also recognizes a herder's need to protect his livestock by killing the "wolf-bitch" who "By day rips off the sheeps' tails." In the end, he seems to accept the coexistence of hunting with Buddhist ideals, writing in the final lines:

May my Khökhii mountain be filled with game
And may my people be strengthened with merit

¹¹ This passage is reminiscent of the well-known story of Neyiçi Toyin (1557-1653), a Buddhist missionary who decided to become a monk after killing a pregnant ass while hunting with friends. His biography, Parajana-Sagara's (Prajñāsāgara's) 1739 *Āndamani erike*, is excerpted, including this episode, as "Parazana Seeriin zokhioson Bogd Neij toin dalai Shanzushiriin domgiig todorkhoi giigüülegch chandmani erikh" in Damdinsüren, *Mongol uran zokhiolîn deej*, 3:28.

The poem “One in Justice” also advocates the coexistence of lay and Buddhist viewpoints. In identically structured stanzas, it equates the meanings expressed by different art forms, then asserts:

Although clarifying the times through meditation
And litigating, relying on the law
Also are two different practices
The justice of their solutions is one.

Transcending this principle of coexistence, “The Three Precious Things” offers a commentary on Buddhism by not mentioning it. The poem does not name “the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha,” as one would expect from a writer whose society and education were permeated with Buddhist teachings¹²; in their place are learning, a herd of one’s own, and one’s homeland. While education, as will be seen, was an important personal value of General Lu’s, the others are evidence of how committed he was to his land and its traditional way of life. The poem’s form underscores this choice of values; it is reminiscent of the “Threes of the World,” a traditional form of Mongolian oral literature.¹³

The open criticism of Buddhist monasticism expressed in “The Magic of Women” is in keeping with the traditional values of a Mongolian herder:

A lama who has renounced the cry of a child
Melts at suddenly catching the glance of a woman...
Intoxicated by the woman’s fragrance
He recalls with regret his unfulfilled life.

It is clear that the monk has missed out on the human experience by renouncing family life.

¹² D. Tserensodnom, *Mongol uran zokhiol*, 391.

¹³ L. Gombojav, “Uigarlakh, urlakh khoyor” in *Tsagiig ezelsen duuch*, M. Gürsed ed., 64.

The most topical commentary on Buddhism's role in General Lu's society is offered in the poem "A Cause for Meditation." Here, the duties of a ruler to his people are aligned with Buddhism but opposed to the rule of the Qing dynasty in Mongolia.

After complaining about Chinese moneylending and Manchu rule, the poet writes:

All the Mongols are plundered at will
By the heretical aliens...
But not displaying a timid heart,
Since the Buddha's pure, true dharma
Never says to plunder others;
Not kneeling at the southerners' soles
And lying discouraged in his palace-tent;...
Exceeding in his learning and ability;
Protecting his foolish masses
With his wise meditating intellect;
Such is the true heart of a lord.

In this appeal to Mongol rulers to follow the dharma and oppose the "southerners," tension with Buddhist ideals arises from the political expediency of submissiveness.

Prominent in General Lu's poetry are expressions of a second strongly humanist value, that of education. "Awakening Understanding" is an appeal to everyone to help their neighbors learn, "lighting a lamp in their mind." It ends:

Let us study wisdom through schooling
And in perfect solidarity be content.

"Writing," which describes and praises the Uighur-Mongolian script, similarly ends in a wish for general education:

Without missing a generation
Let the youth study;
May you rise like the sun
And reveal wisdom to all my people.

In so addressing his native script, the poet aligns himself with a secular tradition of literacy based on administrative scribal training, rather than a Tibetan Buddhist model

based on monastic education. Pozdneyev wrote in 1887 that 5/8ths of Khalkha's males went into the monasteries,¹⁴ usually from age 8-10 until 17¹⁵; there they received their formal education, reading and memorizing scriptures in Tibetan. The services were performed solely in Tibetan, and many lamas did not learn the Uighur-Mongolian script, but wrote Mongolian using Tibetan letters.¹⁶ This education "taught the Mongols nothing about their own history, language or literature."¹⁷ Under such conditions, this poem was not simply a paean to a script that was taken for granted, but a meaningful appeal to honor the lay tradition of literacy.

"Love and Learning" demonstrates both this emphasis on education and a third humanist principle of the poet's; a person's worth was not determined by his birth. Thus:

That measureless wisdom
Without others' requirements and instructions
Without diligence in one's lessons
Does not arise
In anyone's son's head
Is surely true.

The close relationship between the two principles is expressed in the idea that commoners and nobles alike must be taught in order to achieve wisdom. The poet's value of personal achievement over lineage is made explicit in "Difference of Birth":

One of high lineage who is negligent
Will be reckoned among those of low origin;
One of low origin who strives
Enters the ranks of high lineage.

Similar ideas can be found in Sa Skya Pandita's *Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels*, a religious work of moral precepts first translated from Tibetan into Mongolian around

¹⁴ Pozdneyev, *Religion and Ritual*, 172.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹⁶ Kara, *Books*, 180.

¹⁷ Cheney, *Pre-revolutionary Culture*, 56.

1400, which has for centuries been widely popular.¹⁸ Here however they seem to be recast in a secular context; possessions and education, the poet asserts, are all that mark a difference in lineage. In Luwsandondow's society, a commoner who pursued a scribal education and a career in the banner *yamen*, or administrative office, could achieve upward mobility, perhaps even attaining the office of banner *zakhiragch* (see the poem "Sitting On Khökhi's Summit.") Again, the poet aligns himself with the secular educational tradition.

In General Lu's journal, one turns from the personal views expressed in his poetry to his public life. The extant incomplete text spans the period between autumn of year 26 of the Guangxu Emperor's reign (1900) to the autumn of his reign-year 31 (1905). The accounts of events in Beijing in 1900 (the emperor and empress dowager's leaving the city, the invasion by foreign powers) are based on hearsay, but the author recounts his personal involvement in other historically important events. He thus records the uprising of soldiers in Uliastai in 1900, the sojourn of the thirteenth Dalai Lama in Khüree in 1905, and the strong earthquake that shook Khalkha's western regions in the same year. Mainly, however, accounts of official duties and of worship dominate the journal. Though his duties as part of the Manchu administration of Khalkha are presented without religious elements, his role as a banner ruler is intertwined with Buddhism. In the entry for autumn, BT 29, when General Lu participated in his League's assembly and later stood in temporarily for the League Captain General, religion is not mentioned. However a more typical passage from spring BT 28, which records one of many occasions of worship of the Jalkhanz incarnate lama, reads:

¹⁸ See quatrains 47 and 243 in Bosson, *Treasury*.

Humbly requesting a gürem ceremony to repel misfortune, I offered from the banner to the Serene One one garment of light silk and 300 lambs, with a khadag. To the ten disciples in his retinue I presented 100 lambs each, with khadag. Also commending to his care the various kinds of harm suffered by the banner's people and animals I presented to the Serene One five hundred lambs and a mandala with a ... khadag.

Offerings "from the banner" came out of the banner treasury, over which its ruler had absolute control. Hence Luwsandondow's public role as an intermediary between his banner's people and religious powers is clear.

It should not be imagined that such accounts, contrasted with views expressed in the poems, are evidence of religious hypocrisy. The author reports an audience with the Dalai Lama in which his own concerns are seen to be intertwined with hopes for his banner:

Deign to grant that my son Taij Gonchigdamba, who has been designated to succeed to my rank and station, hold the seal, and administer the banner, may thoroughly flourish, along with his various deeds and his family line: that every good deed conceived by my son the Nomch Khutagt Tsedenbal, who aids the religion, may succeed without obstacle: and that our banner's achievements of religion and state may grow more and more, making the people and animals thrive more and more and eliminating the various causes of their harm.

Such evidence of Luwsandondow's devotion suggests that criticisms of Buddhism in the poems are those of a thinking believer. The poems seem to have allowed him to explore ideas that his society might not share.

None of General Lu's songs as collected by Gürsed criticizes Buddhism. Only one, "Buyanî uchral" ("Meritorious Meeting"), has an explicitly Buddhist subject, consisting wholly of praise for a guru, but Gombojaw attributes the song to Luwsandondow's son Gonchigdamba.¹⁹ The other songs consist mainly of descriptions

¹⁹ L. Gombojaw, "Tawuulaa shülegch" in *Tsagiig ezelsen duuch*, M. Gürsed ed., 71,

of natural beauty on the mountain²⁰ and of *naadam*, or games festivals, and of praise for a racehorse.

Sometimes the natural descriptions provide metaphors for abstract ideas about existence, as in “The Elk of Our Khökhii,” in which the hazy, shifting outline of the mountain teaches the lesson of impermanence of the physical world. While this lesson is important to Buddhism, the song does not explicitly link it to religion. In this example, human experience as part of the natural world is presented as being in accord with Buddhist teachings.

“Lofty and Lovely” is the one song in the collection that explicitly expresses harmony between human life and Buddhism. In his journal, General Lu mentions composing and singing it at the consecration of an *owoo*, a cairn for the worship of the local spirit-masters (Part 1, p. 21.) The ceremony, as was usual, was conducted by lamas and followed by wrestling and horse-racing. It was thus an appropriate occasion to emphasize the connection between traditional Mongolian life and the Buddhist religion. One of two versions, both collected near the site of the *owoo*, ends:

May my auspicious five kinds of livestock snouts
Breed and universally multiply;
May we assemble lots of alms and merit,
And may immense great good fortune abide with us.
 Let the Buddhist religion flourish
 And the emperor’s state grow truly stable;
 Let us all promote joyous games and amusements
 And fully enjoy ourselves!

In the song, which was conceived as a public document, herders, the Buddhist religion and the Manchu state coexist with no evidence of tension.

²⁰ See Pegg, *Mongolian Music*, 97-100, for a discussion of the Mongol’s relationship with nature and how this is traditionally mediated by performance. Significantly, this discussion is included in the chapter “Folk-Religious Practices,” with Tibetan Buddhism listed as one of many influences throughout history.

In contrast, Buddhist ideas are not incorporated into the song “Pangare-Brown Pacer” which describes a racehorse, a common theme in Mongolian songs. But while one of the two versions in this collection ends in a benediction that is not explicitly linked to religion, the other version mentions the Dalai Lama in the final lines. The unintegrated, “tacked on” impression given by this inclusion of Buddhism is added to by the fact that both versions refer to hunting earlier in the song. It was common for such “codas” to be added to long-songs by lay singers in order to link their performance to Buddhism.²¹ Rather than exploring the interaction between Buddhist tenets and traditional life, as was seen in “The Hunt,” this song simply presents an uncritical juxtaposition.

These songs gained wide popularity in western Khalkha and beyond, disseminating and developing multiple versions as Khankhökhi Banner members sang them during visits, official duties, and pilgrimages. Their descriptions of natural beauty and of Mongolian life appealed to a wide audience, and the fact that, unlike some of the poems, they did not challenge the idea of harmony among the people, religion and the state made them appropriate for public performance. The poem which Pozdneyev heard performed and identified as a folk song similarly incorporates no controversial elements.

The absence of controversial, individual opinions which partially determines the broad appeal of a song can make attribution of authorship very difficult. “Pangare-Brown Pacer” is probably the best known of the songs; versions which differ from each other and from the two versions in Gürsed’s book were published in 1984 in *Mongol ardîn urtîn duu*, or *Long Songs of the Mongolian People*, and in the 1987 collection of West Mongolian folk songs *Arwan gurwan khülgiin duun*, or *Songs of Thirteen Steeds*.

²¹ Pegg, *Mongolian Music*, 151.

The existence of these versions provides evidence of how tricky attribution of authorship can be in Mongolian songs, even when there is a story of an event that inspired the song, as there is in this case.

Addressing this problem of attribution, J. Tsooloo in his foreword to *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowin büteel* lists four criteria used for ascribing works to General Lu. These are: 1) wide dissemination among the Eljgen Khalkha of General Lu's former banner, 2) a stance against Chinese trade practices that corresponds to his known policies, 3) the mentioning of Khankhökhi by name, and 4) preservation of written copies by people of the area. In most cases, no one of these clues is alone sufficient for making an attribution.²²

As this discussion has tried to show, the three genres of poetry, journal and songs were used by Luwsandondow to express different aspects of his experience. His poems explore his personal views in relation to his society. This includes criticism of several aspects of Buddhism in practice, and of Qing rule in Mongolia, as well as advocacy of general secular education. His journal in contrast functions as a public document, containing none of these criticisms but mainly portraying his role as intermediary between his subjects and Buddhist religious powers. Meanwhile his songs, also public documents, focus on traditional Mongolian values while reinforcing the ideals of religious and political harmony. The three types of writings together provide a multifaceted view of the author as man, Mongolian, Buddhist believer, subject of the Qing dynasty and ruler.

²² In recognition of this problem, I have ordered the three parts of my translation not as they are presented by Gürsed, but according to their secure authenticity. This reordering should allow the reader to form an impression of the writings from a firm standpoint.

Part 1: Journal

Journal²³

26th year of Badarguult Tör,²⁴ autumn

Because Beijing was in turmoil,²⁵ on the night of the 18th²⁶ of the eighth month the Holy Lord, the Huang Taihou²⁷ and the Prince, accompanied by a few ministers and officials, left by the Pingzemen²⁸ gate and passed through the town of Guanshi²⁹ and going straight to Taiyuan Fu³⁰ from there proceeded straightaway to Xijing Xi'an Fu.³¹ On the 21st of the same month (Ibin³²) Kuwan³³ with the rest of the eight clans of Russia³⁴ entered Beijing; a bad minister opened the great East Dan³⁵ wall's Qihuamen³⁶

²³ Notes translated from the text are given in quotation marks and preceded by the original note number in parentheses. (1) "In the early 1940's the late Bayanbadrakhin Sambuu found the manuscript of this journal fragment, the beginning and end torn off, among archived material, and copying it on a typewriter in the old script together with archivist Damdinsuren preserved it. In 1963, while it was in the storeroom of the UTA (Political Archives), M. Gürsed put that typewritten copy into the new script. Since that typewritten source now cannot be found, on this occasion we present the source written in the new script."

Throughout Part 1, "the text" refers to *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowin büteel*.

On untranslated words: I have left proper names untranslated. Names designating specific ceremonies are also left as they are in the text, and either the first use is footnoted or their basic purpose is explained within the translation. Any other word left untranslated is footnoted at its first appearance.

²⁴ Mongolian name for the Guangxu Emperor's reign (1875-1908.) By the western calendar, the year concerned is thus 1900.

²⁵ Because of the Boxer Uprising.

²⁶ This flight is conventionally dated on August 14 or 15, just after the arrival of the eight-nation forces on the 14th (by the Gregorian calendar.) However, in placing it a few days before the arrival of the forces, General Lu's journal seems to corroborate Seagrave's assertion that the Emperor and Empress Dowager left Beijing around August 10, probably removing to the Summer Palace between July 27 and August 8. Seagrave further argues that the conventional dating was invented by unscrupulous Western journalists who wished to aggrandize themselves and discredit the Empress Dowager (Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, 385-387.)

²⁷ (3) "This means the Empress [Dowager]..."

²⁸ This is the Ming dynasty name of the Fucheng Gate.

²⁹ A small town about 20 miles north of Beijing. This journey to Xi'an is described in Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, 387-390.

³⁰ The text's "Taiyuan Zhou" must be a mistake.

³¹ As in the note above, the text erroneously has *zhou* instead of *fu*.

³² This must be Japan, which provided half of these international forces (Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, 54.)

³³ Since I haven't identified this word, it is transcribed just as it appears in the text. It may reflect the Chinese pronunciation of a Japanese name.

³⁴ (8) "Taking advantage of the Chinese people's 'Ikhetuanii' uprising, eight imperialist powers invaded the Manchu Qing state: England, the USA, Japan, France, Imperial Russia, Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary." In this journal "Russia" refers to these multinational forces.

