



This paste is

<https://justpaste.it/9lzm0>

https://justpaste.it/Tibetan_Buddhism_Kazakh_Oirat

Salar and Tibetan history in Qinghai. Salar ethnicity is a product of Turkmen Oghuz men marrying Tibetan women from Qinghai Amdo province.

<https://justpaste.it/4v45q>

https://justpaste.it/Tibetan_Salar

<https://twitter.com/worldviews101/status/87775688098193408>

TRIMONDI ONLINE MAGAZINE <http://trimondi.de/EN/deba02.html> I was a Tantric Sex Slave about June Campbell.

<https://twitter.com/GlobExpressNews/status/1226577816470327297>

For decades June Campbell ended up being the `consort' of a Tibetan Buddhist that is senior monk. I happened to be a Tantric sex servant <http://globalexpressnews.com/for-decades-june-campbell-ended-up-being-the-2/>

<https://twitter.com/MalMoncrief/status/1309019505566375940>

This is one of the most gruesome murder descriptions I have come across. In 1905 the French Catholic missionary Jules Dubernard was tortured and killed by Tibetan lamas in Yunnan. The Scottish plant collector George Forrest was lucky to escape. <https://bit.ly/3i2kTqi>

<https://twitter.com/AlysCorduroy/status/1031384950564515840>

down to the idea that these "flesh pills" bridge the boundary between subject and object, serving as ritual tokens that embody the compassion of past Buddhas while also reminding the eater of the transient nature of his own mortal flesh. --excerpt from <http://sapiens.org>

<https://twitter.com/vyomologist/status/1304097601038344193>

Source : <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/12274200>

<https://twitter.com/mediyafiltr/status/1409769099702554625>

Казахи Кашмира, 1953 год. Фото из журнала National Geographic.

these Kazakhs were survivors of a wave of Kazakhs that got massacred by Tibetans when fleeing the Soviet Union

they fled to India

Tibetan Buddhists attacked Kazakh Sunni Muslims.

https://www.academia.edu/4534001/STUDIES_IN_THE_POLITICS_HISTORY_AND_CULTURE_OF_TURKIC_PEOPLES

STUDIES IN THE POLITICS, HISTORY AND CULTURE OF TURKIC PEOPLES

□

PROF. DR. NADİR DEVLET

Yeditepe University Istanbul 2004

1

Thread on massacres between Kazakh Muslims, Hui Muslims & Tibetans during an invasion of Kazakh migrants in 1930s. Hui Muslims and Tibetan Buddhists fought against Kazakh Muslims during the migration. In the Soviet Union, a famine started in the Kazakh ASSR under Goloshchekin.

Kazakhs began fleeing in 1933 & reach India over a period of several years. When they did, they found out two things. The local Hui Muslims (Tungans) didn't welcome their looting and violence, and Tibetans had long memories of past invasions by Central Asian Turks.

A stream of Kazakhs tried to cross into Tibet, Qinghai & Gansu on their way to British India. Kazakh tribesmen started looting, plundering and attacking both Tibetans & Hui. The Hui & Tibetans lost patience started fighting back & Tibetans slaughtered the Kazakhs in the thousands

story, as written in my report to Delhi that evening, was as follows :—

“These people are Kirei Kazaks, whose home is in the Khanate of Hami, 300 miles east of Urumchi (the capital of Sinkiang) and south of the Great Altai Mountains of Outer Mongolia. During the past ten years, Soviet penetration of northern Sinkiang has been going on apace, and though the local officials are Chinese, they act on the orders of the local Russians, small groups of whom are to be found throughout the country. The declared object of these Russians has been to break down the tribal organisation of the Kazaks and put an end to their nomadic existence. The leaders of these tribes who resisted this process were killed or deported, and their families with them. As a result of this growing threat to their way of life, nearly twenty thousand Kirei Kazaks, men, women, and children, decided to seek a new home about five years ago. Accordingly they set off southwards, with their *yurts*, ponies, camels and sheep, and after an arduous journey across the little Gobi Desert reached Kansu, the north-west province of China proper, inhabited mainly by Tungans or Chinese Muslims. Despite the bond of a common religion, the Kazaks could not get on with the Tungans, and indeed were so harassed by them that eventually the *Padshah*, with about 4000 people, decided to move on.” (I subsequently obtained interesting confirmation of the Kazaks’ sojourn in Kansu; for one day the Khan Bahadur brought me a copy of a Turki newspaper, published in Kansu two years earlier, which contained a

and also of Calcutta, whither they decided to go in their search for a free life. They travelled westwards into Tibet, and reached Chamdo, about 400 miles east of Lhasa, when they were held up by a detachment of Tibetan soldiers and officials, who killed some of them and looted much of the belongings and animals still remaining to them after the depredations of the Tungans in Kansu. They tried to send emissaries to the Dalai Lama at Lhasa to obtain permission to proceed southwards to Calcutta, but they were prevented from doing this, and being unable to go south, had to continue in a westerly direction. Thus they traversed the whole of Tibet from east to west, in a journey that lasted many months, in the course of which they suffered many casualties and losses at the hands of a hostile population, while hardship, hunger, and fatigue also took a heavy toll of man and beast. At last they had reached the Ladakh frontier near Demchuk, and the rest of their movements are already known.”