³⁵ In Chinese this is Dongdan, a district of Beijing. The text has "Tan"; presumably in the process of transcription "Dan" was misread as "Tang."

gate for them. When they got in, their smashing, burning, and abuse of temples, stupas, government offices, shops, and homes was so excessive, the people and soldiers killing and being killed so innumerable, that a frightfully great confusion was stirred up. At that point the Holy Lord issued an order awarding an army to the minister Li Hongzhang and employing Khuwan³⁷ Tusu to engage with Russia. Pretending to heroic successes brought by various wise ideas, this Li Hongzhang did not attack Russia but the two sides made peace and then turned back, each in its own direction. At this time no-one knew where the Sandalwood Buddha³⁸ had gone, but only that the Russians had set fire to the temple whence it had gone.

That same autumn Uliastai, Khüree, Khowd and other places mobilized troops for defense from the areas under their jurisdictions. From our Zasagt Khan aimag and Sain Noyon aimag³⁹ each 1000 soldiers were called up and put under the command of Duke Consultant Bayanjargal of our aimag; of these were 135 soldiers from our banner who rode with Company-commander Dalkhsüren.

Zasagt Khan aimag's army was reported to its Yamen⁴⁰ by Hasui, a Chinese merchant of Tsonj, who said that two camel-loads of flour and rice had been stolen on the night that he had spent near the army at Aldar Tolgoi.⁴¹ An official from the Yamen was assigned, and searched the army. At this, the soldiers in a mass saying "We have not received our pay, and what's more we're considered thieves," in great numbers all at

³⁶ This is the Ming dynasty name of Chaoyangmen gate in Beijing's Banner city, located in Dongdan district. Seagrave says it was taken by the Japanese army (*Dragon Lady*, 361-362.)

³⁷ As in note 11, this name is transcribed directly from the text because I have not identified it.

³⁸ (11) "There was such a Buddha-stature made of sandalwood in Beijing."

³⁹ Since 1725 Khalkha Mongolia had been divided into four aimags, each corresponding to a league, for administrative purposes: from west to east, the Zasagt Khan, Sain Noyon, Tüsheet Khan and Tsetsen Khan aimags. Each was ruled by a Chinggisid prince as a vassal of the Qing.

⁴⁰ (14) "The ministry of the amban resident in Uliastai."

⁴¹ (13) "A hill near the administrative center of Aldarkhan *sum* in Zawkhan *aimag*."

once made a commotion arming themselves. After they had gone circling around Uliastai's merchant town⁴² shouting back and forth for some time, they seized the stores of the lower vegetable compound and all returned to their home lands. It was said that Uliastai's Manchus, fearing this army, were on the top of Bayan-ulaan for several days. This year the post-road was obstructed, so in the winter I, the general and duke, went to the Uliastai Headquarters and when I met with the General,⁴³ the Amban,⁴⁴ and the Six Offices⁴⁵ they said, "We shall summon both the petty officers and the regular soldiers of your aimag who have thus willfully scattered and investigate the circumstances." Before this the General and Amban had excused them from legal consideration, dismissing them from again being held in the city; furthermore while there was a petition explaining why the matter should be settled by negotiation, they halted the troops' recall for interrogation.⁴⁶ I sat my turn for a month and got leave and after having Ambishin,⁴⁷ banner-ruler and Duke of the 1st Rank,⁴⁸ take the general's seal and decide Headquarter⁴⁹ business in my place, I went back home.

⁴² (15) "Uliastai's Chinese Khermen town."

⁴³ The General (capitalized in this translation) in Uliastai, once the Military Governor of all Khalkha Mongolia, by this time had military and civil authority over Zasagt Khan and Sain Noyon aimags (Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Political Organization*, 452.)

⁴⁴ This Manchu word was used for the imperially appointed governors resident in Uliastai and Khüree. They oversaw Khalkha, directly representing the Qing emperor's authority, though the Uliastai ambans were officially subordinate to the General (see previous note.)

⁴⁵ A representative of the Lifan Yuan, or Court of Dependencies, the ministry in Beijing responsible for the administration of autonomous Mongolia.

⁴⁶ A legendary tale about General Lu's role in the resolution of this matter was collected and published by Damdinsüren ("Lu janjin güngiin tukhai domog," 135-136) and reprinted by Gürsed; it is discussed briefly on pages 3-4 of my introduction. Interestingly, its particulars do not appear in this journal, but I cannot say whether this is because the tale is false or exaggerated, or because of modesty on Luwsandondow's part, or for some other reason. Note that this account leaves the matter unresolved.

⁴⁷ (16) "Called Duke Damdin Abshaa. His banner was modern Zawkhan *aimag*'s Nömrög *sum* and Bayankhairkhan *sum*."

⁴⁸ The translation of this rank is from Christopher P. Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002), 26.

⁴⁹ Called the Office of Appeal in Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Political Organization*, 455, this office in Uliastai handled all affairs arising exclusively between Mongols. It was staffed by banner rulers, who took the duty in turns, from all four aimags.

In the 27th year of Badarguult Tör

The Holy Lord and his family returned to Beijing and the times becoming settled through his majesty and merit, by the *jilu*⁵⁰ of the Huang Taihou, the military and civil officials of all the provinces received gracious favor in complete peace.

The minister Li Fengjing,⁵¹ who strove to carry out ceremonies well, and the good minister Li Hongzhang, as well as other ministers who had dedicated themselves to the Lord's safety while going from and to Beijing, were encouraged and rewarded. They say that instances of condemnation for bad ministers like Weng Zhongtang⁵² who did not exert themselves were even more numerous.

27th year of Badarguult Tör, summer

When the league Captain-General,⁵³ the Grand Duke of the Second Rank,⁵⁴ went to the Firm Abiding⁵⁵ offerings to our Jawzandamba Khutagt, the Captain-General's official business was transferred and delivered to me, and I, the general and duke, receiving it, resolved matters in his place. I sent my son Taij⁵⁶ Gonchigdamba⁵⁷ to the Danshig. Also in the winter I put Duke Consultant Bayandorj in charge of matters of the general's seal, deciding both local cases and matters of the general of Headquarters. I,

⁵⁰ This reading of the text's *Jiloi* is uncertain. *Jilu* is an "honorable record" proclaiming services and promotions in rank and salary for helpers of the dynasty; see Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Political Organization*, sections 973-974.

⁵¹ The text's *Won* is most likely *Feng*, but could possibly be *Weng*. I have not identified this official.

⁵² Zhongtang is the title for a member of the Grand Council; this is Weng Tonghe (1830-1904.)

⁵³ The translation of this post's title is from Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Political Organization*, 444.

⁵⁴ See note 26.

⁵⁵ The text's *bat orshil* is the Mongolian translation of Tibetan *brtan zhugs*. As *danshug* (modern *danshig*, as seen in the translation's next sentence) this became the name of a ceremony offered each year to the Jawzandamba Khutagt in which he was beseeched to remain in the world. (See also Part 3, note 63.) For a detailed discussion of that ceremony and the games that usually followed, see Petrie, *Transformation and Persistence in the Ikh Bayar Naadam*, esp. 43-79. The ceremony is described on pages 51-56.

⁵⁶ This was the title given to descendants of Chinggis Khan or his brothers and formed the noble class of Mongolian society. A noble born to or earning any higher title, like General Lu himself, would drop this designation.

⁵⁷ Luwsandondow's second son and his successor as banner ruler from 1909-1921.

the general and duke, accompanied by my son Taij Chagdarjaw⁵⁸ and several other people, went to worship His Serenity, Guru Jalkhanz⁵⁹ and heard the dharma, and my body's slight illness getting better we returned after dedicating offerings. In the spring I again received the general's seal and authority and decided business.

28th year of same, spring

His Serenity, Guru Jalkhanz was appointed to administer the lamas and novices of Khowd's Tügeemel Amarjuulagch Temple,⁶⁰ and when this had been announced so that the post-station would be readied, he was brought to his subject monastery. When he was invited to the great Yamen of His Grace, a way-station and various ceremonies to greet him were set up beforehand. As a celebration of the dharma a mandala was offered and the most abundant, fresh, plentiful food and drink were prepared, and he was conducted to the palace that had been made ready for him. The next day having supplicated the favor of a mandala I offered on behalf of the banner ten silver tael⁶¹ with a khadag⁶² and also seeking salvation on behalf of the banner offered one light silk garment with a khadag. Humbly requesting a gürem ceremony to repel misfortune I offered from the banner to His Serenity one garment of light silk and 300 lambs, with a khadag. To the ten disciples in his retinue I presented 100 lambs each, with khadag. Also commending to his care the various kinds of harm suffered by the banner's people and animals I presented to His Serenity five hundred lambs and a mandala with a "forceful and

⁵⁸ Luwsandondow's third son.

⁵⁹ (18) "Duke Lu and the generation succeeding him reverently worshipped the Jalkhanz reincarnate lama Damdinbazar."

⁶⁰ According to Pozdneyev, who recounts a history of this temple, it was ordered by Imperial edict in 1767 that the Jalkhanz alternate with the two other incarnate lamas of the Zasagt and Sain Noyan aimags, each living at the temple for three years, though he says they only actually lived at the temple for about twenty-five years (*Mongolia and the Mongols*, 215.)

⁶¹ Reading the text's *lab* as a mistake for *lan*.

⁶² This is a ceremonial silk scarf offered with gifts or as a gift itself. (The word occurs so often it would be cumbersome to constantly translate it.)

imposing”⁶³ khadag. For my own part I, the duke, commended to his care my old age and offered 200 silver taels with geldings and silk. Also all of our households presented gifts and from the banner and lamaseries’ property I presented with khadag to the disciples miscellaneous gifts of napkins, pouches and such.

On going to Khowd’s Yellow Temple⁶⁴ I offered for the banner a 100-lamb mandala and further fitted out a palace-tent for meditation for His Serenity from the treasury, and for four attendants, from the treasury, lamaseries’ property and banner, completely furnished 5-6 tents with equipment. We went for about ten days. I had my son Taij Gonchigdamba come to Khowd. In the summer I had Banzad, a carpenter of the banner, make the wooden tent of the Western Treasury.⁶⁵ Also, on the sixth of the middle month of autumn, saying it would be good to build an owoo to the south of Tsagaannuur, Maaramba Guru and Abbot Toin properly established the owoo mound with meditation. The banner-people gathered in numbers and sixty-four wrestlers wrestled, horses of three ages raced and we celebrated with a feast.

At this owoo I, the general and duke, composed and sang the song called “Lofty and Lovely.”⁶⁶ With gifts and benedictions I wrote accolades for the leading and second-place horses.

29th year of Badarguult Tör, autumn

When the aimag and league to which I belong assembled, I, the general and duke, attended. The league Deputy Captain-General⁶⁷ and the Duke Consultant jointly gathered

⁶³ This translates the Tibetan original, *btsan brjid*, but I don’t know exactly what kind of *khadag* this is.

⁶⁴ A name for the Tügeemel Amarjuulagch Temple.

⁶⁵ (20) “This wooden *ger* is at Öndörkhantai *sum*’s administrative center. In ‘Khel zokhiol sudlal,’ 1977, issue XII, D. Dashdorj and J. Tsooloo recorded that there feasts and games were held, and plays were staged. The *ger* should now be preserved as an important monument of cultural history.”

⁶⁶ Translated in Part 3, p. 64.

⁶⁷ See note 31.

together the banner-rulers and officials of the whole league and convened the assembly. We registered the men⁶⁸ and fairly assigned all taxes and duties in the proper manner. The league's affairs being completed, we came back to our home lands. This assembly was finished in about ten days.

That same autumn, since the league Captain-General's person had actually been dismissed as head of the league, the Deputy Captain-General went to the capital city to humbly acknowledge receipt of his Imperial appointment. When he went I, the general and duke, took his place deciding the Captain-General's business. I charged Duke Banzragch with matters of the general's seal, making him responsible for resolving the matters of the shift-general of the four aimags.

29th year of same, winter

My body was seriously ill, and the lamas and lay officials discussed it and invited to our monastery grounds Guru Shadaw Choijin of Sambonyamdan monastery in Tibet⁶⁹ who was traveling in the Sartuul's Tüshee Gün Banner. When he came they set up a station for refreshment at the Dund River⁷⁰ and prepared to also invite him to the palace of the Khutagt lama's⁷¹ compound. I supplicated for salvation regarding long life, and presented from the treasury silk and five taels of silver with a khadag and from the banner fifty taels of silver with a khadag. On behalf of the banner I commended to his care its longevity and the various kinds of harm suffered by its people and animals, and inviting the divine guardian Setew to the great assembly hall offered two hundred silver taels with

⁶⁸ (23) "Making a register of men of soldiering age meant they could be assembled for military training and battue hunts."

⁶⁹ Called here "The Western Monastery."

⁷⁰ (24) "A river that flows along the east side of Öndörkhongai *sum*'s administrative center."

⁷¹ (26) "The compound of his son Tsedenbal, said to be the reincarnation of a high lama." Tsedenbal was Luwsandondow's eldest son.

a khadag. Also I, the duke, for my own part offering one hundred taels of silver invited the divine guardian Setew to my own Great Yamen and entrusted all to him. I also humbly requested a gürem ceremony descend upon the banner to ward off misfortune and presented camel geldings and four light silks, with a khadag.

Also in regard to myself, the duke, I made offerings to the Five Kings⁷² and further for having humbly requested readings of a few scriptures for my own part presented five silver taels and silk with a khadag. Also I entrusted the banner to the guardian Jimerbo,⁷³ inviting him to the assembly hall of the Buddha⁷⁴ and offering 100 taels of silver. When I did that, that very guardian took his own silver Dodgaram hat and put it on me, the general and duke, with his revered hands, saying, “I will eternally watch over you; to the seed of the seed you must make offerings to me.” What he had bestowed was stored in a box and offerings are made to it at the Western Treasury.

The treasury and lamasery treasuries⁷⁵ joined together and offered a 50-tael mandala. Each separately presented gifts and khadag to several disciples in the retinue.

Since this lama was going to Lhasa,⁷⁶ I had him entrust His Grace’s longevity to the Dalai Lama and present 300 silver taels on behalf of the banner. (I had 200 taels presented from the treasury to see him off.)

30th year of Badarguult Tör, summer

Guru Jalkhanz took temporary leave from the official duties of the Khowd temple and when I traveled north for a cleansing treatment in the hot waters of Tavis,⁷⁷ on the

⁷² (27) “Have offerings made to the Five *Lha* Gods” or the five Transcendent Buddhas.

⁷³ Probably Tsi’u dmar po, a guardian deity described in de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 166-176.

⁷⁴ Presumably named after a locally well-known Buddha image housed in that assembly hall.

⁷⁵ (28) “There were 21 lamasery treasuries and colleges in Khankhökhii’s monastery.”

⁷⁶ Called “The Monastery.” See note 47.

⁷⁷ (29) “A hot mineral spring in the territory of Soviet Autonomous Tuva.”

thirteenth of the last month of summer I invited him to my monastery and grounds and offered a mandala. Also on the 15th we performed together a circumambulation with the Maitreya image and offered a tsam dance of the dharma. High and low, laypeople and lamas, we all followed rejoicing and worshipping, and bowed down chanting blessings and praying. On the ... of that month, with 5 silver taels and a khadag given from the banner, favor came; His Serenity reconsecrated Omogt Owoo⁷⁸ through meditation and took many lamas and noblemen into his retinue, and they all rebuilt⁷⁹ it. His Serenity, Guru Jalkhanz together with many lamas recited the Shawdüi, Yüüldüi, Rabin, and other scriptures of Vajrapani⁸⁰ Khökhii for a day and a night and glorifying this owoo with the name “Lhazgatsil Diligonchig” they established it with blessings and benedictions and made offerings⁸¹ of lamps. I presented the songs “The Best of Fiddles” and “Lofty and Lovely” for the favor that our wishes and hopes be quickly fulfilled. Also supplicating on behalf of the banner for His Grace’s longevity and for the salvation of the people, I offered 50 silver taels with a silk khadag.

This summer there was a terribly great drought, and on the evening of one day an auspicious rain fell coinciding with a warm fortunate hour of the gods. All the people spread over the world worshipfully confessed to each other when they saw this clearly magical occurrence. In gifts from the banner were offered 100 silver taels and 300 taels-worth of goods,⁸² and 11 disciples in the retinue were presented with 11 garments of

⁷⁸ (31) “An *owoo* northeast of the administrative center of Öndörkhangai *sum*. It is now named ‘Öwgön (Old Man) Owoo.’”

⁷⁹ Reading the text’s *zastsagaan* as *zastsgaan*.

⁸⁰ Reading *Ochirwani* for the text’s *Ochirwai*.

⁸¹ Reading *tawigljaj* for the text’s *tawilgaj*.

⁸² (32) “Goods were measured according to their monetary value. For example ‘one tael cotton drill’ etc.”

tussah and watered silk. Also on behalf of the banner I offered to His Serenity a mandala and 200 taels-worth of goods.

On the occasion of having scriptures recited, paid for by the banner noble's treasury. Stopping by the camp of the league Captain-General when we traveled to the waters of Tavis, I had my son Tajij⁸³ Go become an attendant in the suite of the Prince. Incidentally, His Highness that same Captain-General brought an offering of nine whites⁸⁴ to the Captain-General's Festival.

30th [year] of same, autumn

When His Serenity Jalkhanz was invited and came to the tent-palaces of country places like Khawtsgai⁸⁵ Ravine, a mandala of 50 silver taels was offered by the banner. 50 taels of silver were offered from the treasury, and all was entrusted to him. Also all of our households presented gifts and miscellaneous gear was repaired or replaced.

31st year of Badarguult Tör

On the ... day of the White Month, Mother Rolomtsog passed away at the age of eighty-one years. By law white will be worn,⁸⁶ since this custom was ordered when the appropriate office was informed. I recorded in the Yellow Book of Merit⁸⁷ the merit generated for this mother who is no more.

31st year, spring

When His Serenity Jalkhanz traveled back from Khowd the monastery in my jurisdiction invited him as before, and as a celebration of the dharma I offered a mandala

⁸³ The text's *taj* is clearly a mistake for *taij*.

⁸⁴ A traditional offering of eight white horses and a white camel.

⁸⁵ (34) "In the territory of modern Züünkhantai *sum*."

⁸⁶ (35) "In an early custom of the Mongols the rule was to wear white clothing in mourning. In his book, 'A Description of the World' the Italian traveler Marco Polo told about this custom of the Mongols." In fact, this custom, not mentioned in the mid-thirteenth century work *The Secret History of the Mongols*, seems to have been adopted from the Chinese.

⁸⁷ (36) "The Yellow Book of Merit has to date not been found."

and afterward on behalf of the banner offered a 500-ewe mandala. For my, the duke's, part, I offered 100 silver taels with a horse, supplicating his care. Also nobles and banners, lamas and laymen all beseeched the Prince of Yamantaka⁸⁸ to grant favor, and I offered one garment of light slubbed silk with a khadag. When the nobles and people of every banner received the Prince the silver offered from the banner was 52 taels, each of the people making offerings. From the treasury I offered 50 silver taels, silk, and all kinds of miscellaneous household goods and utensils. Also supplicating for salvation, with one light slubbed silk garment with a khadag on this occasion I invited His Serenity to the development of the dough pyramid of the One with the White Parasol.⁸⁹ The banner presented in offerings 10 silver taels, one garment of light silk, two garments of watered silk and 500 ewes, and to seven lamas who had come in his retinue 7 horses and seven long khadag. I the duke and all my households offered various presents to His Serenity, and the gifts presented from the banner to all the disciples were two garments of watered silk,⁹⁰ five garments of patterned spring silk,⁹¹ seven garments of spun silk tabby,⁹² eight garments of cotton drill, 15 garments of cotton cloth, nine long khadag and 28 short khadag. Everyone, lamas and laypeople, had their wishes fulfilled, and I had my son Taij Chagdarjaw go as an attendant in His Serenity's retinue.

⁸⁸ As a form of the bodhisattva Manjushri, who was incarnate in Tsongkhapa, Yamantaka is considered a special protector of the dGe lugs pa sect. (Berger and Bartholomew, *Mongolia*, 255.)

⁸⁹ This is the female bodhisattva Sitātapatra, named Gdugs dkar in Tibetan and Dugar or Dūger in Mongolian.

⁹⁰ Literally "rain silk"; the translation is a guess.

⁹¹ The text's *chinchüü* is certainly a Chinese silk-name, possibly *chūnchóu*.

⁹² The text's *minchüü* is from the Chinese *mianchóu*.

Same year, spring

On the ... of the ... month I, the general and duke, went with my lady and sons to the great monastery to bow down before the Dalai Lama,⁹³ who had come to Da Khüree, and the Holy One.⁹⁴ For officials I took the administrator Tümen and the ajutant⁹⁵ Daramjaw. The caravan taking horses from the treasury, lamasery herds and banner in order to have them sold at the monastery was teeming, and in addition worshippers from the banner were even more numerous. Also I had a number of messages to communicate at the great monastery for the Prince, the league's Captain-General.

Intending to delay a while, I, the general and duke, together with seven children and the Nomch Khutagt Lama, returned from the Northern White Willow,⁹⁶ the territory of Dalai Gün where I had been absolutely detained, and tarried at the monastery camp of His Serenity, Guru Jalkhanz. With our own hands we made a pavilion on the road to His Serenity's palace.

I sent my son Taij Chagdarjaw off to the great monastery by relay-horse to bow down before the Dalai Lama and the Holy One.

In the summer when we went to the Firm Abiding offerings for His Holiness, the Jawzandamba Khutagt, we added more people to the caravan from the district. My son the Nomch Khutagt,⁹⁷ the doctor and aide lama Ölzii and the deputy ajutant⁹⁸ Buyanjargal went with the entourage and we met up with my sons at Khag Lake, Prince Chin's territory. My senior son Taij Go was allowed to come back and accompany us.

⁹³ (39) "In 1905 the XIIIth Dalai Lama Tübdenjams came to Mongolia and stayed for about a year in Da Khüree and Wangjin Khüree (now the administrative center of Bulgan *aimag*.)"

⁹⁴ The eighth Jawzandamba Khutagt (Jibzundamba Khutugtu), 1870-1924.

⁹⁵ The titles of these two posts are from Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Political Organization*, 446-447.

⁹⁶ (40) "The territory of Dalai Gün. Now the land of Khöwsgöl *aimag*'s Tömörbulag *sum*."

⁹⁷ The text has *nutagt*, obviously a mistake.

⁹⁸ This title is from Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Political Organization*, 447.

When we reached the great monastery we made camp just southwest of the great white stupa at the north of Gandan. After that: I received an audience with the Serene Holy One, offering Him a 50-tael mandala and prostrating myself in worship. He deigned to impart a gracious commandment. Afterwards we worshipped the Dalai Lama as he received a tseween⁹⁹ ritual for long life. In the five offices of the four aimags¹⁰⁰...

A danshig for The Serene Holy One was offered, but games and wrestling were not held. Further, the dignitaries of the four aimags were told not to leave by commandment of the Holy One, as various matters were to be discussed by the five offices, but there were hardly a great number of these matters. For everyone in my family and the whole banner¹⁰¹ I supplicated the Holy One for salvation and was granted a blessing and commandment.

Also I, the general and duke, had a personal audience at the Dalai Lama's palace and He granted me the mercy of the supernatural power to doubly transmit his mandate and also to find the good path at the instant of separation from this world. One after another I enumerated these and other requests: Deign to grant that my son Taij Gonchigdamba, who has been designated to succeed to my rank and station, hold the seal, and administer the banner, may thoroughly flourish, along with his various deeds and his family line; that every good deed conceived by my son the Nomch Khutagt Tsedenbal, who aids the religion, may succeed without obstacle; and that our banner's achievements of religion and state may grow more and more, making the people and animals thrive more and more and eliminating the various causes of their harm. I

⁹⁹ From Tibetan *tshé dbang*, meaning "long-life empowerment."

¹⁰⁰ This sentence fragment also seems to be missing its beginning; it should start "Ikh shawi...", reading "In the five offices of the Great Shabi and the four aimags..."

¹⁰¹ Here the text has a colon and continues the sentence in a new paragraph.

prayerfully supplicated that He deign to bestow an object of worship to be revered by the clergy of the banner and the monastery, and all together we offered 300 silver taels with a great khadag. “After I lay all this before the Three Jewels with prayer I will give it,” He pronounced. One day later on I was personally received together with my son the Nomch Khutagt and we were each granted salvation with blessings, and after His Holiness Himself deigned to expound the Vow-fulfilling Prayer¹⁰² about finding the good path, He graciously said we would quickly find the good path. Then saying, “May you make offerings to these objects of worship for the spreading of the religion and pacification of living beings,” with His holy hands He bestowed with two golden khadag a marvelous precious Güsündüg¹⁰³ of objects of worship: one stupa over two chi¹⁰⁴ high, gilded and with inlays of jewels,¹⁰⁵ one gilded image of Sakyamuni of the same size, and one Chindoo¹⁰⁶ sutra with covers of brown sandalwood having the nine jewels.

Because leave had been granted by the Supreme Holy One we offered a mandala and supplicated for permission to go back, and we returned to our home land. My own person strove utterly tirelessly for my two sons to be correct to my mind in everything they do.

When I the general and duke was at Khüree on the morning of the ... at the snake hour,¹⁰⁷ without a sound the earth moved considerably, heaving up and down. It is said a

¹⁰² The text's *Chültemchangabain soldaw* should be written *Tsültem* (from Tibetan *tshul khrims*) *tsangbai* (Tib. *tshang ba'i soldeb* (Tib. *gsol 'debs*.)

¹⁰³ This word should be written *güsüngtüg* to render Tibetan *sku gsung thugs*, body-speech-mind, the three spheres of functioning of a sentient being, often used as a classification of sacred objects. Thus the statue represents Buddha's body, the book his speech and the stupa his mind. Consecration of such objects is discussed by Yael Bentor, “Literature on Consecration (Rab gnas)” in *Tibetan Literature*, Cabezón and Jackson eds., esp. 290-299.

¹⁰⁴ A Chinese measurement, 1 chi = 14.1 inches = .3581 meter.

¹⁰⁵ Reading *erdeniin* for the text's *erdemiin*.

¹⁰⁶ This should be *Tsendoo* for Tibetan *tshe mdo*, a sutra for longevity.

¹⁰⁷ 9-11am

bigger noise erupted as the ground moved and began to split open in the Five Pastures of west Khangiltsag, the crack going straight up the Khangiltsag River. It crossed over the pass and went down Ulaan Bulag and Shont River, passed along the front of Öndör Ulaan and the back side of Serwen Pass, and went through the opening of Kharsan¹⁰⁸ Pass. Then it headed straight alongside the river south of Gün Khüree¹⁰⁹ in back of Daagan and went uphill along the north side of Tsawdan Lake cutting across Urt. Going along the north side of Daagan, the Prince's territory, straight along the source of the Mogoi in front of Bayanzürkh, it then went along the western tip of San Dalai and reached the valley of Otsog Teel,¹¹⁰ where the extremely powerful splitting stopped.

Everywhere the noise and heaving were¹¹¹ truly very dangerous. In nearby areas of the banner damage to temples and houses that were toppled when the ground shattered and heaved with a roar was¹¹² extremely great. The lama Ölzii and Badrakh were sent from our banner by relay-horse to inform me, the duke, of this. I came upon them in the vicinity of San Tolgoi¹¹³ on the road to Khüree and learned of this, and drawing maps with the names of the split ground, I drew up a letter for each of them.¹¹⁴

I had Ölzii and Badrakh resume their way to present to the Holy One and the Dalai Lama each 50 taels with a khadag, seeking salvation and protection. I the general

¹⁰⁸ After this word Gürsed inserts in parentheses a note with his initials: "Khar-usan M.G."

¹⁰⁹ (42) "The former administrative center of Züünkhangai *sum*."

¹¹⁰ (43) "Otsog Teel Valley is probably Ujig Telee Valley, an area of Khöwsgöl *aimag*'s Tsagaan-uul *sum*. However the splitting of the ground passed on from this valley, stopping when it reached the southeast shore of San Dalai Lake."

¹¹¹ Here Gürsed writes the incorrect but established form *boljukhai*, while in the next sentence, he uses the correct form *boljee*. Except in this representative case I have not noted the variation between these two forms which occurs throughout Gürsed's text.

¹¹² See previous note.

¹¹³ (44) "San Tolgoi – there are hills with this name both in a locality of Khöwsgöl *aimag*'s Bürengtokh *sum*, and in the area around the city of Tsetserleg in Arkhangai *aimag*. This may be the Bürengtokh locality."

¹¹⁴ See note 79.

and duke stopped by the monastery¹¹⁵ of His Serenity, Guru Jalkhanz and worshipped, and also sought salvation and protection because of the ground's splitting and heaving. On the thirteenth of the first month of autumn I came to my home land to stay in the palace camp and installed the Güsündüg objects which had been granted by the Dalai Lama with His blessing. Lamas and layfolk all together offered a Singinsinpirin mandala and installed them inside the image-case of the tutelary deity of the Choir¹¹⁶ college, and together worshipped and made offerings. The damage to the lopsided temples, fences and buildings I saw was extremely distressing. Also, there was great fear, for although the ground's continuing noise and trembling were minor, they did not stop, so the Holy One bestowed upon the Duke of Lowonbadam barley grains blessed by the Dalai Lama to be sprinkled on the ground; and if that ground shook, elsewhere the whole earth moved. Believing our fear and doubt were completely groundless, He deigned to perform a few gürem for our salvation.

Guru Jalkhanz was absolutely safe, but I reverently honored his statement that the time had come to repair my monastery assembly hall.¹¹⁷

On a good day of the ... month of autumn that year I sought the favor of permission to repair the great assembly hall, Tsogchin.¹¹⁸ I had the lamas make...¹¹⁹ and presented a palace-tent to the great monastery treasury, and installed a Buddha image. On the ... of the same month I, the general and duke, took many artists and carpenters and drew up plans to at one time fix up the overall form of the temple and extend the

¹¹⁵ (45) "This was in the territory of Toson brigade called Khöshshööt River, in Khöwsgöl *aimag*'s Tsagaan-Uul *sum*. Now only ruins remain."

¹¹⁶ From Tibetan *chos grva*, the monastery college specializing in exoterics (Pegg, *Mongolian Music*, 146.)

¹¹⁷ See note 79.

¹¹⁸ (46) "The main assembly hall of Khankhökhii's monastery was two stories. A carpenter named Töwshintör was in charge of building, and an artist named Taj Batan did all the painting and decoration. Taj Batan became blind because of poisoning from paint."

¹¹⁹ The text has "*argîn* ..."

front and back porches and the roof projecting in the front outside, and make bunks.

Leading a crowd of people, priestly and lay, lamas and boys, I the duke personally...¹²⁰

¹²⁰ The original manuscript broke off at this point.

Part 2: Praise for Khankhökhi

Praise for our precious holy Khankhökhi¹²¹

Om, may there be a good peace.
Oh, I bow to the gurus of the three times,¹²²
The tutelary gods and the bodhisattvas.
Lord and companion of the snow-covered mountains;
Granter of boundless merit and glory;
Visible incarnation, powerful guardian of the dharma;
Protector and defender of the white direction;
Whose fame, glory and splendor have universally spread;
Collector of all the blessings of the Ten Realms,¹²³
Khankhökhi, the supreme salvation,
May I say your praises in verse, without distraction,
Through a mind without illusion.