In all his account the *Padshah* never made any mention of the looting and kindred misdeeds attributed to his people by the Tibetans. On the contrary, he insisted that his people had been the sufferers throughout, and declared as a typical example of their victimisation that on the very day they had surrendered their arms to the Kashmiri detachment at Demchuk, a gang of armed Tibetans had stolen 200 of their ponies. However, now that his people were safely in winter quarters in Kashmir, under the protection of the British, the *Padshah*

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Khan Bahadur brought me a copy of a Turki newspaper, published in Kansu two years earlier, which contained a picture of the *Padshah* and his sons being entertained by a Chinese notable

that his people were safely in winter quarters in Kashmir, under the protection of the British, the *Padshah* hoped that, for the present at least, their troubles were over. Poor fellow how could he guess at the

Kazakh nomads assaulted the Oirat Mongols, Tibetans and Hui of Gansu and Qinghai.

one British intelligence report specified in 1943, during the war Ma Bufang could be seen as Chiang Kai-shek's go-between in all contacts between Chongqing and the peoples of the grasslands and plateaus of Inner Asia. As the British diplomat in China observed, Ma was actually "the strongest single factor in the balance of power in northwest China," and as long as he gave his support to the KMT regime, the situation in unoccupied China might be regarded as well under control.²²

One example of Ma Bufang's influence on wartime Nationalist China involves the Kazakh nomads. Between 1938 and 1941, the migration of the Kazakh nomadic tribes posed one of the most problematic issues in western China, and Chongqing needed to rely on Ma Bufang. The ferocious, armed Kazakhs, numbering more than 7,000, migrated from the northern steppes of Xinjiang through Gansu, and entered the Tibetan-Kokonor plateau. Along the way, they robbed and plundered, inflicting considerable losses on local governments and residents, which caused serious problems for national defence.²³ The constant disturbance wrought by these nomads had the KMT officials at their wits' end. The probability that these southward-marching Kazakhs would be incorporated into the Tibetan force had become the nightmare of the Nationalists, for this would pose a huge menace to the security of southwest China.²⁴ However, the KMT regime was too weak to deal with this problem and was not in a position to command the *de facto* independent Xinjiang provincial government to absorb these tribal nomads. Ultimately, in early 1941, with the consent of Ma Bufang, several pasturelands were demarcated in Kokonor to settle these Kazakh nomads. However, cross-tribal conflicts among the Kazakhs, Tibetans, and Tungans on the Kokonor plateau still occurred periodically.²⁵

In the early stages of the Sino-Japanese war, Ma Bufang's political weight was demonstrated in the matter of boundary demarcation along the Sichuan, Xikang, and Qinghai provincial borders. In late 1939, Chiang Kai-shek's staff proposed that, for reasons of national security, a decision should be made regarding the jurisdiction of the three Golok tribal regions bordering the aforementioned provinces.²⁶ Both the Sichuan and Xikang officials were competing keenly to win the annexation of the three Golok districts, which were important commercial and commodity-gathering centres where ample tax revenues were available. Viewing this matter from a historical, geographical, and ethnic perspective, as well as from one of national defence, Chiang Kai-shek's personal staff suggested that the three Golok districts should be delimited as part of Xikang province.²⁷ Nevertheless, because the Golok tribes had been under the jurisdiction of the Kokonor region from the Qing dynasty to the early Republican era, Chiang decided to shelve the issue and ordered a further survey to be carried out in cooperation with Ma Bufang's representatives.²⁸

Ma Bufang also built a strong economic and commercial empire in Inner Asia during the wartime period. With closer ties now being set up with Chiang Kai-shek, an increasing amount of capital and investment was flowing from

"Between 1938 and 1941, the migration of the Kazakh nomadic tribes posed one of the most problematic issues in western China, and Chongqing needed to rely on"

https://books.google.com.nz/books?id=osn1WrRCelcC&pg=PA112&lpg=PA112&dq=%22Between+1938+and+1941,+the+migration+of+the+Kazakh+nomadic+tribes+posed+one+of+the+most+problematic+issues+in+western+China,+and+Chongqing+needed+to+rely+on%22&source=bl&ots=hvc6OPoi1C&sig=ACfU3U2DEtb7IhsTLL_HkTWRan9IDFN36A&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjqogvnhLzAhXaFVvKfHWvYC9UQ6AF6BAgEEAM

Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier: Intrigues and ...

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[Hsiao-ting Lin](#) · 2011 · History

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Tibet And Nationalist China's Frontier: Intrigues And Ethnopolitics ...

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In this ground-breaking study, Hsiao Ting Lin demonstrates that the Chinese frontier was the subject neither of concerted aggression on the part of a ...

A Tibetan told a Japanese spy that the Kazakhs persecuted his people and that the Tibetans were powerless to stop them.

Title Japanese Agent in Tibet: My Ten Years of Travel in Disguise

Authors Hisao Kimura, Scott Berry

Editor Scott Berry

Contributor Scott Berry

Edition illustrated

Publisher Serindia Publications, Inc., 1990

ISBN 0906026245, 9780906026243

Length 232 pages

During World War II Tibetans said the Kazakhs were persecuting Tibetans.

"To the west the Kazakhs persecute our people, and we are powerless to stop them"

Japanese Agent in Tibet: My Ten Years of Travel in Disguise

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[Hisao Kimura](#), [Scott Berry](#) · 1990 · Espionage, British

<https://books.google.com.nz/books?>

[id=wDqIbKQhFIQC&pg=PA58&lpg=PA58&dq=%22To+the+west+the+Kazakhs+persecute+our+people,+and+we+are+powerless+to+stop+them%22&source=bl&ots=Cs9qj2jwNs&sig=ACfU3U1PqZeipVzUJv-oweZyQk7qAdXHUA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjufGKh7LzAhUEGFkFHYLQA-AQ6AF6BAgCEAM](https://books.google.com.nz/books?id=wDqIbKQhFIQC&pg=PA58&lpg=PA58&dq=%22To+the+west+the+Kazakhs+persecute+our+people,+and+we+are+powerless+to+stop+them%22&source=bl&ots=Cs9qj2jwNs&sig=ACfU3U1PqZeipVzUJv-oweZyQk7qAdXHUA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjufGKh7LzAhUEGFkFHYLQA-AQ6AF6BAgCEAM)

JAPANESE AGENT IN TIBET

voluntarily deferred the ultimate Buddhist goal of Enlightenment so as to be reborn into the world of suffering to assist lesser beings. I was never to get over the eerie feeling it gave me to see men and women prostrating themselves before these men and boys with a reverence we in Japan would reserve for none but the Emperor.