A marvelous fine wind strikes up;
A harmonious breath spreads the thaw,
The sun's light approaches near
And all matter unfurls in bloom.
The birds that migrated come back
When the season of spring comes in.
Our skillful strong Khankhökhi
With blazing majesty and splendor
Is like King Garuda, conqueror
Of the majesty of all birds.
Glowing deep violet like a ruby
It appears curtained in haze.
Just when the snow of the crusted earth melts
And all that was frozen thaws and flows;
When grass scatters the steppe,
Fallen clumps emerging on the ground,
Their seeds and roots coming to life;
The heart of every human
Who was born with an umbilical cord rejoices,
And they enjoy playing their lively games;
Blood-relatives greet each other and chat,

¹²¹ This poem is translated not from the Cyrillic form in the text, but from Gürsed's "fundamental source" written in the Uighur-Mongolian script, as published (after Gürsed had worked from the manuscript) by U. Zagdsüren in *Studia Mongolica* VII. Thus any transcription used in the poem is of the Uighur-Mongolian script, while transcribed words in notes from Gürsed's text are of the Cyrillic. (These notes are presented as described in Part 1, note 1.) References in my notes in Part 2 to "the original" are to Zagdsüren's publication. Words in my notes that are transcribed from Cyrillic-script sources other than Gürsed's text are identified as such. I have not included my own full transcription of the poem because the photocopy published by Zagdsüren is unclear in many places, so I sometimes had to rely completely on Gürsed's transcription. However, I have footnoted cases where my reading differs significantly from his.

¹²² past, present and future

¹²³ The ten stages of saintly perfection of a bodhisattva, Tibetan *sa bcu*.

And the peoples' longed-for hopes are fulfilled.
Honoring the clergy
And making the Buddhist religion thrive;
Amassing an assembly of merit;
Renouncing that which is not merit;
Confessing impure sins;
Having regular temple services chanted;
The purgation of all obstacles
And the accomplishment of all of these peaceful deeds
Are the boon of our benevolent holy Khankhökhi alone.

The constellation Udarsad¹²⁴ rises in the south
And warm weather blossoms;
The rising sun spreads its rays
And countless things come to grow
When the unique and captivating
Summer season comes in.
Our salvific Khankhökhi
Whose help and benefit is supreme
Reigns like a dragon of the air,
Like the sound of thunder;
It shines like a beryl gem
And appears standing out
In brilliant light and limpid color.
A thick soft rain
Come through the coincidence of method and wisdom
Pours down to overflowing
And thunder resounds with a crash.
The flowers and grass
In all the meadows
Which nourish the revival of life,
Growing on the mountain's lower slopes,
Are ranged color by color;
Row by row they flutter,
Giving off a scent of red incense;
They throng on and on,
A continuous forest.
The larch and
All the types of trees
That grow on the sunny and shady mountainsides
Flourish soaring
And wave rippling in the wind;
They crowd one against another,

¹²⁴ For detailed information on this auspicious constellation which corresponds to Sagittarius, see Brian G. Baumann, *Divine Knowledge: Buddhist Mathematics According to the Anonymous Manual of Mongolian Astrology and Divination* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 622-623.

Propped on each other as they sway;
Their leaves and buds all move
In the fine gentle breeze,
Rustling against each other
And bumping together with a sigh.
How wonderful and captivating it is!
Within that park are
Numerous sturdy game,
From elk bucks and does
To brown hares and white ones,
Stretching as they stand up or lie down,
And running together in herds.
There also countless birds,
From the cuckoo on down,
Call, babbling and burbling;
Chirp, chattering and whistling;
And dance playfully in flight.
A great deep river
Full of the eight qualities
Gleams white, roiling;
Roars and pounds;
Eddies and spins;
Whirls as it brims full;
And rushing along in a flood,
Spouting up and swirling,
It shoots up in clear and muddy-brown jets
As its waters collide in the middle of its bed;
Smashing along with a roar,
Its majesty is great.
In the middle and at the edges of this water
Swans
Honk and chatter musically;
Yellow ducks and geese
Quack and cackle to one another;
The river's ducks and grouse dive;
The bustards and cranes play;
Flapping their wings,
They chatter noisily
All at the same time.
There are otters, sables and martens
In the melted wells of frozen streams;
Lynx and corsac
On the crags and mountain-slopes;
Foxes and wolves
Everyplace;

Dark reddish-brown squirrels¹²⁵
 Filling the larch trees;
 And on the arid plains to the south,¹²⁶
 Troops of long-eared asses, black-tailed gazelle,¹²⁷
 Saiga and gazelle,
 Divide by countless numbers
 And combine by the thousands.
 With samsara's beings
 Flourishing so completely,
 Multitudes of people all together
 Nested on level sites
 At the edge of the perfect garden
 Of blissful spacious Khökhii,
 The mountain filled with tranquil happiness.
 Resting their homes against a pleasant hill,
 In the shade of leafy trees,
 They arranged and adorned
 Their bright white gers
 Shaped like golden urns
 That deliver them from any misfortune
 And secure every good name,
 And established their official realm.
 Their countless livestock,
 Met with through previous merit,
 Covering the mountain and plain,
 Head back home in a wedge
 Bellowing, wailing, and jingling;
 Mooing, bleating, and neighing;
 Butting, kicking out, and scattering.
 Mares with no young and big full-grown geldings buck
 And yearling and two-year-old foals frolic.
 The animals quench their thirst with clear water
 And fill their bellies¹²⁸ with the grass's nourishment.
 There are herds of the beneficial five livestock animals,
 The source of the alms
 That proclaim a fertile and rich name.
 In this rich month of summer

¹²⁵ This reading should be *qara keger keremü-tei*; the text has *qara kegere kerem-tei* (5b4.) (All line numbers in Part 2 refer to Gürsed's transcription and correspond to the lines in the source published by Zagdsüren.)

¹²⁶ (4) "Southern gobi – Khankhökhii's southern part has gobi [semi-desert] to the south and khangai terrain [forested and watered mountainous land] to the north."

¹²⁷ The text is *čiki-tei segül-tei* (5b6), literally "(those) with ears and with tails." The first is the Wild Ass *Equus hemionus*, and has entered the English language as "chigetai." The second seems to be the *qara segültü* mentioned by Chabros in *Beckoning Fortune*, 33, *khar süült zeer* in Bawden's (Cyrillic-script) *Dictionary*; the Goitered Gazelle or *Gazella subgutturosa*.

¹²⁸ I have not found *qodula-* (6b7) attested but the meaning is clearly "to eat."

When all the people thrive together
 On mare's milk-wine and yogurt,
 The foods that nourish the six perfections,¹²⁹
 And many other tasty foods,
 At Altan Oboo,¹³⁰
 Erected at their Altai Khökhii
 In order to return benefit
 To their salvific Khankhökhi,
 The elders, lords and commoners together
 Invite the Lord of the Earth,¹³¹
 Offering consecrated dough-figures
 And the best of all kinds
 Of delicious foods,
 And presenting their thirteen incense-offerings.¹³²
 The peoples' clearing away unclean obstacles;
 Requesting abundant great favor,
 Gathering it from the ten directions and fixing it in place;
 Delighting in melodious tunes
 And thoroughbred steeds;
 Achieving the peace of a sound body;
 All this is comprised in the mountain's blessed salvation.
 Oh! From among the eighty thousand aggregations
 Of the dharma that will develop,
 Gandandarjayiling,¹³³
 The monastery of the religious assembly,

¹²⁹ Buddhism's six perfective virtues/perfections are alms-giving, clerical discipline, forbearance, energy, meditative concentration, and insight (Lessing, "Supplement of Mongolian Buddhist Terms," *Dictionary*.)

¹³⁰ I have chosen to use this spelling although strict transcription from the text would be *oboγan*, while transcription from the Cyrillic is *owoo*.

(6) "Altan [Golden] Owoo – the name of the cairn at the top of Khankhökhi. Traditionally in the first month of summer offerings were made to the *owoo* and games were held. The custom was to have the monastery colleges by turns provide the food and drink offered."

Although Gürsed mentions games in this note, and Kabzińska-Stawarz calls the *naadam* after the oboo sacrifices in summer a "most important life event" (*Games*, 62), no games are explicitly described in the poem. A full *naadam* is described, however, after the autumn worship of the banner's standard.

¹³¹ Perhaps this should be "the lords of the world-places," referring to multiple spirit-masters inhabiting the surrounding landscape, rather than a single lord of nature; Tatár stresses the distinction in "Texts on the Cult of the Mountains," 15.

¹³² Pegg discusses the Cult of Thirteen Altai Mountains in *Mongolian Music*, 108-112.

¹³³ (7) "Gandandarjaalin [Gandandarjayiling, from Tibetan Dga' ldan dar rgyas gling] – As is written in the sutra called 'Litnei danzai,' in the earth tiger year of the 14th sixty-year cycle the monastery of General Duke Lu's banner invited Zaya Pandita Rawjamb, and sinking of that monastery's fenceposts first began. Gandandarjaalin Monastery had 21 temples and colleges. Its largest hall was named Tsogchin Dugan." This hall's renovation is partially described at the end of Luwsandondow's journal, translated in Part 1.

A word, seemingly another name for the monastery, which follows in the original is partially obscured and is absent from Gürsed's transcription and Cyrillic version. A tentative reading is *Dečinsāddubpaļayiling* (8a3), from Tibetan *Bde chen bshad sgrub dpal rgyas gling*, the third and fourth words being conjectured based on the names of other monasteries. (Throughout Part 2, "j" will be used in transcription in place of what would normally be that character with the circumflex turned upside-down.)

Of the books of sutra and tantra
 Which have perfected the multiple deep meanings¹³⁴ of the subtle mystery,
 Was founded by outstanding beings born with keen faculties
 And when a purified person sees it in its true essence
 He would say it is really the Buddha Maitreya's mandala.¹³⁵
 To an ordinary person who gets to visit
 It appears impossibly intricate;
 It is inscrutably elaborate;
 It is so fascinating its praise is inexhaustible;
 Indestructibly firm, it cannot be worn down;
 Immovably stable, it will not break;
 And its many temples are the same.
 Inside those lamaseries
 Are extraordinary supports,
 Starting with their golden victory banners,
 And headed by the Tathagata, Precious Lord Sakyamuni,
 On a lion throne
 Next to all kinds of teas for the services;
 The thousand buddhas of a good era,¹³⁶
 Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions and the three times,¹³⁷
 And lamas, tutelary gods, heroes who protect the dharma, dakinis, and more
 Are set apart by curtains;
 And the supreme dharma's ideas
 From the teachings and commandments
 Of the Three Vessels,¹³⁸ along with others,
 And oh-so-precious receptacles;¹³⁹
 There are many of these wonderful blessed objects of worship.
 If any person so much as sees this,
 It closes the door to the burning and freezing hells;
 So much as prays,
 It eradicates all suffering;
 So much as confesses,
 It cleanses him of sin;
 So much as asks,
 It fulfills the Nine Desires;¹⁴⁰
 It dispenses glory;
 If someone keeps their worship
 It saves him from the sea of samsara;

¹³⁴ The word *udq-a* occurs at the end of 8a1 and the beginning of 8a2. Gürsed's transcription eliminates the first occurrence, presumably assuming a scribal error in the original.

¹³⁵ Reading the text's *qotal mandal* (8a6) as *qota ele mandal*.

¹³⁶ The Bhadrakalpa, the present world era during which one thousand buddhas are to appear.

¹³⁷ See note 2.

¹³⁸ The Tripitaka, the three major classifications of Buddhist scripture.

¹³⁹ While Gürsed's transcription has *čuuntad* (9a3), his Cyrillic version has *tsuudral*. I read *čoddin*, from Tibetan *mchod rten*.

¹⁴⁰ Meaning all desires, from Tibetan *'dod dgu*.

If he practices meditation
 It brings him to the blessedness of enlightenment;
 It is indeed inexhaustibly fascinating and wonderful
 To consider the benefits of the salvific Three Jewels,
 Which are such an incomparably potent
 Ornament¹⁴¹ on the crowns
 Of all living beings.
 The monastery's lamas and monks,
 Keepers of the Yellow Faith,
 Stand out in hues of yellow and red,
 Wafting the fragrance
 Of the purifying discipline of their vows,
 Full of knowledge of practice and theory.
 Those who are freed from the delusions
 Of stupidity and ignorance
 Find the bliss of the great path;
 They know the key to the deep path
 Which cleanses them of clinging attachments;
 They are rooted in the principles of the Vajrayana¹⁴²
 Which contains the clear unchanging brilliant light;
 They are skilled in the subtle secret meanings.
 Because they are extraordinary,
 With many supreme virtues,
 These refuges who abide in uncommon meditation
 Now in the forms of *gelüing*, *getsül*, *ubashi*¹⁴³ and *bandi*,¹⁴⁴ help beings
 And constantly make their religion spread and flourish.
 On the fifteenth of the Offering¹⁴⁵ Month
 Lamas and laypeople assembled together,
 Raised their yellow finial,
 And struck up their pleasing music.
 Spreading their great canopy
 And fixing up their lion throne
 They installed their Maitreya Buddha,
 And offering their sacrifices and mandalas,
 They worshipped very faithfully.

¹⁴¹ Before the word *čimig* in the original there is a word *čimege* with a small “x” to its right (9b5) which presumably indicates deletion. Gürsed’s transcription does not include this, or later, deleted words.

¹⁴² Tantric Buddhism

¹⁴³ The text has the irregular spelling *ubisu* (10b2.)

¹⁴⁴ *Ubashi* are laymen who take certain religious vows. *Bandi* (spelled *bangdi* in the text) are (usually) young boys who have taken the first monastic vows; *getsül* and *gelüing* are, in order, successive monastic ranks. Pozdneyev gives a description of all these vows in *Religion and Ritual*, 176-215.

¹⁴⁵ Again (see note 19) Gürsed transcribes *čuuntad* (10b4); I read *čoddad*, from Tibetan *mchod bstod*. In his Cyrillic version, he uses the Mongolian translation *Takhilgîn sar* and provides this note: (10) “Offering month – the fifteenth of the middle month of summer.” In the journal, however, a Maitreya circumambulation and tsam are described as occurring on the 15th of the last month of summer (Part 1, p. 23.)

Cleansing¹⁴⁶ away evil sin,
 They accumulated the assembly of merit;
 Eradicating filthy sin,
 They put on a tsam dance
 And offered wrestling games.
 At such a time,
 Considering the tsam dance in particular,
 It is truly the realm of the mysterious magic
 Of tantric doctrine,
 And if anyone
 Treats it as an entertaining game,
 It will be a crime in the next birth;
 Or if he treats it with mockery and ridicule,
 It is a crime in this life.
 For this reason treating everything one sees
 With reverent prayer,
 Calling out in faith, “They are really the true protector-gods,”
 Is the essential key to the message of the real sages.
 This religion spreads
 And good merit grows;
 This which brings about all extensive good deeds
 Is solely by the patronage of our benevolent holy Khankhökhi!

A fanning wind starts to blow,
 A bracing breath spreads,
 And the dust of samsara subsides,
 And as the moonlight grows clear
 Unimaginably many substances ripen and are harvested,
 When the cool clear season of autumn comes in.
 Our firm Khankhökhi
 Is like a tiger which has perfected the heroic spirit.
 The mountain clarifies and brightens
 Like refined gold,
 Shining translucently.
 The grass’s nutritious essence intensifies,
 Seeds and fruit bloom and ripen,
 And the rich families and poor orphans all together
 Are satisfied enjoying themselves
 In alms and favors;
 Just at that point¹⁴⁷,

¹⁴⁶ Before *arilyayad* in the text is a word *namingčilayad* (11a1) with a small “x” to its right (see note 21).

¹⁴⁷ In writing about the “sacrificial rites for *Qan Köküi*” Tatár says, “The joint festivities of *qosiγun* was always organised in the middle month of autumn,” and after the rites “competitions were arranged near the *obo*” (“Texts on the Cult of the Mountains,” 11.) While the timing and mention of games agree with the poem, her statement may conflate two different ceremonies – this worship of the banner’s standard, and the ceremony at Altan Oboo in the first month of summer. After all, although the poem is not explicit about the setting of the autumn ceremony, it does not mention an oboo.

The whole banner
 Born together with blessing and merit
 Install in the midst of measureless preparations
 Their universally venerated eight-footed
 White standard,¹⁴⁸
 Companion to the nine white spear-headed standards
 Established by the reincarnation of the god Qormusta,¹⁴⁹
 Holy Chinggis Khaan.
 They bow down reading statutes and praises,
 Offer a white steed and gauze khadag,
 And receive the holy water of the law's oath.
 Calling for the fulfillment of everyone's desires,
 One after another they prostrate nine times.
 Choice offerings prepared materially
 Are blessed silently in thought.¹⁵⁰
 They offer in worship pure white yogurt,
 Nice tasty fruits,
 And greatly abundant platters of sacrificed sheep
 And chopped meat,¹⁵¹
 And golden goblets
 Are poured full to the brim
 With airag and distilled liquors.¹⁵²
 They sing to the point of melting the tuneful thirteen melodies¹⁵³
 In unison with the lyrical music.
 Many good strong wrestlers
 Are crowded into their places,
 Arranged in western and eastern sides.
 They go flapping and beating their arms like Garuda
 And throwing out their noble lion-chests,
 Clapping their palms to their bootheels with a crack.

¹⁴⁸ (12) “White standard – After keeping this standard in the banner of the Eljgen Khalkhas, it was later transferred to the state’s central museum. The eight-footed white standard was kept in its own special *ger* and was looked after and protected by a person in a special hereditary post, who was called *tugch*. Mr. Ts. Damdinsüren has written about how Tengerbilegtiin Mönkhdalai of the *tugch* lineage and 11 generations before him kept and made offerings to the banner’s white standard. Once every three years in autumn offerings were made to the white standard and the three manly games were held.”

¹⁴⁹ The Mongolian name for Indra.

¹⁵⁰ I transcribe these two lines *bodatai beleddügsen takil degeji-yi bodoly-a-yin semitei-ber adislayad*, while Gürsed’s transcription is *bodatai beleddügsen takil degeji-yi buduly-a-yin semitei-ber adislayad* (13a1-2).

¹⁵¹ It may be worth noting that bloody offerings are not mentioned in the descriptions of the two summer ceremonies at the oboo and the monastery.

¹⁵² The text lists *arja qorja ariki ayiriy*. *Ayiriy* (for the standard *ayiray*) is a mildly alcoholic drink made by fermenting mare’s milk and often known in the West by its Turkish name *koumis*; *ariki* is liquor distilled from fermented milk, *arja* is distilled twice, and *qorja* is distilled three times.

¹⁵³ For this number’s importance in song cycles in West Mongolia, see “Ritual Landscapes of Thirteen” (also referred to in my note 12) in Pegg, *Mongolian Music*, esp. 110-111. This importance is attested in the collection *Arwan gurwan khülgiin duun* (*Songs of thirteen steeds*), edited by Tsooloo, which lists different categories – thirteen steeds, thirteen Altai, etc. – all comprised of many more than thirteen songs.

They seize and grasp each other
 And show their strength and cunning
 As they go on and on, throwing opponents to the ground.
 One outstanding wrestler in the very last match
 Will be the very first and best of this bout of wrestling.
 Also on that occasion, when the time comes
 For the archers' volleys of shots,
 For their tiger-spotted bows
 And strong swift arrows to be shot,
 The destined sharp-shooter,
 Having charged his ivory-white bow
 With his youthful white arrow,
 Without fail exactly hits
 The head of the wily enemy
 When he aims and releases;
 He is indeed the very first and best of the archers.
 And further thousands of geldings
 Have been trained and conditioned.
 When the thousands of geldings
 That have the Ten Strengths;¹⁵⁴
 That perfect the signs of a thoroughbred steed;
 That supply the five melody-winners;
 That have stable characters;
 Are released to pour suddenly
 From out of the distance,
 To longing watching eyes,
 The dust raised by the many geldings swirls in a fog.
 In acute listening ears,
 Many childrens' voices vie.
 The steed full of stamina that pricks up its ears
 And speeds like the wind,
 Tearing in unrivalled to come in first,
 Is truly the best of the herd;
 The steed that fans the glory
 Of the deity of the standard;
 The wishing-jewel steed;
 First of tens of thousands.
 Having thus enjoyed themselves in the
 Harmonious, friendly and merry, three manly games,
 On the way to install their divine standard in its place
 They shout, having torn harsh enemies,
 Those with black intentions, to bits;
 They shout, having shot filthy demons,
 Those with wrong intentions, to pieces;
 They shout, spreading merit, grace, blessings and bliss

¹⁵⁴ The ten powers of a tathagata, *stobs bcu* in Tibetan.

As they return.
They perform the farewell ceremony
And arrange in long rows
The dough-figures and offerings
Housed in the standard's tent-palace.
Later householders and monks together
Invite their good lama
And have a sangchin¹⁵⁵, a great dalalga,¹⁵⁶ performed.
Solely the mercy
Of our merciful¹⁵⁷ holy
Plentiful rich Khankhökhi
Holds all deeds to come.

A steady chill wind arises;
The air of the sky rises up
While the vapors¹⁵⁸ of the ground descend.
The hot light
Goes directly far away
And all substances
Are closed up, blocked,
When the bitterly cold
Winter season comes in.
Our salvific Khankhökhi
Which terrorizes and expels any obstacle
Is like the lion, chief of predators,
That terrorizes all the game animals.
It gleams white and still,
As if seen through a film from brimming eyes,
Like white crystal.
Just at this time, when the cloud-tops
Ruffle and billow in the wind;
Mist arises on the high great mountain;
The water-birds go back home;
Grass withers and yellows;
And the calls of the mountain's
Grey elk ring out,
Then the rich numerous people all
Fix up their livestock shelters,

¹⁵⁵ Tibetan *bsangs chen*, a great smoke offering. Chabros mentions this ritual as preceding the *dalalya* among the Oirats (*Beckoning Fortune*, 125.)

¹⁵⁶ According to Chabros, this ceremony of “beckoning fortune” is usually a private one performed by the head of the family on behalf of one household, but extended so that “in western Mongolia the ritual could be performed by a lama or official, on behalf of a monastery or an administrative grouping.” (*Beckoning Fortune*, 23.)

¹⁵⁷ After this word in the original occurs the word *qangköküi* with a small “x” to its right (15b4) (see note 21).

¹⁵⁸ I read *ayur* for Gürsed's *ayar* (15b7).

Lay up their stores of hay and fuel,
 And settle down in their winter camps,
 Tending their massed herds
 That are fertile and fat, snug and satisfied.
 They make offerings to their fire-god,¹⁵⁹
 And troubles and obstacles are purified;
 With steadfast strength
 They succeed in all actions;
 These are the causes of unquenchable happiness.
 When at times a *zud*¹⁶⁰ disaster is about to set in
 The unnourishing snow
 Together with vileness and affliction
 Is chased off, eliminated by the storming wind.
 Through steadfast strong¹⁶¹ adoration,
 Reverently worshipping,
 Piously making an offering,
 Have I praised in verse
 Our salvific holy
 Khankhökhi,
 Which brings down the nourishing rain
 With its auspicious omens;
 Which is an object of worship to a pious person,
 Complete in destiny to a learned¹⁶² person,
 Abundant in grass¹⁶³ to an ordinary man;
 Which grants the satisfaction of anything conceived,

¹⁵⁹While traditional Mongol folk religion reveres a fire goddess, worship of a male fire god may be a result of Buddhist influence, Pegg suggests in *Mongolian Music*, 119. But perhaps this phrase should be “to their fire and their Buddha-statue.” In either case, this small domestic ritual is the only one mentioned in this section. It is not surprising that no public rituals are described in the winter; Tatár says the spirit-masters of the land and dragons of the water are asleep then and get angry if awakened by sacrifices (“Texts on the Cult of the Mountains,” 13 note 51.) Kabzińska-Stawarz also says *Lus Sabdag*, the Lord of the Earth, is asleep during the winter (*Games*, 15.) It is however striking that the celebration marking the beginning of spring and awakening of these spirit-masters of the earth, *Tsagaan sar*, is barely mentioned at the poem’s beginning. One way that it differs from the celebrations described is that it does not involve a gathering of the banner (at least its male members, in the case of the oboo rites) at a central ceremony. In focusing on these centralized rituals, the poem presents a duality of religious ceremonies in the summer and the politically-focused ritual of autumn which reflects the concept of the dual principles of (Buddhist) religion and state that pervaded Mongolian politics from the end of the 16th century until 1924. The poet shows his explicit concern with this duality in his journal (Part 1, p. 28.) Note that the division of the ritual year thus presented in the poem differs from that identified by Kabzińska-Stawarz, in which there are winter-spring and summer-autumn periods (*Games*, 57.)

¹⁶⁰ In a winter *zud*, excessive snow or ice prevents livestock from grazing, resulting in famine for animals and often for people.

¹⁶¹ After the word *küčütei* in the original is the word *sedkil-ün* with a small “x” to its right (17b1) (see note 21).

¹⁶² While Gürsed’s transcription is *erdenitei* (17a5), his Cyrillic version has *erdemtei*, which is how I transcribe the word from the original.

¹⁶³ Where I read *noγoγ-a*, Gürsed’s transcription has *unay-a* (17a6); the line is therefore “Abundant in mounts...”

All of the Nine Desires.¹⁶⁴

As we follow the tenets of meditation,
Deign to foster and protect the lotus of meditation
And to include us in your saving grace.
 May blessings and good fortune
 Long abide!

¹⁶⁴ See note 20.

Part 3: Poems, Songs, Accolades, Benediction

Poems

version A¹⁶⁵

North of the High Holy One¹⁶⁶

North of the High Holy One¹⁶⁷
On the edge of the wide Tuul
On the terrace of the cool Selbe¹⁶⁸
Is our Holy One's¹⁶⁹ monastery.
Khüree's twenty-seven aimags¹⁷⁰
Divided along a circle
Gleam, shimmering
With the appearance of a mandala.
Its assembly hall is set up

¹⁶⁵ The commentary appearing in the text after the poem begins: “‘26-year-old Luwsandondow sang this song in this way’ noted A. M. Pozdneyev. (A. M. Pozdneyev, *Obratzsy narodnoi literatury mongol'skikh plemen*, vypusk pervyi, Sankt Peterburg, 1880, 170-173.)”, but it is not clear to which version this refers. In fact that statement forms the final lines (my transcription lines 10-11) of Pozdneyev's song 32, printed in the Uighur-Mongolian script in *Obratzsy*, 21-22 and in Pozdneyev's transcription (using his own system) on pp. 172-173. Note, however, that the name ends in “g.” This song is very similar to Gürsed's version A but contains several differing words. All transcription line numbers in my notes for version A refer to my transcription of song 32, which follows. (In it “j” is used as described in Part 2 note 13):

1 öndür boyda-yin aruda: örgeñ tula-yin köbege-dür: serigün čelmen denjitei: manai boyda-yin küriy-e bi:
2 küriyen-ü qorin doloğan ayımay inu: eriyeljeñü qaraydanai: qota mandal sinjitei: melteljeñi tununai: bayıyuluysan
3 dugang ni: batu sümber-ün sinjitei: bariju törögseñ bey-e ni: oytarçui tuluma tuyay-a-tai: tümen quwaray-un
4 manča inu: dalai metü melmeljegeđ: dalai sečen šañjudba-tai: darqan nirba olan-tai: dalai metü sang-tai:
5 sečen sayıqan umjad-tai: čeberkeñ sayıqan blama-tai: ider luu-yin dayutai: yeke-yin dörben gesküi-tei:
6 ider luu-yin dayu-tai: qural-un qoyar büriyečitei: bars-un segül bariqu: bayatur ulayan qayalyači-tai:
7 quyr bariqu kiy-a-nar-tai: qauli-yi medekü sayid-ud-tai: čay-i üjekü jiruqayıči-tai: čayajı bariqu sayid-
8 nar-tai: bir yangtai bariqu: bilig-ün qurdun bičigeči-tei: mörgöl-ün yeke asar-tai: möngke busu-yin
9 oron: dotoyadu-yin oron-ača mayimatai: aru qalq-a-yin jıyan-jün-tei: gürün-ü efü jisiy-e-tei: dalan nigen
10 dugangčıtai: yurban otoğ-un qarayul-tai: ene dayu-yi dayulaysan: qorin jiryuyan nasutai: lubsang dongdog
11 neretei: eyimüken dayulabai::

¹⁶⁶ I have changed Gürsed's order of presentation by beginning with this poem, the first published (see my introduction, pp. 1-2.)

¹⁶⁷ Bogd Khan Uul, or Holy Mountain.

¹⁶⁸ Present-day Ulaanbaatar was originally the nomadizing monastery Nom-un Ikh Khüree; it is located at the confluence of the Tuul and Selbe rivers.

¹⁶⁹ The Bogda, head of Khalkha Mongolia's Buddhist church.

¹⁷⁰ Its basic meaning being “division,” the word *aimag* has been used in many ways; here it refers to the living quarters of a monastery's lamas, divided according to the residents' colleges.

Like Firm Sumeru,¹⁷¹
 Its body, carried and erected,
 Scatters rays to the heavens.
 It has a great wise administrator;
 The tea¹⁷² for its ten thousand lamas
 Brims like a sea.
 The bursar, free from taxes, often
 Has a treasury like the sea.
 With a wise pleasant¹⁷³ chant-leader
 And clean and proper gurus
 With the voices of young dragons;
 With the service's two trumpeters;
 With such a door-keeper, a hero
 Who would seize a tiger's tail;
 With adjutants who play the fiddle;
 With ministers who know the law;
 With an astrologer who studies the hours;
 With ministers who wield justice;
 With talented quick scribes
 Who ply brush and ink-stone;
 With a great pavilion¹⁷⁴ for worship;
 It is an uneternal realm
 With trade from the heartland;
 With a North Khalkha general;
 With the example of the Emperor's son-in-law;
 With seventy-one temple caretakers¹⁷⁵;
 And with guards from three divisions of disciples.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ In Buddhist geography, the mountain at the world's center.

¹⁷² I found no definition for the word given, *maiz*, though the Chinese word *màizi* means wheat. Instead I use *manča* (which should be written *manja* or *mangja*, from Tibetan *mang ja*), given in Pozdneyev's song 32 (note 1, transcription line 4.)

¹⁷³ While the text has *sakhan*, here I use *sayiqan* as Pozdneyev gives in his song 32 (note 1, transcription line 5.)

¹⁷⁴ The text has *ar*; I use *asar*, given in Pozdneyev's song 32 (note 1, transcription line 8.)

¹⁷⁵ This is the definition of *duganch* in Lessing's, Bawden's, and Tsewel's dictionaries (as well as that suggested by the word itself): however a Mongolian monk who filled this post for his college in Ikh Khüree at the beginning of the twentieth century said a *duganch* "was a sort of messenger. He did things like informing the lamas or carrying messages." (Bawden's translation.) (Jambal, *Tales of an Old Lama*, 5/Mongolian text 83.)

¹⁷⁶ Instead of the text's *khutgiin*, I use *otoy-un*, given in Pozdneyev's song 32 (note 1, transcription line 10.)

North of the High Holy One

North of the High Holy One
 On the cool clear terrace
 On the edge of the noble Tuul
 Is our Holy One's monastery.
 Khüree's twenty-seven aimags
 Divided along a circle
 Look like a mandala.¹⁷⁸
 It has trade from every city;
 An office with staff from all the banners;
 An amban from the Lord of the Heartland¹⁷⁹;
 A Khalkh Mongolian general.
 Its assembly hall is set up
 Like Firm Sumeru
 And its numerous clergy
 Has commandments from the Dalai Lama;
 A seal from the Emperor of the Great Qing;¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Song 31 in Pozdneyev, *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury*, 21-22, printed in the clear script, is nearly identical to this version. (Pozdneyev's transcription is on pp. 170-171.) In my own following transcription, misspellings are noted and not corrected. The characters ğ, ć, and ź represent letters of non-Mongolian origin:

- 1 öndör boqdoyin aruda: ergin^a toula-yin köbödü^b: seriün selmen denjïdü: manai boqdoyin kürē
 ni: kürēni
 2 xorin dolōn ayimaq ni: kürēleji ayimaqlād: xoto mandal sinjitei: erēljiji tunuqlād: xoto бүгүдәсе
 mayimatai: xošuu
 3 бүгүдәсе jïsātai: dotōdu ezenēse amban-tai: xalxa mongyol byangjing-tai:: bayixuluqsan^c
 duǵang ni: batu sumbur šinjitei:
 4 basa olan xuwaraq: dalai blamāsa lungdangtai: dai ċing xānāsa tamayatai: dalai cecen
 šanzodbatai: ceber yolšiq
 5 soyibung-tai: cecen sayixan donir-tai: cakiyigi^d üzeqci zurxayici-tai: cāzayigi šüükü sayiduudtai:
 ider luuyin duutai:
 6 ekeyin dörbön ungzadtai^e: toyin tormoyid blamatai: doqšiqsan šumnuiyigi daruji: dorotu^f
 maniyigi örösö^g ::

- a The initial vowel is printed like an “e” in Uighur-Mongolian script; the word should read as “örgön.”
 b The double vowels in this word should be represented by a single “ö” surmounted by a straight line indicating length, but I don't have access to that character.
 c For “bayixuluqsan.”
 d For “cakiyigi.”
 e While a character indicating a letter of foreign origin is used here, it is not used in *šanzodba* (line 4), also from Tibetan. (It looks like the galig character used to transcribe Tibetan *tsh*, but it should be the galig character used for *ts* or *dz*.)
 f For “dorodu.”
 g For “örösö.” Also see b above.