But now I joined them, stretching myself out on the floor before the Lama and presenting him with a *khata* containing a large silver coin. He took the *khata* with his left hand, and with his right honoured me with a one-handed blessing. This was because as a simple monk I deserved more than being merely touched with a tasseled stick, and less than the full two-handed blessing. I was relieved that he failed to show any recognition, but when he began to address the pilgrims, I felt that his words were meant for me alone. "This land," he began, "is very unsettled compared with Inner Mongolia. To the west the Kazakhs persecute our people, and we are powerless to stop them. Therefore I advise you to leave for your native land as soon as you have finished whatever you came to do: otherwise leave for Tibet. In that holy land there is peace."

Tibet. For years my thoughts had been only of Sinkiang, and I was under orders to proceed there on a mission that I myself had planned. Yet some force seemed to be drawing me away from those western deserts toward the semi-mythical land beyond the clouds. Dorji had told me to make good the cover story of going to study at Drepung, and I had almost unconsciously mentioned the possibility in my letter to Nakazawa. Now I felt that the Lama Tokan Gegen was also advising me to do just that.

* * *

The next day we left, with a sense of relief, for Kumbum. City life and its expenses had appealed to none of us, and the crowds in the streets now bothered me nearly as much as they did my Mongolian companions. Even so, I came away from Sining impressed, and in my next report I planned to emphasize that even though Fu Tso-yi was one of Chiang's better generals and had inflicted severe losses on Prince Teh's army in 1936, his troops now were demoralized and fit for little besides apprehending unarmed pilgrims. The Muslims under Ma on the other hand would be far better won over than fought.

There was noticeable excitement now among our three monks as we climbed towards their destination. Danzan as well, though he had

Tibet was invaded by Khiljis in 1206, Tibetans slaughtered Bakhtiyar Khilji's Turk Central Asian army when he invaded at Chumbi valley & Bakhtiyar Khilji went running back to Bengal in an absolutely state of shock over his defeat. Assamese butchered his retreating army even more.

The Tibetans also fought against the Mughals in the Ladakh war and the Mughals were also of Turk Central Asian origin. So they remembered all previous Turk Central Asian invasions of Tibet & viewed the Kazakhs as more of the same people coming to invade, rape, kill & loot them.

Some Kazakh stragglers made it through the Tibetan slaughter & finally reached British India's border, the British at first ordered the border guards to open fire at the Kazakhs as trespassers until the Kazakhs said they were refugees and then they were let into refugee camps.

Unlike Hui Chinese Muslims who violently battled against the Kazakh Muslims, Indian Muslims like Jinnah & Nizam of Hyderabad heard about their situation & gave aid to the Kazakhs & the Kazakhs moved to Pakistan after partition. Some of the Kazakhs moved on to Turkey from Pakistan

the other group was backing the idea of Turkestan, namely wishing to include all Turkic peoples of the region, e.g. Kazak, Kyrgyz, Turkmen (even Tadjiks, who were not Turkic), Uighur and Uzbeks, under single name and under same destiny.

Yusufbay Mukim, who went to Europe and presented a memorandum to the League of Nations in the name of former Bukhara Amir was one of the influential personalities in Peshawar among immigrants and pro Amir group, was following his orders. Followers of the idea of a United Turkestan had their publication called *Yash Turkestan* (Young Turkestan), which was printed in Berlin. One of the leaders of this movement Mustafa Chokayoglu (Chokayev), who was a Kazak himself, was backing the idea of common Turkestan, wrote an article in *Yash Turkestan* and started the discussion which terminology should be used.⁹⁹

1933 was a turning point for the Organization. Because Communism propaganda among tribes organized by Soviet Union, caused near the Indian-Afghan border some uprising against British authority started. Certainly British authorities took some military precaution, but also turned to Turkestan immigrants who knew a lot about Communist practices and offered them cooperation in this matter. A delegation from the Organization started to propagate against Communistic influence among different tribes. In six months lot of conferences on Communism has been given, also booklets, brochures in Persian, Urdu and Pashto has been distributed among these tribes. Especially Khabiburrakhman el Bageri was able to represent the case of Turkestan in Indian press; some articles of *Yash Turkestan* were also translated into Urdu.¹⁰⁰

After these successful activities the Organization changed its name to *Turkestan Mukhajirlar Birligi* (Union of Turkestan Immigrants). A Bukharian wealthy person Torekul Bay donated a building to the Union. The Union also rented a building and started the *Mukhajirun Madrasah*. In this madrasah there were three classes. Activities of this Union lasted until 1940'ies.¹⁰¹

We know that after 1930'ies also in Delhi and Bombay *Union of Turkestan Immigrants* has been founded. In Delhi the Union had more then 500 members. In Delhi there was also a madrasah and a journal called *Sada-i Mukhadjirin* (Voice of Immigrants) which was published in three languages, namely in Persian, Urdu and Turkish. But it was a short-lived publication. In 1938 there was another publication activity but it also didn't last long. The journal *Tardjuman* was published only in 11 issues.¹⁰²