¹⁷⁸ Reading *khot l mandal* for the text's *khotol mandal*. (See Part 2, note 15.)

¹⁷⁹ That is, a resident governing authority appointed by the Qing Emperor.

A vastly wise administrator;
A pure and pleasant chief of staff;¹⁸¹
A wise and good secretary;
An astrologer who studies the hours;
Ministers who dispense justice;
Four great chant-leaders
With the voices of young dragons;
Noble lamas and keepers of dough-offerings.
Have mercy on our lowliness
And suppress the fierce demons.

The Hunt

Ah! My many companions of the hunt!¹⁸²
Moving to the north,
Moving to the south,
Let us ride out making our fame resound.
From the time of the Powerful Holy One¹⁸³
Lord and people have gathered
Holding forth and swaggering,
Jingling coins for wagers¹⁸⁴
As a mark of prowess
And hunted their plentiful prey.
The beaters lead, surrounding it;
The trackers meeting it steer it in;
In blinds where game-trails meet, ambushers nock their arrows;
The flayer who divides the spoils among all
Strips off the skin chanting a blessing;
Spoilers try to disrupt the peace;
It's beautiful that their saddle-thongs
Hang outward, stained with blood.
Arrogantly striking down in the hunt
That animal
With protruding teats
That dribbles its rich white milk,
Will defile the highest merit.
Hunting down like an enemy
That which is rare and beautiful as a Tara stone¹⁸⁵
Is a further wrong.

¹⁸⁰ I use here the line as given in Pozdneyev's song 31 (note 13, transcription line 4.)

¹⁸¹ Reading the text's *gol shig* as *golshig*, as is used in Pozdneyev's song 31 (note 13, transcription line 4.)

¹⁸² This poem describes a battue hunt, in which a circle of hunters surrounds the prey and then constricts, driving the animals to the center to be killed.

¹⁸³ Chinggis Khan

¹⁸⁴ I read *melzeen* for the text's *melzen*. (Throughout Part 3, "the text" refers to *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowin büteel*, ed. M. Gürsed.)

¹⁸⁵ This translation is a guess; I have found no information on the phrase *dariin chuluu*.

Just for that wolf-bitch
Who searching hither and thither for food
By day rips off the sheeps' tails,
Let us have hate upon hate,
And hunt upon hunt.
Begging as he returns home from the hunt,
Afflicting his horse and wearying his body,
Is disgrace for a Mongol.
May my Khökhii Mountain be filled with game,
And may my people be strengthened with merit.

The Way of This World¹⁸⁶

If only clouds would come out and rain would fall
If only as the door were raised I would smell rain
If only my bad karma would dissolve in rain
If only my speech would wash away like the rain
If only a whistling wind would waft the smell of plants
If only my lewd thoughts would be wiped away by wind
If only my heart would awaken like a flower blooming
Alas my contemplation
Is disturbed by the way of this world

Why Carry a Tune

All thoughts arising in a layman's head
Should not be told to the whole people.
My hopes souring in difficult times,
I might pronounce a false teaching.
Each word that comes out of my mouth
Says that existence forever unchanging is a lie.
It's important I tell my elders and youngsters
What I consider absolutely right:
The joy found in life --
Feasts and games;
Dazzling beauty --
Friendly girls;
The teachings I reverently follow --
The guru's doctrine;
My fondly pronounced legacy --
Singing.
Not every ordinary person
Can carry a tune;
Every lord
As a rule must lead.

¹⁸⁶ This form, Gürsed's I, is also published in Amarjargal and Palam, *Mongol töriin tüşheed*, 31.

Hunting Elk

Their gallop breaking the peace,
My hunting companions
Entered the secluded woods,
Spiderwebs enmeshing their throats.
Those with guns stalked, following the traces;
Those without them beat their stirrups, stirring up the prey.
A gun's 'bang' rang out
And in that instant, an elk's horns shuddered.
The buck bore like a champion wrestler
Its sprawling ten-point antlers.
Ah my comrades
Even an elk prizes his antlers;
Prizing your name, renouncing improper affairs, is worthwhile.

The Magic of Women

In this wide earth
It's women who have the magic
A lama who has renounced the cry of a child
Melts at suddenly catching the glance of a woman
Turning away his eye used to peering at sutras
Blatantly forgetting his monastery home
Intoxicated by the woman's fragrance
He recalls with regret his unfulfilled life
Ah, may the magic of women
Be enjoyed in peace

A Cause for Meditation

Chinese, the ones called Chinese;
It's hard how they humiliate my Khalkha
Like a grey-brown hawk that chases a poor lark.
It's said we will be forever paying off
Our disastrous debts.
Manchus, the ones called Manchus;
It's difficult how they lord over
Our Mongolia
Like King Garuda chasing a hawk.
It's said we will be eternally fulfilling
Our staggering tax and post-road duties.
All the Mongols are plundered at will
By the heretical aliens,

Voracious as Rahu,¹⁸⁷
Furious¹⁸⁸ as vipers,
Foremost of fools.
But not displaying a timid heart,
Since the Buddha's pure, true dharma
Never says to plunder others;
Not kneeling at the southerners' soles
And lying discouraged in his palace-tent;
Shutting dishonest mouths with facts and decrees;
Exceeding in his learning and ability;
Protecting his foolish masses
With his wise meditating intellect;
Such is the true heart¹⁸⁹ of a lord.

The Three Precious Things

Oh! What are the three vital precious things,
Like the three manly games,¹⁹⁰
Pillars
Of human life?
Learning broad as powerful heaven
Is one precious thing.
A thickly-crowded herd of one's own to tend
Makes two precious things.
A vast, peaceful homeland to cherish as one's birthplace
Makes three precious things.
May the three precious things endure
And may every honest person know them.

One in Justice

Although skillfully writing verse
And drawing with the artistry of the brush
Appear different on the surface
The meaning they display is one
 Although thinking up and playing music
 And making carvings
 Are completely different in outer form
 The significance they teach is one

¹⁸⁷ Rāhu (Tibetan name *Sgra gcan*), a planet in Indian cosmology, causes eclipses by devouring the sun and moon.

¹⁸⁸ Reading *khilentei* for the text's *khelentei*.

¹⁸⁹ Literally "liver."

¹⁹⁰ These are horse-racing, wrestling and archery. Contests in these games accompany both large-scale celebrations and all kinds of local occasions.

Although clarifying the times through meditation
And litigating, relying on the law
Also are two different practices
The justice of their solutions is one

A World Without Permanence

To last forever is needless;
Even everlasting water is useless.
Your mortal body
Does not last ten thousand years,
But your extraordinary good works
Will stand as before for centuries.
Even a tree sprouts and then falls;
A person too is born and then dies.
If the first tree is on a mountain,
So too will be the tree that follows;
If their elders are learned,
So too will be the children.¹⁹¹
For things to last forever
Is a fool's thought;
To live long
Is the idea of a serene person.
In this brief life,
It's worth considering what is good or evil.

The Joy of Moving Camp

We take a measure¹⁹² of our dear Khökhii
As we cross over Khorin Bugat;¹⁹³
The tail of the lead camel
Hits the nose that follows,
While loads and straps all together
Bulge toward the back.
We pour pungent wine
Down our gaping camels' throats,
And masters and animals all
Thrive on wine as on a tonic.
Near to the heavens, parted from the ground,
On my Khökhii range shaped like a mountain-goat's back,
I spend the autumn alongside my subjects.
We empty bag after bag of mare's-milk wine

¹⁹¹ This line and the previous one are in Gürsed's versions II and III but not I.

¹⁹² Here I have substituted *khemjij* for the text's problematic *khemij*.

¹⁹³ The text notes, "Khorin Bugat is a high pass in the territory of Öndörkhangai *sum* that crosses the eastern part of Khan Khökhii."

As steeds race age by age,
We try each other's skill with the bow,
And test our talent wrestling;
We play in the evening at "throw the white stick";¹⁹⁴
We keep on studying our laws;
The best places are occupied
By our elders;
Full shares are bestowed
On our orphans and poor;
We raise our voices with fiddle-music in song;
The drinking cup gleams as it makes the round;
Away from life stuck in a monastery quarreling over our places,
Following our nomad's way is our joy.

Awakening Understanding

The jewel-like appearance
Of a person who has forgotten his lineage
And the confused thoughts he copes with
Are as different as water and snow.
He shouldn't be pushed into disorderly actions
And left to stray from the straight path;
On the occasion of crossing arms in greeting
And exchanging pipes
Your one concern is to speak the advice that will awaken understanding,
Lighting a lamp in his no longer discouraged mind.
Think back and think back
And fulfill this yearning.
Let us study wisdom through schooling
And in perfect solidarity be content.

The Five Jewels

To drink and to eat;
To wear and to use;
To dress up and adorn ourselves;
These are the grace of the animals alone.
Our five jewels, our animals,¹⁹⁵
Since primitive times have given their blessings
And drawn the hearts of the children.
Getting our animals fat and strong,
Without abandoning an orphaned kid,
Without casting off a precious horse;

¹⁹⁴ This game is discussed by Kabzińska-Stalwarz in *Games*, 64-67.

¹⁹⁵ The five animals traditionally herded by Mongolians are horses, camels, cattle (including yaks), goats and sheep.

Fixing up our winter camps,
Arranging the animals' litter;
Switching to our spring and autumn camps;
Changing to our summer herding ways;
Guarding our pastoral heritage,¹⁹⁶
Looking after our herding families,
Whether nobles with buttons on their hats
Or ordinary commoners;
Taking refuge in our animals' merit;
Forever making them increase like grain;
We shall live in peace and blessings!

Wool¹⁹⁷

Let us prize and collect the wool
Of our animals, that cover our mountains and plains.
What belongs to those others who never touched it
When we've taken a pile of fleece big as a bull!
The peabush and larch, decorated with wool
Will be combed out by foreigners in thickly-padded trousers.
How hard, if Khalkha's bounty
Is so uselessly squandered like water and snow!
In the hot summer why would the animals feel cold?
It is a pity that while we cherish all our animals to excess,
A precious rich prize, a treasure
Is lost with the raging wind.

Writing¹⁹⁸

My native script,¹⁹⁹
Filing downward
Like a meandering river,
Has its beginning in immeasurable antiquity.
In your letters we etch forever our songs,
Arisen from unobstructed thought
To make themselves heard by our obedient people;
Making a melody, we bring these to their hearing.
My native script preserves a great secret through eternity
At the same time making it known to humanity.

¹⁹⁶ I have added this line from Gürsed's source II, where it stands in place of the line that follows it here. That source was taken down from Ch. Daram of Öndörkhongai *sum* and published by Dashdorj and Tsooloo, *Khel zokhiol* XII:226.

¹⁹⁷ I translate the form published in *Bayan Khankhökhiü*, Gombojaw comp. and ed., 20, which combines Gürsed's source-poems.

¹⁹⁸ This translates the poem as published in *Bayan Khankhökhiü*, 21.

¹⁹⁹ In all of Gürsed's three sources, this line is *Uigarjin bichig minu*, "My Uighur script."

Without missing a generation
May the youth study;
May you rise like the sun
And reveal wisdom to all my people.

Sitting On Khökhii's Summit

When I have climbed to sit on the top of my Khökhii mountain
The life under the blue sky strikes my eye.
My body moves in the midst of a bluish haze
And when we expound to each other on whatever captures our desires
My wise minister of the right hand Choi²⁰⁰
Artistically clarifies in inks what is reliable and good.
Mare's-milk wine given by the potful amplifies the spirit
And a song full of teachings flows from the mouth.

Difference of Birth²⁰¹

Of princely lineage
Or of common origin;
If there is truly a difference,
It is exactly
In their possessions
And in their schooling.
One of high lineage who is negligent
Will be reckoned among those of low origin;
One of low origin who strives
Enters the ranks of high lineage.

Love and Learning

In the gentle summertime
The cuckoo spontaneously sings;
In the prime of our youth
As we go along the road, love will suddenly arise.
That measureless wisdom
Without others' requirements and instructions,
Without diligence in one's lessons,
Does not arise
In anyone's son's head
Is surely true.

²⁰⁰ Gürsed's note reads: "This refers to his right-hand scribe and minister, *zakhiragch* Choijiw." As *zakhiragch*, or adjutant, Choijiw held the banner's third highest office, the highest attainable by a commoner. (Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 446-447; Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, 30-31.)

²⁰¹ This translates the form published in *Bayan Khankhökhi*, 21, which combines Gürsed's source-poems.

Songs

Meritorious Meeting²⁰²

Named Meritorious Meeting;
Perfected in body and wisdom;
With the feelings of a bodhisattva;
Gentle and glistening
With the color of refined gold;
 Splendid as a lion;
 Joyful as if awakening;
 Tranquil and virtuous;
 In newly thriving health I will meet you,
 My own, who are as fine as this.
When the outline of your form
Comes out clearly on the mountain pass
Many people gather
And my inmost heart
Throbs in excitement.
 In you, my venerated one,
 All sorts of signs are united,
 And from hence I am fortunate;
 While I sing this, my song,
 You stay on as a melody.
My incarnate lama, becoming a buddha
With the highest destiny,
May we meet
At the celebration of our
Boundless great dharma.

version A

Hey, The Rich Khökhii

Hey, from the heart of the rich Khökhii
Badar's mineral spring gushes,
Clearing up sickness and obstruction²⁰³
For all who are afflicted;
Through this eternal good blessing,
I will have enjoyment and peace.

²⁰² Because the text's presentation of the fourth stanza is rather confusing, I have translated that stanza from L. Gombojaw, "Tawuulaa shülegch," in *Tsagiig ezelsen duuch*, ed. Gürsed, 71. This song differs only in a few words from that in the text, except that it omits the fifth stanza. Also, Gombojaw attributes the song to Luwsandondow's second son Gonchigdamba.

²⁰³ Though the text has *tüütgeriig*, I use *tüitgeriig*, as given in *Bayan Khankhökhii*, 22, where the poem is nearly identical to version A. Lessing's *Mongolian-English Dictionary's* Supplement of Mongolian Buddhist Terms, 1187, gives a list of five obstacles: anger, wickedness, ignorance, sensuality, and doubt.

Hey, many-colored flowers
 Satisfy the eye²⁰⁴
 And the melodious voices of birds
 Ring in the ear.²⁰⁵
 The mountain's fragrant herbs
 Pervade the nose²⁰⁶
 And its crumbled and sprouted nectar-fruit
 Tastes sweet as brown sugar.
 Hey, now²⁰⁷ in old age
 I will enjoy peace of mind,
 Suitably sitting contentedly
 On the cool soft lawn
 With the world in its summer aspect
 And I will be happy with a firm full happiness!

version B

Hey, The Rich Khökhii

Hey, from the heart of the rich Khökhii
 Badar's mineral spring gushes,
 Clearing up suffered sickness and obstruction,²⁰⁸
 And through this eternal good blessing
 I will enjoy peace and health.
 Hey, I will more and more firmly enjoy
 My ripened fruit
 With a hundred thousand flavors,
 And dense soft lawn,
 Able suitably to sit contentedly
 With the world in its summer aspect.
 Hey, many-colored flowers
 Satisfy the eye²⁰⁹
 And the melodious voices of birds
 Ring in the ear.²¹⁰
 As the mountain's fragrant herbs
 Pervade the nose,²¹¹
 Hey, now starting from childhood
 May arrogance be suppressed;
 And may good fortune and blessings abide
 For the good of all the many living beings.

²⁰⁴ Literally "the organ of the eye."

²⁰⁵ Literally "the ear's hearing."

²⁰⁶ Literally "the organ of the nose."

²⁰⁷ Instead of the text's *edewgee* I use *edügee* as given in *Bayan Khankhökhii*, 22.

²⁰⁸ See note 39.

²⁰⁹ See note 40.

²¹⁰ See note 41.

²¹¹ See note 42.

The Elk of High Khökhii

The elk of high Khökhii
Call out by the dawn light.
When they are grazing scattered
Along the mountain's white spur,
I let them puff out their steamy breath,
Then, from my horse with my long white bow, I shoot.
 On the crest of West Chingel,²¹²
 The mountain elk call out.
 What of your feelings,
 You who became my friend in childhood?
On the crest of East Chingel,
Khökhii's elk call out.
I will come to meet
You, my heart's beloved.
 Grass filling its ravine
 Ripples along Larch River;
 Its black-spined isabella horses
 Roam, following its terrace.
How would I fix in place
The egg-sized stones I have made roll?
How could I oppress
Orphaned younger brothers and sisters?
 If only the numbers of followers seen in groups
 Could only be guessed at;
 I will be happy as a follower
 Of the Panchen and Dalai Lamas!

version A

Pangare-Brown Pacer

Hey! Over hill after hill
 With a quick trot,²¹³
 With a running gait like a swan's flight,
 With a pure handsome body:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
Hey! With fine well-spaced²¹⁴ ears,
 With fine round hooves,

²¹² *Chingel* is the name of a plant, the halimodendron, or salt tree. This reading assumes there is a peak named after the plant.

²¹³ Instead of the text's *demelzüülen* I use *dömölzen*, given in Kh. Sampildendew et al., *Mongol ardîn urtîn duu*, 141, "Saiwar khaltar mori," line 2.

²¹⁴ The word used, *töö*, designates the span between the tips of a hand's outstretched thumb and middle finger.

With the fine curved back of a hare,
 With a fine banner of a tail,
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Hey! Without his rider loosing an arrow
 He strikes down the white-blazed grey elk
 That lean back, necks craned,
 As they climb the rising slopes:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Hey! Without his rider loosing an arrow
 He strikes down the white-blazed red elk
 That go leaping
 Down and down the slopes:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Hey! Without drinking from winter water-holes,
 Without being pastured in the sparse weak herd,
 Without holding a cold bit in his teeth
 In the freezing depths of winter,
 Without having a sweaty saddlecloth
 Put on his back,
 Without being captured in the dawn's chill wind,
 Without being tied in the evening's chill wind:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Hey! A duck splashing as he trains,
 Running out of the lakelands,
 In front of the nobility
 He has a refined, pleasing manner:²¹⁵
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Hey! Bursting into ground with mud
 That splashes the back of his knees;
 Flashing into first place again and again
 In the games with all their exertions:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Hey! Having won a celebrated name
 Suppressing war and enemies:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.

²¹⁵ Reading the text's *gol shig* as *golshig*, as in line 4. (See also note 17.)

May the gift be ours
Of boundless great joy
Inspired by winning a glorious title²¹⁶
In the games of our splendid great state.

version B

Pangare-Brown Pacer

Hey! Trotting quickly²¹⁷
Over the hills,
With a running gait like a swan's flight,
With a clean and pleasing manner:²¹⁸
The truly firm-stepping
Pangare-brown pacing horse.
Without his rider loosing an arrow,
He strikes down the red-pelted elk
That jumps, startled
In its midday haunt:
The truly firm-stepping
Pangare-brown pacing horse.
Without his rider loosing an arrow,
He strikes down the white-blazed grey elk
That cranes its neck in search of food²¹⁹
As it steps down and down the slope:
The truly firm-stepping
Pangare-brown pacing horse.
Hopping like a chicken
On muddy ground
And leaping into first place
In the games with all their exertions:
The truly firm-stepping
Pangare-brown pacing horse.
Plunging like a duck
Into the water of the many lakes,
He has a refined, pleasing manner²²⁰
In front of the nobles:
The truly firm-stepping
Pangare-brown pacing horse.
The horse that doesn't drink
From water-holes in winter ice,

²¹⁶ I read the text's *tsogtsol* as *tsog tsol*.

²¹⁷ Instead of the text's *demüülen* I again use *dömölzen*; see note 49.

²¹⁸ See note 51.

²¹⁹ The word here (line 14) is *ölbiikhij*. From this form I posit a verb *ölbiikh* with the same meaning as a verb *ölbökh*, from which would derive the attested verb *ölbölzökh*.

²²⁰ See note 51.

The horse that isn't pastured
 In the sparse weak herd:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 The horse that doesn't drink
 The water of drying puddles,
 The horse that isn't pastured
 In the riverbends:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 With a fine curved back like a hare's,
 With a fine big tail,
 With fine well-spaced²²¹ ears,
 With fine round hooves:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Never having to bite a cold bit
 In the freezing depths of winter,
 Never having on his back
 A sweaty saddle-cloth:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Running noon and night,
 Tied up in the first light of dawn:
 The truly firm-stepping
 Pangare-brown pacing horse.
 Through the Dalai Lama's blessing,
 May we immediately rejoice
 In quickly suppressing war and enemies
 And winning a celebrated name.

The Sharp-Shooting Bow

Hey! Masterfully stringing
 His bow that has drawn cheer after cheer,
 Drawing his fine wise arrow
 To the limit of his ability,
 An archer hit right in its center
 The skin target to the south;
 Meanwhile the stupid swaggered
 And silver coins jingled.

Hey! Using a fine clear mind,
 A wrestler danced around his opponents,
 Shaking them, spinning them around
 With his very capable hands.

²²¹ See note 50.

While he flipped over with a blow rows of
Crowding quick braggarts,
While he twisted their arms from their shoulders,
An ignorant wrestler stumbled.

Hey! One riding a fast horse
Using a fine sharp mind,
Grasping a fluttering whip²²²
In his perfectly-formed hands,
Will cross without tarrying
The great wide plain;
An unreliable²²³ proud high-strung horse
Will be lost in the distance.

Hey! Whose is the powerful song
Full of wisdom?
Whose is the fine will
Full of good ability?
Without threat from them
We will rejoice in peace!

version A

Lofty and Lovely²²⁴

Hey! In our world like the aggregate of jewels
That is full of various perfect qualities,
A powerful cairn with sacrificial vessels has been set up
And a magnificent choice offering prepared!

Hey! At the center of the lofty lovely mountainous world
A sea of inexhaustible delight gathers;
Enjoying all our merit in this body,
All together let us rejoice and feast!

Hey! A lifetime comes only once,
But feasts are many;
Let us use this life to have fun and rejoice
In our lofty and lovely world!

²²² I have not found this definition for *shawkhuur*, but Bawden's dictionary has the entries: "*shawkhrakh*, to whip, to lash" and "*shawkhuurdakh*, to whip, to lash, to hit out at": Tsewel's dictionary also includes these two verbs.

²²³ While the text has *goimoi* I use *goomoi*, given in *Bayan Khankhökhi*, 24.

²²⁴ The commentary notes: "It is written in his journal that General and Duke Lu himself composed and sang this song when his banner held a games festival in honor of the establishment of an *owoo* at White Lake, a territory of Öndörkhongai *sum*." That journal entry is in Part 1, p. 21 of my translation.

version B

Lofty and Lovely

From the middle of the lofty lovely mountainous Khökhii
A sea of inexhaustible love forms;
Let the whole people, king and commoner, all
Have pleasure through good wishes.
 Let us establish on the world our cairn and community
 Like the aggregate of jewels
 That spreads all kinds of qualities,
 And prepare magnificent choice offerings.
Let us invite Vajrapani²²⁵ together with his companions
From inside the undulating sea of mountains,
And so grant merit and good fortune in the blessing
Of our great games and amusements.
 Let the splendor of my benevolent guru
 Who has perfected the character of Ayushi²²⁶
 Remain firm with his lotus-soles for ten thousand years²²⁷,
 And let us continue to produce benefit for living beings.
Only this clears up all strife,
And thus the blessing of long life strengthens!
May my auspicious five kinds of livestock snouts
Breed and universally multiply;
May we assemble²²⁸ lots of alms and merit,
And may immense great good fortune abide with us.
 Let the Buddhist religion flourish
 And the emperor's state grow truly stable;
 Let us all promote joyous games and amusements
 And fully enjoy ourselves!

The Elk of Our Khökhii

Zey hey laa -
In the first month of autumn
On Chingel Crest²²⁹ with its junipers,
The elk of our Khökhii
Let out ringing calls - laa, elk

²²⁵ The bodhisattva among the “three lords” (Waddell, *Tibetan Buddhism*, 355) that is associated with Mongolia, with Chinggis Khan having been an incarnation; the others are Manjushri, incarnate in the Manchu emperors, and Avalokiteshvara, incarnate in the Dalai Lamas.

²²⁶ Mongolian name for Amitayus, the Buddha of Boundless Life.

²²⁷ Tibetan Buddhist literature has a long history of beseeching one's guru, as a buddha, to remain in the world, an idea which is important in Mongolian ritual life (see also Part 1, note 33.) A category of such Tibetan poetry which pervades ritual in Tibet is called *zhabs brtan*, firm feet (Cabezón, “Firm Feet and Long Lives” in Cabezón and Jackson, *Tibetan Literature*, 344-357.)

²²⁸ Reading *khuraaj* for *khuraij*.

²²⁹ See note 48.

In the first month of winter
In my Khökhii, peculiar in its secluded places,
The frost and snow
Appear foggy and flurrying --
My Khökhii, rich in secluded places!

Zey hey laa -

When I see with my own eyes
This world without permanence,
And think back, from season to season,
I cannot stay settled at all.

Let us see peace and health
In our Khökhii, spacious in its secluded places;
And right now, let you, my people,
And I together be content!

The Crest of Khökhii Mountain²³⁰

On the crest of Khökhii Mountain
An icy mist gathers.
I have no mind to forget
You, my bright-eyed darling.
At the top of the rocky heights
A dark mist gathers.
When I think about your loving affection
I have no mind to turn away!
Rocky ground is slippery;
Please go with care.
Foreigners are treacherous;
Please go with vigilance.
Please ride your light chestnut horse
On your distant journey.
I will be happy dwelling here
With you, my little one, who are far away!

²³⁰ The commentary notes that the song is published under the title “Khökh uul” (“Blue Mountain”) in Sampildendew et al., *Mongol ardîn urtîn duu (Long Songs of the Mongolian People)*, 206.

Dubia

version A

The Guru and the Three Jewels²³¹

Hey! We venerate the Guru and the Three Jewels
As the supreme ones,²³²
And bow down in prayer
To the Great Guardian of the Dharma.²³³
Despite all schemes
We have performed meritorious deeds,
And all assembling together
We make merry.

Hey! A horse from among the geldings
That has all the signs of perfection
Completes his training;
At race-time
When he flies over the distance
My horse, moving ever further in front,
Keeps passing and passing
And so comes in first!

Hey! The dust raised by the geldings appears like a fog.
The voices of many children
Are heard shouting hoarsely.
Darting out
From among the geldings
My horse runs like an elk
Making for its forest.
His two ears are crossed
Like a vulture's feathers;
He has the appealing beauty
Of a peacock!

²³¹ The commentary, referring to both versions, reads: "Doubt that the poet Luwsandondow wrote the song 'The Guru and the Three Jewels' remains, since this song has been sung in Mongolian territories since olden times. However, the form in which it is versified, the alliteration, and the line-endings, etc., conform to Duke Lu's manner of expression," and also notes, "Customarily the Eljgen Khalkha sing this song all together at games when the racehorses leave for the start and when they come in to the finish."

A much shorter version of this song, consisting of some lines making up this one, can be found in Dorjdagwa, *Urtin duu*, 70, with the title "Kholch mori."

²³² Here I correct line two of the text, *Zee Lam gurwan erdeniin deediig/ erkhem bogdoor*, to read *erkhem bogdoor takhij*.

²³³ Presumably Balden Lhamo, as in version B. (See note 74 below.)

version B

The Guru and the Three Jewels

Hey! We bow down in prayer
To the Guru and the Three Jewels,
To the heavenly gods, the holy ones and the teacher,
And to the Great Guardian of the Dharma.²³⁴
Despite any schemes
We have accomplished meritorious deeds,
And assembling all together
Have made merry.
A horse from among the geldings
That has all the signs of perfection
Has had its training completed;
At race-time
When given free rein from the distant start,
He passes fast horses
One after another
And once again comes in first.
The dust raised by the geldings
Appears like a fog.
The high-pitched voices of many children
Are heard faintly.
He has run without a blister
From the middle of many hunts,²³⁵
Like a running elk
Heading from the middle of the woods.
Pricking up his two ears
Like a vulture's feathers,²³⁶
He looks as beautiful and adorable
As a peacock.
You have thought until now
The thoughts of childhood;
Thinking back and thinking back,
Fulfill your hopes and intentions.
Alas, are those who did not study
In childhood
Inclined to bow down and pray
To the wise serene holy ones?²³⁷
Within one moment that we strove toward
Our Great Protector Lhamo,²³⁸

²³⁴ See note 74 below.

²³⁵ Reading the text's *aaw* as an error for *aw*.

²³⁶ Reading the text's *söd* as an error for *sod*. However, in "Kholch mori" (see note 67) *tasîn söd* is used in the same way.

²³⁷ That is, to incarnate lamas.

She deigned to grant magic power and mercy
And that plans be accomplished with success.
Let us all, good and bad,
Be pleased and content
Building our lamasery's new assembly hall,
Making our religion flourish!

Wide Cloud²³⁹

When a wide cloud appears
The peacocks rejoice.
Seeing you, my dear beloved ones,
My heart revives.
When you stay close to here
My intelligence revives,
But when you travel far away
I seem to melt.
The heavens are high but
The rain that falls is swift;
Existence is eternal but
The shifting of its forms is swift.
 When white hoar-frost descends
 It's just a sign of winter;
 When the pleasant life warps,
 That is the way of existence.
What is called existence
Is a constant falsehood.
Let us bow once now
To the highest holy one.
Assembling the two equipments of merit and wisdom,
Attaining emptiness,
May we obtain the blessings
Of the unbreakable thunderbolt.

²³⁸ Balden Lhamo, one of the Eight Guardians of the Dharma in the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon. She is revered by the dGe lugs pa sect as the special protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas (Berger and Bartholomew, *Mongolia*, 243.)

²³⁹ My translation combines Gürsed's sources I and II.

The commentary notes that the song was published in Sampildendew et al., *Mongol ardîn urtîn duu*, 139-140. It further says, "There is a legend that says General and Duke Lu himself composed and sang this song at a time when no rain fell in his territory, and there was a great drought. After he sang, a downpour fell in his territory, breaking the drought. Since then, this song is sung in order to stop either a drought or a continuous downpour."

Another variant appears, under the same title, in Dorjdagwa, *Urtîn duu*, 73.

Meadow Flowers²⁴⁰

The meadow flowers
Flutter²⁴¹ in all their colors;
In the third month of summer
It is truly beautiful!
In their clear fresh water
All kinds of birds flock;
 On a high tree in the mountains
 A cuckoo sings;
 On the steep high mountain
 Plentiful game-animals play;
Slender white willows
Sway this way and that,
And oh, in their midst
Golden gūmbeds²⁴² are opened up.
 Yellow flowers²⁴³ grow
 On the mountain's wide great lower slopes,
 And as a mild wind blows,
 An emerald scent wafts;
 It is truly beautiful!
 Elder and younger together
 Let us enjoy peace and beauty!