8. SECOND IMMIGRATION WAVE OF THE EASTERN TURKESTANIS (KAZAKS) INTO INDIA

In the Kansu Province (China) the Kazaks, who were under the attack of Tibetans and Chinese lost app. 5 thousand people in two years of struggle. Their number dropped from 18 to 13 thousand. So they decided on September 1940 to immigrate to India.¹⁰³ But Tibetans wanted to stop this immigration and sent a military force consisting of thousand men. The skirmish lasted three days and Tibetan cavalry has a big lost. After this victory the Kazaks were able to move towards Indian border. Indian border forces under British command opened fire to them and lot of Kazak fighters died. Only after Indians found out that this group was in reality a civilian group, they were given permission to enter to India. In September 1941 Kazaks emigrated from Chuchul checkpoint to India and their number has been dropped in the meantime to 3039 persons.¹⁰⁴ In other words loses was 15 thousand in three years. The leader of the Kazak immigrants was Eliskhan Batur Elifoglu (1919-1943).¹⁰⁵ They were in the territory of Kashmir. But Maharaja Herisin of Kashmir didn't welcome these Kazaks and placed them to a mountainous open camp near Muzaffar Abad city. Thousand tents could not protect the Kazaks from heavy Munson rains, lot of them got sick and almost every day 10-15 people were dying. They were also loosing their husbandry. Military guards surrounded Camp, so that Kazaks didn't had any access to outside world. Only with the help of local Muslims they reached to the Indian Muslim leader Mohammed Ali Djinnah.¹⁰⁶ In April 1942 they were allowed to move to Gari Habibullah. From there they moved to Ternova village, where local Muslims welcomed them.¹⁰⁷ Many Kazaks were hospitalizes there, but Kazaks couldn't resist the warm climate of India and many died because of poor diet and sicknesses. In 1942 General Governor Viceroy Sir Lord Halifax visited the camp and promised to help them. Eliskhan asked the Viceroy permission to move freely, namely to leave the camp. After this petition Kazaks received a resident permit.¹⁰⁸

When the Nawab of Haydarabad Osman Ali Khan and Nawab of Bhojal Hamidullah Khan learned the situation of Kazaks from newspapers invited them to their provinces. Kazak representatives found Bhojal province cooler and sent 450 people there. Another 700 were distributed in Abutabad, Suvat and Chatyral.¹⁰⁹ After 1944 Kazak in Bhopal province left in groups to Lahore, Calcutta and Delhi. In 1947 between Muslims and Hindus the war broke out and on 14 August 1947 the Pakistan state was declared. After this development most of the Kazaks moved to Pakistan.¹¹⁰

9. THIRD IMMIGRATION WAVE OF THE EASTERN TURKESTANIS (UGHURS & KAZAKS) INTO INDIA

When in 1949 Communistic forces of China under the leadership of Mao Tse Dung took the power in their hands, the Eastern Turkestani leaders,

Some moved to Germany from Turkey.

"this hard reduction was caused by both decrease of migration potential of the community and by change"

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Chaos, Complexity and Leadership 2012

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Santo Banerjee, Şefika Şule Erçetin · 2013 · Science

As we know, *this hard reduction was caused by both decrease of migration potential of the community and by change of the policy of Germany on this matter.*

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Chaos, Complexity And Leadership 2012 [PDF] [6ai2hhncd8r0]

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As we know, *this hard reduction was caused by both decrease of migration potential of the community and by change of the policy of Germany on this matter.*

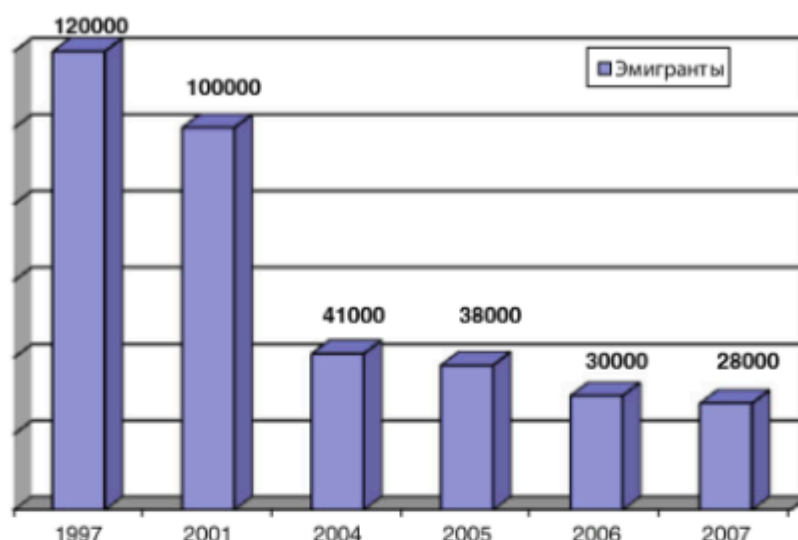


Fig. 8.1 Emigrants from Kazakhstan to the FRG, persons

as late migrants and in 2005 during the same period – 26,401 people. In 2006 about 150 of earlier emigrated German families came back to Kazakhstan (Германия – Казахстан 2007).

Today, they numbered about 300,000 people. As we know, this hard reduction was caused by both decrease of migration potential of the community and by change of the policy of Germany on this matter. Last years it was not considered as a greeting of departure, but contrariwise as some assistance to the ethnic Germans for economic and social self-realization in Kazakhstan (Fig. 8.1).

Cooperation between Kazakhstan and Germany began in 1989 from establishment of different public organizations – Union of public associations of the Germans of Kazakhstan “Wiedergeburt” and cultural centers. Over a number of further years Kazakhstan supported in full the policy of Germany in respect to the ethnic Germans.

Concerning the Kazakh diaspora in Germany it should be noted that its population is real small – more than 1,000 persons: from them about 500 persons residence in Cologne, in Munich about 400, in Berlin more than 110, in Hamburg – 34, in Mainz – 11, Frankfurt am Main – 7, Heidelberg – 7 (Диаспора казахов в Германии растет, мало кто возвращается в Казахстан). Representatives of diaspora consisted from emigrants from Turkey in 1950–1960s of twentieth century, with the exception of the late emigrants from Kazakhstan, arrived to the Federal Republic of Germany after the breakup of the Soviet Union composed of mixed families.

The principal part of diaspora is consisted from people who left the eastern regions of Kazakhstan in the late 1920s – early 1930s for reasons of forced collectivization, famine, arbitrary rule of the Soviet power.

Through Tibet and India, they moved to Pakistan, Iran, where they lived for about 10–12 years, and by reason of the war, they moved to Turkey in the early 1950s. The Turkish government has received them with understanding, providing financial and moral support and granted citizenship (Иммиграционная политика Германии: успешный – неуспешный опыт).

The next wave of the Kazakhs in Germany consisted from prisoners of the Second World War. At this time, the diaspora with support of Mustafa Shokai began to publish a journal “National Literature – World Literature” in Berlin.