Accolades for Racehorses, Benediction for a *Ger*²⁴⁴

Accolade for the Winner of the Race for Horses Over Five Years

Among the countless many geldings
In the peaceful manifold games and amusements
That are the symbol of the central great state
Is a universally blessed splendid steed
Made up of perfect features.
An ornament to our illuminating religion and state,
Spreading good fortune,
Inflaming luck and glory;

²⁴⁰ The commentary notes that many words in the song match those of “Tsetserlegiin tsetseg,” published in Sampildendew et al., *Mongol ardīn urtīn duu*, 190-191.

²⁴¹ I have not found the text's *namikh*, though Bawden's dictionary has the form, “*namilzakh*, 1. to flutter, to float.” The verb-stem suffix *-lza* is commonly used to indicate rhythmic motion (Poppe, *Grammar*, 64.)

²⁴² I have no information on these flowers; their name may be Tibetan.

²⁴³ The text has *mijin serbe*. *Minjin serbe* is a yellow flower with medicinal properties. Its name comes from Tibetan.

²⁴⁴ The pieces in this section are examples of traditional ceremonial intonations (in modern Mongolian *morinī tsol* and *yörööl*) which are not sung, but spoken rhythmically and in monotone (Kara, *Chants d'un barde Mongol*, 194.)

The wish-fulfilling wind-steed.
Racing ahead with the vigor of a lion or tiger
Filled with abundant strength,
The worthy steed that crosses the wide great steppe
Without tarrying.
Flashing ahead like fiery lightning,
Tearing from the distance far in front
As if by the forceful²⁴⁵ wingbeat of Garuda or a dragon,
Filled with marvelous splendor,
Captivatingly joyous with the voice of the kalavingka bird;
The vigorous auspicious steed,
First of tens of thousands!

Accolade for the Winning Horse in the Five-year-olds' Race

In the public games and amusements of Kalkha Mongolia
Founded by the Emperor Lord Chinggis
Is a jeweled steed
Like King Garuda in soaring pulsing flight.
An ornament to our flourishing state,
Illuminating the whole world,
Making heavenly and earthly lords thrive and be happy;
The wind-steed like a dragon with booming wing-beats.
An offering to our high beautiful Khökhii Peak,
Inspiring the good fortune of blessed fertility and abundance;
A great hero like a tiger leaping forward;
Eternal happiness – the auspicious steed.
Comprising the Ten Strengths;²⁴⁶
With the qualities of a lion;
With the great ability of a champion;
The extremely vigorous auspicious steed,
First of tens of thousands!

Accolade for the Winning Horse in the Four- and Three-year-olds' Races

In our perfect elaborate games
That are an ornament to our peaceful state,
He comes in first, steamy hot;
Head of the countless many,
First of thousands,
A fierce arrow,
Thunderous hail,
A fleet falcon;
The splendid steed!

²⁴⁵ Reading *id* for the text's *ed*.

²⁴⁶ See Part 2, note 34.

Accolade for the Second-place Horse in the Race for Horses Over Five Years

In our honored festival, famous to all,
Gift of the great jade state;
In our festival of inexhaustible well-being,
Which is an ornament to our lofty Khökhii
And a blessing to our whole people,
Protective to kings and commoners everywhere;
A happiness that will grow
Is our auspicious song!²⁴⁷

Accolade for the Second-place Horse in the Five-year-olds' Race

Before the many who have come and assembled
This day, at our devotional
Great games festival:
Made up of noble qualities,
Our precious song!²⁴⁸

Benediction for a *Ger*

On our good peaceful day,
When a universal meaning flourishes,
Of a perfect protective month
Of a year with ten thousand blessings,
₂₄₉
Reaches out and establishes
The foremost of wish-flowers,
Founder of the source of humans.
I raise to the ceremony's symbols
The sacrificial choice liquor
Tasting of honey
That supplies endless merit
In my sound silver cup,
Giving this as a gift.
May the jewel-goods
And food-seeds
That make flourish the glory
Of the honored holy assembly²⁵⁰
Surpass in prosperity
Those of the many worlds;
May they be established in this place;

²⁴⁷ This word, *aizam*, is discussed by Pegg in *Mongolian Music*, 45.

²⁴⁸ See note 83.

²⁴⁹ Here a line which apparently named the subject of the next three lines is indicated as missing.

²⁵⁰ The pantheon of Buddhist gods.

And may the teachings that are handed down
Grow ever deeper.
May a great herd
Of the five kinds of livestock
That lead in augmenting
Alms and merit
Spring without obstruction
From samsara's three realms²⁵¹
And settle in this praiseworthy land,
And may the basis of a good peace
Be thoroughly strengthened!
Through the consummation of an ancient blessing
Let all the spirit-masters of the earth,
Starting with rich lofty Khökhii,
Perfected in power and might,
Which protects and nurtures
The animals and people of this land,
With the spears and weapons
They wield in their hands,
All at once annihilate
The disastrous dangers of
Twisted sins,
Foreign enemies,
And summer drought and winter ice;
And let the treasury of jewels
And symbols of good fortune
Which they hold in their hands
Fill up in heaps
And strew in profusion
The glory of blessedness and good fortune.
As they perpetually bring
Overflowing riches and abundance,
Let us rejoice in presenting as a gift
A firm great blessing,
Of dwelling with pleasure
In joy and celebrations.

²⁵¹ The realms of desire, form and formlessness that make up our world of samsara.

Sources

Gürsed includes in most works variants from different sources which he designates as I, II and III and identifies in a commentary following the work. Since my translations are (except as noted) from I, his “fundamental source,” generally only that source is listed here.

Two main sources are manuscript books copied while in the possession of Ö. Nachin and of Ch. Mishig, both of Öndörkhantai *sum* in Uws *aimag*. Many works were copied from Ch. Mishig’s book by N. Tsewimed and L. Gombojaw. Other written sources include manuscripts owned by Ch. Daram of Öndörkhantai *sum* and B. Bambadorj and B. Galsan of Züünkhantai *sum* and copied through the 1960’s and 70’s. At this time, too, a research team including E. Wandui, D. Dashdorj, and J. Tsooloo, among others, copied “Khankhökhiiin magtaal” (“Praise for Khankhökhii”) and other works from the manuscript book belonging to Ch. Daram. (This information is from Gürsed’s introduction, p.6.)

Poems

North of the High Holy One

A – Nachin

B – Mishig

The Hunt

I – Nachin

The Way of This World

I – Nachin

Why Carry a Tune

Nachin (copied by N. Tsewegmed)

Hunting Elk

I – Mishig (copied by N. Tsewegmed)

The Magic of Women

Nachin (copied by N. Tsewegmed)

A Cause for Meditation

I – Nachin

The Three Precious Things

I – Mishig

One in Justice

I – Nachin

A World Without Permanence
I – Nachin

The Joy of Moving Camp
Nachin

Awakening Understanding
Nachin

The Five Jewels
I – Mishig

Wool
I – Mishig

Writing
I – Mishig

Sitting on Khökhii's Summit
Mishig

Difference of Birth
I – Mishig

Love and Learning
Mishig

Songs

Meritorious Meeting
I – Bambadorj (manuscript copied by B. Amarjargal)

Hey, The Rich Khökhii
A – Mishig
B – Sendew, Alгаа of Öndörkhангай *sum* (written down by Ts. Bayarsüren)

The Elk of High Khökhii
I – Mishig

Pangare-Brown Pacer
A – Mishig
B – Bambadorj (manuscript copied by B. Amarjargal)
B. Daibaanyam of Öndörkhангай *sum* (written down by Ts. Bayarsüren, 1986)
collection of the Institute of Language and Literature, 1964 research team

The Sharp-Shooting Bow

I – Gürsed’s collection (otherwise unidentified)

Lofty and Lovely

A – Mishig

B – B. Alгаа (written down by Ts. Bayarsüren, 1986)

The Elk of Our Khökhii

I – Gürsed’s collection (otherwise unidentified)

The Crest of Khökhii Mountain

I – Bambadorj (manuscript copied by B. Amarjargal)

Dubia

The Guru and the Three Jewels

A – Mishig

D. Senden of Züünkhангай *sum* (written down by Ts. Bayarsüren)

Bambadorj (manuscript copied by B. Amarjargal)

B – collection of the Institute of Language and Literature, 1964 research team

Wide Cloud

I – Mishig

II – Bambadorj (manuscript copied by B. Amarjargal)

Meadow Flowers

O. Tүмөндөмбөрөл of Öндөрkhангай *sum*

Accolades for Racehorses, Benediction for a Ger

Accolades

Dandgai of Turuun *sum* in Uws *aimag* (written down by Gürsed, 1957)

T. Mönkhdalai of Öндөрkhангай *sum* (written down by Gürsed, 1963)

Benediction for a Ger

Mishig (written down by N. Tsewegmid, 1964)

Bibliography

- Amarjargal, B., and B. Palam. *Mongol töriin түсheed: Lu janjin гүн, To wan. To wan судlalîn erdem шинжилgeenii суwрал бичиг 25*. Ulaanbaatar: To wan судlalîn nigemleg, 2004.
- Atwood, Christopher P. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongolian Empire*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2004.
- Bawden, Charles R. *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. London, New York: Kegan Paul International, 1997.
- _____. *Mongolian Traditional Literature: An Anthology*. London: Kegan Paul International, 2002.
- _____. "Two Mongol Texts Concerning Obo-Worship." *Oriens Extremus* 5, (1958): 23-41.
- Berger, Patricia, and Teresa Tse Bartholomew. *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan*. San Francisco, California: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1995.
- Bosson, James E. *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāsitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Pandita in Tibetan and Mongolian*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1969.
- Brunnert, H. S., and V. V. Hagelstrom. *Present Day Political Organization of China*. Edited by N. F. Kolesov. Translated by A. Beltchenko and E. E. Moran. Shanghai [etc.]: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1912.
- Cabezón, José Ignacio, and Roger R. Jackson, editors. *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.
- Chabros, Krystyna. *Beckoning Fortune: A Study of the Mongol dalalya Ritual*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992.
- Cheney, George A. *The Pre-revolutionary Culture of Outer Mongolia*. The Mongolia Society Occasional Papers 5. Bloomington, Indiana: Mongolia Society, 1968.
- Cohen, Paul A. *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Damdinsüren, Ts. "Lu janjin гүngiin tukhai domog." *Studia Mongolica* VII, fasc. 11 (1970): 133-139.
- _____. *Mongolîn uran zokhiolîn toim*. Vol. 3. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin khereg erkhlekh khoroo, 1968.

_____. *Mongol uran zokhiolîn deej zuun bilig orshiw*. 4 vols. Ulaanbaatar: Bembi san khewleliin gazar, 2002.

Dashdorj, D. “Luwsandondowîn shüleg mön khemeegdekhiin uchir.” *Shinjlekh ukhaan amidral* 6 (1978): 52-56.

Dashdorj, D. and J. Tsooloo. “Kheden duunî tukhai.” *Khel zokhiol* XII (17) (1977): 217-237.

Dorjdagwa, J. *Urtîn duu*. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin gazar, 1970.

Gombojaw, L. *Minii tanisan Lu gûn*. Ulaanbaatar: ShU khewleliin erdem kompani, 1993.

Gürsed, M., editor. *Tsagîg ezelsen duuch Sedbazarîn Luwsandondow gûn*. Ulaanbaatar: Tsomorlightöw KhKhK, 2001.

Hangin, John Gombojab. *Köke sudur (The Blue Chronicle): A Study of the First Mongolian Historical Novel by Injannasi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973.

Heissig, W. *Geschichte der Mongolischen Literatur*. Vol. 2. Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972.

_____. *The Religions of Mongolia*. Translated by Geoffrey Samuel. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Jambal, B. *Tales of an Old Lama*. Recorded and edited by Ts. Damdinsüren. Translated by C. R. Bawden. Tring, U. K.: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1997.

Kabzińska-Stawarz, Iwona. *Games of Mongolian Shepherds*. Warsaw: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991.

Kara, György. *Books of the Mongolian Nomads*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2005.

_____. *Chants d'un barde Mongol*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970.

_____. “Stave-Rhyme, Head-Rhyme and End-Rhyme in Mongolian Poetry.” In *Altaic Affinities: Proceedings of the 40th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Provo, Utah (1997)*, edited by David B. Honey and David C. Wright, 267-280. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001.

Krueger, John R. *Poetical Passages in the Erdeni-yin tobči: A Mongolian Chronicle of the year 1662 by Sazang Sečen*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton & Co., 1961.

Lessing, Ferdinand D. *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Bloomington, Indiana: The Mongolia Society, 1995.

Luwsandendew, A., and Kh. Sampildendew, editors. *Mongol ardîn zan üiliin aman zokhiol*. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin gazar, 1987.

Luwsandondow, S. *Bayan Khankhökhi: Nairaglal, shüleg, duu*. Compiled and edited by L. Gombojaw. Ulaanbaatar: Khewleliin “Tsomog” kompani, 1994.

_____. *Shülegch S. Luwsandondowîn büteel*. Compiled by M. Gürsed, B. Amarjargal, and Ts. Bayarsüren. Edited by J. Tsooloo and D. Endon. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin gazar, 1989.

Mullin, Glenn H. *Path of the Bodhisatva Warrior: The Life and Teachings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama*. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1988.

de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Book Faith India, 1996.

Nitartha International Online Rangjung Yeshe Tibetan-English Dictionary.

http://www.nitartha.org/dictionary_search04.html.

Pegg, Carole. *Mongolian Music, Dance, and Oral Narrative*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Petrie, Katherine. “Transformation and Persistence in the Performance of the Ikh Bayar Naadam Ceremony of Mongolia.” PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 2006.

Perlee, Kh. “Khan Khökhüin magtaal.” *Tsog* 1 (68) (1960): 110-123.

Poppe, Nicholas. *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Pozdneyev, A.M. *Mongolia and the Mongols*. Vol. 1. Edited by John R. Krueger. Translated by John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1971.

_____. *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury mongol'skikh plemen*. Saint Petersburg: 1880.

_____. *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia*. Edited by John R. Krueger. Translated by Alo Raun and Linda Raun. Bloomington, Indiana: The Mongolia Society, 1978.

Sampildendew, Kh., K. N. Yatskovskaya, and D. Tserensodnom, editors. *Mongol ardîn urtîn duu*. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin gazar, 1984.

Seagrave, Sterling. *Dragon Lady: The Life and Legend of the Last Empress of China*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

Tatár, Magdalena. "Two Mongol Texts Concerning the Cult of the Mountains." *Acta Orientalia* XXX (1) (1976): 1-58.

Tsegmid, Sh. *BNMAU-în gazar züi: Doloo ba arwan jiliin dund surguuliin surakh bichig*. Ulaanbaatar: Gegeerliin yaamnî khewlel, 1957.

Tserenchunt, Legdengiin and Sharon Luethy. *Sain baina uu? Mongolian Language Textbook*. 3 vols. Ulaanbaatar: T and U Printing, 2002.

Tserensodnom, D. *Mongol uran zokhiol (XIII-XX zuunî ekhen)*. Ulaanbaatar: BNMAU-în ardîn bolowsrolîn yaamnî surakh bichig, setgüüliin negdsen redakcin gazar, 1987.

_____. *Mongol uran zokhiolîn towch tүүkh (XIII-XX zuunî ekhen)*. Ulaanbaatar: Shinjlekh ukhaanî akademiin Khel zokhiolîn khüreelen, 2002.

Tsewel, Ya. *Mongol khelnii towch tailbar toli*. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin khereg erkhekh khoroo, 1966.

Tsoloo, J. *Arwan gurwan khülgiin duun: Oird aman zokhiolîn tsomorlog*. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsîn khewleliin gazar, 1987.

Waddell, L. Austine. *Tibetan Buddhism: With Its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972.

Zagsüren, U. "Khan Khökhüin magtaal." *Studia Mongolica* VII (10) (1970): 119-132.