One of the founders, chief editor of the journal Mazhit Aitbai under the name of Kobyzshy Korkyt, published a book “Abylai dastany”, which in 1971 was republished in Munich with a foreword by Kh. Oraltay. The newspaper “Unity of the Turks” was also published in Berlin.

The third wave was consisted from the descendants of Kazakh immigrants from Turkey who arrived in Germany as “guest workers” in the middle 1960s. Their children went to local schools; some of them gained diplomas of secondary and higher education.

Many of the older generation are yet citizens of Turkey and many young people possess the German citizenship.

In order to solve urgent problems of the diaspora at places of their compact residing in Germany the Kazakh cultural centers were formed and are operating in Germany now. In particular, in 1998 the Kazakh cultural center was organized in Munich (since October 2007 chaired by Abdurrahman Unal), then in 2001 in Cologne (from October 2007 chaired by Abdulgani Makin). On March 2, 2003 was established the “Kazakh Society in Berlin” (Chairman – Zhunusbek Toraman).

One of the most significant and important for the Kazakh diaspora's event “Year of Kazakhstan in Germany” was a registration of Federation of Association of the Kazakhs in Europe in July 2009 in Germany (Munich), consolidating under its own aegis the Kazakhs from eight European countries.

Chairman of the Federation of European Association of Kazakhs, a doctor Abdulkaiym Kesichi presented this organization on November 5, 2009 in Cologne at the Kazakh-German Forum “Intercultural dialogue in Kazakhstan – Progress through Diversity.”

With the assistance of the Kazakh society of cultural and interethnic concord in April 2009 in Munich was held the European Conference of the Kazakh diaspora on the subject “Issues on identity and integration of young people of the Kazakh diaspora in German-speaking countries” and the first meeting of the youth of the Kazakh diaspora, residing in European countries.

Thereby based on the above-mentioned, it can be concluded that the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Federal Republic of Germany are combined by common problems of repatriation and adaptation of ethnic groups at the historical homeland. The ethnic factor is one of the most actual problems in bilateral relations.

The current policy of the Government of Germany concerning ethnic Germans abroad is more oriented to render assistance to the Germans beyond the territory of Germany. For this purpose Germany supports various cultural programs in Kazakhstan and renders assistance to small entrepreneurship.

Douglas Mackiernan, the first CIA agent to ever be killed, was killed by Tibetans as he and the CIA were trying to organize an insurgency against the Communists in China. The Americans were under the very mistaken impression that ethnic minorities in China all liked each other & only hated the Communists. It proved a fatal error since Mackiernan was in Kazakh costume & was promptly executed by Tibetans since Tibetans hated the Kazakhs.

These are accounts by a Japanese spy assessing the state of Hui Muslim warlord armies in the middle of China who would later fight against the Japanese. He interviewed a Tibetan who accused the Kazakhs of oppressing Tibetans.

Border Breakthrough

The roughness of his speech was proof enough that he had not seen through my disguise. To him I was just another Mongolian, a none-too-respectable pilgrim monk who had probably come to beg.

He motioned me to the inner room where I found the Intelligence Chief, Yoshizawa, sitting around the stove with two others. It was comforting to meet countrymen in this forgotten land on the western edge of Inner Mongolia, although I knew they would be the last ones I would meet for a long time.

So far at least, I had been within regions nominally controlled by Japan. A very different situation now lay before me. My three companions spread a map under the dim lamp and began to explain the deployment of the enemy Chinese and Outer Mongolian troops along the border of Ninghsia Province, where Japanese influence ended. Directly to the south was the Chinese Central Army under Fu Tso-yi; to the west a Muslim Army under Ma Hung-kuei; and to the north the Soviet Outer Mongolian Army. Border units of all these forces constantly patrolled this area. The only thing they all had in common was their hatred of the Japanese. I could expect no mercy were I to fall into any of their hands.

But I had no intentions of being caught: that was the whole point of pilgrim disguise that allowed me to move at will. The three intelligence officers advised caution, recommending the longer but safer route that would take me north along the border of Outer Mongolia. Though they were my countrymen I felt somehow remote from them and their considerations. Their outlook was limited by their way of life. I was perhaps a little too proud of myself, for I felt that anything was within my power, and I was far more concerned with speed than with caution.

A little more than three years before I would have thought much the same as they, but now, although only twenty-one, I was very different from the boy who had left Japan in 1940. Indeed, the journey ahead was dangerous, but so what? It was keeping me out of the army where there would be as much danger but to far less purpose: and after all, what young man of my generation really expected to live past twenty-five?

My mind raced eagerly ahead past the Ninghsia border to Chinghai and beyond, for there, where Japanese power held no sway, lay not only adventure, but a greater personal goal: the fulfilment of these dreams which only partially concerned the information I was to collect for my superiors. No matter what happened, it would be a long time before I

JAPANESE AGENT IN TIBET

what we did. Evening was drawing in, and finally one of the ferrymen got fed up, stripped his clothes off, and led to camel to a waist-deep ford downstream. As long as the camel was led by a man he did not fear the water, but it could not have been pleasant work wading through the freezing stream with chunks of ice floating by. By the time we and all our camels were safely across it had set us back almost eight hundred yuan. Unable to afford any further losses, we crossed the Tengri Dawa Pass in the dead of night to avoid the customs post.

We had now entered Chinghai, a border province of many races. Under the autocratic rule of the Muslim General Ma Pu-fang and his clan Chinghai was virtually independent of Chiang's central government, and I could not help but notice as we passed through the fertile valleys of eastern Chinghai, how well-governed and peaceful the province seemed to be. We saw many signs calling for the preservation of forests, and even saw squads of soldiers detailed to plant saplings. At a large barracks in a place called Lo-chia-wan music blared from loud-speakers and the soldiers we saw gave the impression of being well-trained and in high morale. A sentry at the gate seemed to think I was too curious, and leveled his rifle at us as he told us to be off. He was probably on the lookout for spies from the central government.

Chiang was apparently frightened of adequately arming the more than 100,000 soldiers of this army, which was nominally under his command, and Ma had been sending merchants all the way to India, via Tibet, to purchase arms. I do not know whether Chiang had more to fear from Ma's military efficiency or from his example of reasonably good government: Chinghai could even boast to be one of the few areas outside Communist control where laws against opium cultivation and transport were strictly enforced.

When we reached the capital, Sining, in early February, it marked the first time in over four months that I had been inside a city, except for one night time foray I had made into town to buy flour. I can hardly say that I found it a gratifying experience. Local officials refused, as they had already done once or twice along the way, to allow us to camp; and we were forced to stay in a cramped, dirty, vermin-ridden Chinese inn where the cost of both accommodation and fodder were exorbitant. Of course, we were crawling with vermin ourselves, but they were our own. They were always with us and we were used to them. Somehow these Chinese lice and bedbugs seemed devious and less trustworthy. We signed in as "Danzan and a party of five from Baron Hiid Monastery, Alashan Banner." Two policemen came and

Across the Sea of Burning Sands

checked over the register and our possessions, but we seemed to arouse no suspicions.

The mixed nature of Chinghai's population was reflected on the streets of Sining. There were comparatively few Chinese and most of the inhabitants were Muslims, who appeared distinctly Turkish with their hooked noses and reddish-brown beards. Amdo Tanguts, the Tibetan tribesmen of Kansu and Chinghai, swaggered along the streets with one shoulder bare and a long sword thrust into their waistband. Their women plaited their hair into a hundred and eight braids which were spread out across their backs by a broad, stiff, ornate cloth. There were also a number of Inner Mongolian pilgrims either bound for, or returning from Kumbum, now only a day's march to the southwest.

Visitors were allowed to see little of Sining besides the market place. The inner citadel was closely guarded, and open only to those with proper papers. Even so, I could not but be impressed by the comparative peace and prosperity enjoyed by the average citizen, and the lush, well-tended look of the fields and forests outside the city walls.

Shortly after we arrived I met a Mongolian pilgrim on the street who asked me if I had worshiped the Lama Tokan Gegen, who was now staying in Sining. Governor Ma Pu-fang had arranged his release from Lanchow, and the Lama had come to thank him. This in fact was a move typical of Ma, an extremely pragmatic Muslim with a large Buddhist population to govern. A very different type of man from the fanatics who had stamped out Buddhism in India more than a thousand years before, he felt that infidels were better manipulated than put to the sword. Tokan Gegen was only a minor prize in this game: five years before Ma had been in possession of the infant Dalai Lama himself, born not far south of Kumbum. In the end it had cost the Tibetans 300,000 Chinese dollars to get the boy to Lhasa. Ma now again found himself in an enviable situation; one of the three candidates for the position of Panchen Lama, Tibet's second most revered incarnation, had recently been discovered in Chinghai.

Though I knew His Holiness Tokan Gegen well from my Kalgan days, I was confident that he would not betray me, and it would have looked thoroughly suspicious had I attempted to avoid seeing him. I therefore went to call on him immediately at his stately quarters where, with two attendant priests, he was receiving pilgrims on the second floor. The deep faith of the Tibetan and Mongolian peoples is probably manifested most strongly when they are confronted with one of their living Bodhisattvas: human manifestations of divine beings who have

JAPANESE AGENT IN TIBET

voluntarily deferred the ultimate Buddhist goal of Enlightenment so as to be reborn into the world of suffering to assist lesser beings. I was never to get over the eerie feeling it gave me to see men and women prostrating themselves before these men and boys with a reverence we in Japan would reserve for none but the Emperor.

But now I joined them, stretching myself out on the floor before the Lama and presenting him with a *khata* containing a large silver coin. He took the *khata* with his left hand, and with his right honoured me with a one-handed blessing. This was because as a simple monk I deserved more than being merely touched with a tasseled stick, and less than the full two-handed blessing. I was relieved that he failed to show any recognition, but when he began to address the pilgrims, I felt that his words were meant for me alone. "This land," he began, "is very unsettled compared with Inner Mongolia. To the west the Kazakhs persecute our people, and we are powerless to stop them. Therefore I advise you to leave for your native land as soon as you have finished whatever you came to do: otherwise leave for Tibet. In that holy land there is peace."

Tibet. For years my thoughts had been only of Sinkiang, and I was under orders to proceed there on a mission that I myself had planned. Yet some force seemed to be drawing me away from those western deserts toward the semi-mythical land beyond the clouds. Dorji had told me to make good the cover story of going to study at Drepung, and I had almost unconsciously mentioned the possibility in my letter to Nakazawa. Now I felt that the Lama Tokan Gegen was also advising me to do just that.

* * *

The next day we left, with a sense of relief, for Kumbum. City life and its expenses had appealed to none of us, and the crowds in the streets now bothered me nearly as much as they did my Mongolian companions. Even so, I came away from Sining impressed, and in my next report I planned to emphasize that even though Fu Tso-yi was one of Chiang's better generals and had inflicted severe losses on Prince Teh's army in 1936, his troops now were demoralized and fit for little besides apprehending unarmed pilgrims. The Muslims under Ma on the other hand would be far better won over than fought.

There was noticeable excitement now among our three monks as we climbed towards their destination. Danzan as well, though he had

The Muslims involved here in the fighting and refugee crisis were Sunnis, the Kazakhs, Hui, Nizam of Hyderabad were all Sunnis. Only Jinnah was not a Sunni.

Kazakhs are not native to any part of modern China. They migrated into Xinjiang, Gansu & Qinghai over the past three centuries and were granted Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture in Xinjiang and Aksay Kazakh Autonomous County in Gansu by the Communists. They are native to neither.

Tibetans fleeing ahead of Kazakhs gave accounts of Kazakh atrocities to authorities of the princely state of Jammu & Kashmir in British India. Kazakhs denied perpetrating atrocities & claimed they were victims of Hui & Tibetans as seen in the earlier post.

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The Kashmir Government naturally did not want such unruly visitors in any event, and was faced with the problem of how to stop their entry into Ladakh. Every factor was unfavourable. Ladakh, which geographically is only an extension of Western Tibet, is a barren plateau with an average height of 11,000 feet lying between the high Karakoram range in the north and a spur of the Himalayas in the south. The only connection between the provincial capital, Leh, and Srinagar is by a bridle path, suited to pony transport, which follows the valley of the Indus and crosses from Kashmir into Ladakh over the Zogi La, a pass of 11,300 feet which is blocked by snow from November to April every year. The scanty population of Ladakh grows barely enough food for its own needs, and local supplies could never maintain a large number of immigrants during the winter. The Ladakhi is most unwarlike by nature, and the only force at the Wazir's disposal was a company of State troops at Leh. The nearest reinforcements were in Srinagar, at least fifteen days' march distant ; and

junior commander have been entrusted with a more hopeless mission. With fifty men, armed only with rifles and a couple of Lewis-guns, he had to face a horde of thousands of wild Mongols, who, according to fresh reports reaching Leh, had left a trail of blood and plunder right across Tibet. The invaders would clearly be in desperate search of winter quarters, while he, too, would be threatened by winter ; for every day he remained on the frontier he ran the risk of the first snow blocking the two passes on the route back to Leh. He and his men would be unable to withstand the winter cold in the bivouac tents which were now their only covering.

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shaggy ponies, were seen riding along the track towards the detachment's camp. They appeared to be unarmed, and they rode up to the tents without taking any notice of the sentry's challenge. Fortunately, the sentry was too overcome by their appearance and cool behaviour to fire on them. Their spokesman addressed the detachment commander in Turki, and luckily there was one soldier in the detachment who could understand

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their women, children, and animals, which included large numbers of horses, sheep, and camels. They came in peace, seeking protection under the British flag, and all they now asked for was freedom to follow the shortest route down from the mountains to winter pastures. When the Captain replied that his orders were to turn them back, the Kazaks were at first incredulous, but finding the Captain adamant, they mounted and rode off to report to the *Padshah*.

That night, as the Kashmir troops shivered in their tents, the first snow of winter fell, and the Captain realised that the time for his withdrawal to Leh had come. The next day everyone in camp was jumpy, wondering what the Kazaks' next move would be; and when during the afternoon the look-out man came running back to camp with a report that he had seen a large party about a mile away, the

had decided, after last night's snow, that he could delay no longer and must push on towards winter quarters at once. As an earnest of his peaceful intentions, the *Padshah* was ready to disarm all his men and to deposit their arms with the detachment at once. The emissary went on to point out that, with the approach of winter, the Kashmir troops would also have to withdraw, and once they moved there would be nothing to prevent the Kazaks from following. How much better, for all concerned, to reach a friendly agreement now, instead of playing a tiresome game of grandmother's steps all the way to Leh, when at any time some incident might provoke a further clash.

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THE WANDERERS.

BY ZINDIE. I.

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I.

IN July 1941 the Government of India was somewhat startled to receive a telegram from the Political Officer in Sikkim, repeating a report from Lhasa that wild Mongol Nomads, estimated at twenty thousand and calling themselves Kazaks, were pouring through Eastern Tibet, and were believed to be heading westwards for the passes across the Himalayas formed by the upper valleys of the Sutlej and the Indus. The former route would bring them towards Simla ; the latter would take them into Ladakh.

I was employed in the Kashmir Residency at the time, and a copy of the telegram from Sikkim was received in the Residency. There were a

puzzling ; for it was inconceivable that any migrants from that area could ever have found their way into Eastern Tibet.

Then for some weeks there was silence, and neither Delhi nor the Political Officer in Sikkim was able to answer our inquiry who these Kazaks were. Indeed, both the Residency and the Kashmir Government had forgotten all about the Kazaks when, early in October, a telegram came from the Wazir of Ladakh saying that he had received an urgent message from the nearest Tibetan Official at Demchok, on the upper reaches of the Indus in the western corner of Tibet, reporting that a herd of Mongols was

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I was employed in the Kashmir Residency at the time, and a copy of the telegram from Sikkim was received in the Residency. There were a number of Central Asian traders from Sinkiang in Srinagar, but none of them had ever heard of Kazaks; and although in my atlas an area north of Lake Aral in Russian Turkestan was vaguely marked 'KAZAK,' this only made the report more

and received an urgent message from the nearest Tibetan Official at Demchok, on the upper reaches of the Indus in the western corner of Tibet, reporting that a horde of Mongols was sweeping through his territory, looting and pillaging, and heading towards the Ladakh Frontier. Hard on the heels of this telegram came one from Delhi reporting that a Hindu trader from Garhwal in the United Provinces, who had taken a small pony caravan

of piece goods into Western Tibet, had run into a party of Kazaks, who had beaten up his men and stolen his animals and his goods. This telegram went on to say that the Kashmir Government must on no account allow the Kazaks to enter its territories.

The Kashmir Government naturally did not want such unruly visitors in any event, and was faced with the problem of how to stop their entry into Ladakh. Every factor was unfavourable. Ladakh, which geographically is only an extension of Western Tibet, is a barren plateau with an average height of 11,000 feet lying between the high Karakoram range in the north and a spur of the Himalayas in the south. The only connection between the provincial capital, Leh, and Srinagar is by a bridle path, suited to pony transport, which follows the valley of the Indus and crosses from Kashmir into Ladakh over the Zogi La, a pass of 11,300 feet which is blocked by snow from November to April every year. The scanty population of Ladakh grows barely enough food for its own needs, and local supplies could never maintain a large number of immigrants during the winter. The Ladakhi is most unwarlike by nature, and the only force at the Wazir's disposal was a company of State troops at Leh. The nearest reinforcements were in Srinagar, at least fifteen days' march distant; and

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The Kazakhs became peaceful after reaching British India and disarming under the authorities of Jammu and Kashmir unlike their violent clashes with the Hui and Tibetans. It seems they feared British power more than the Tibetans.

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Leh. They might follow him, but they must keep one day's march behind, so that they did not tread on his detachment's heels. That night the detachment prepared for their return march to Leh, and the next morning the Kazaks came forward, under the emissary's command, to lay down their arms. It must have been a strange ceremony; unfortunately, I was never able to obtain any account of it. Apparently the total haul was not large, and was a mixture of swords and old-fashioned firearms. The Captain solved the problem of rendering the arms useless by casting all except a few trophies into the turbulent waters of the Indus, which flowed most conveniently a short way below the camp; then he set out with his men on the march back to Leh.

The Kazaks kept their word and followed a day's march behind, so

there were barely 3000 of them, men, women, and children. But they had more than 500 shaggy hill ponies, of a breed never seen in Ladakh before; about 50 woolly, stocky Central Asian camels with two humps; and finally, a vast herd of Tibetan sheep—presumably looted on their way through Tibet the previous summer—estimated to number seventeen thousand.

The problem of feeding this large body of human beings and animals was quite beyond the Wazir's capacity, and he bombarded his Government, which had now moved down to Jammu for the winter, with telegrams imploring permission to send the Kazaks on to the Kashmir Valley before snow blocked the vital Zogi La pass and cut off Ladakh for the winter. The Kashmir Government, in their turn, were pressing the Government of India, through the Residency, to allow the

to prevent them from entering Leh itself. The inhabitants of Leh were, of course, in a great flutter, and only half believed the tale that these brigands were now peaceful and unarmed: many, indeed, left Leh hurriedly. Those who were bold enough to remain reaped a rich harvest.

As the Kazaks arrived at their camping ground, they quickly set up their felt tents, or *yurts*, each family choosing the spot that suited best. They had moved in three parties, so it was not until the third day that all the Kazaks were encamped and the Wazir could take a census of them and their animals. He found that Tibetan reports of their numbers had been grossly exaggerated, and that

do so. There was certainly no justification, in the opinion of the State Government, for forcing Kashmir to detain these nomads merely because they were not wanted in British India, and the cost of maintaining such a multitude throughout the winter would place a heavy and unjustifiable burden on the State's revenues. After heated argument, a compromise was at last adopted whereby the Kashmir Government was to detain the Kazaks for the time being, the cost of detention being borne by the Government of India. It was further decided that the detention camp should be at Domel, in the Jhelum Valley, on the motor road connecting Srinagar with Rawalpindi and the Punjab, close to the

Leh. They might follow him, but they must keep one day's march behind, so that they did not tread on his detachment's heels. That night the detachment prepared for their return march to Leh, and the next morning the Kazaks came forward, under the emissary's command, to lay down their arms. It must have been a strange ceremony; unfortunately, I was never able to obtain any account of it. Apparently the total haul was not large, and was a mixture of swords and old-fashioned firearms. The Captain solved the problem of rendering the arms useless by casting all except a few trophies into the turbulent waters of the Indus, which flowed most conveniently a short way below the camp; then he set out with his men on the march back to Leh.

The Kazaks kept their word and followed a day's march behind, so the Wazir had twenty-four hours to prepare for their reception after the

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The Kazakhs were polite and hospitable to the British government agent after being totally disarmed of their weapons unlike their behaviour to the Tibetans and Hui.

State's border with the Hazara district of the North-West Frontier Province.

While all this high-level argument was going on, October had been succeeded by November, and snow had already fallen on the Zogi La. In Leh, the inhabitants' fear of the Kazaks subsided when they saw their peaceful behaviour, and fear had been followed by cupidity. It was plain that the Kazaks had no idea of the local market price for their sheep, or of the value of the many bales of cloth they had looted from the Garhwal trader already mentioned. The people and the officials of Leh promptly set about looting the looters, thereby accomplishing as many acts of poetic justice as of knavery. The officials had the best of the game, for they were able to invoke the law in their support. It was a simple matter to summon a Kazak for some alleged breach of the camp rules and to inflict a fine. None of the Kazaks had any rupees when they arrived at Leh, and they could only pay these fines by selling their property—and since they had no idea of the value of a rupee, they did not protest when their sheep were priced at four annas each (about

5d.) or their cloth at two annas a yard. By the time orders to move the Kazaks to Kashmir reached Leh, they had parted with all their stolen cloth and about half their sheep. Meanwhile the Hindu trader from Garhwal, having courageously followed the Kazaks to Leh, made a report to the Wazir; but although cloth with his stamp on it was being sold openly by the Kazaks daily, he could not bring the Wazir to take any action, and he had to watch his looted property being bought up at ridiculous prices, powerless to establish his claim. All the poor man recovered was a few lengths of cloth which he had to buy back from the Kazaks, and which he carried down as evidence to Jammu. He received little comfort there, however; for as the Kazaks had looted his caravan in Tibet the Kashmir Government was able to disclaim any liability for his original loss. The charges he brought against the administration in Leh had, of course, to be investigated, and eventually a question was asked in the Assembly in Delhi. Months later an inquiry was opened in Leh, but what the outcome was I never heard, for by then I had left Kashmir.

II.

On their march to the Valley of Kashmir, where the local inhabitants, who are proverbially timid, were awaiting their arrival in fear and trembling, the Kazaks moved in three echelons, as they had done during their advance to Leh. The *Padshah* travelled with the first party, which crossed the Zogi La in safety at the end of November and went into a temporary camp at the mouth of the Sindh Valley, about twenty-five miles from Srinagar. Like the Kashmir Government, the

headquarters of the Residency also had left Srinagar and moved to Sialkot for the winter; and it fell to me, as the only Residency officer in Kashmir at the time, to meet the Kazaks and send Delhi a report on these strange invaders who had become a temporary burden on the Indian taxpayer. There is a motorable road from Srinagar to the Sindh Valley, and the day after the *Padshah's* party reached their camping ground at Woyil I set out in my car to visit them. I was accom-

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panied by my wife and two small daughters, then aged four and a half and three, and also by Khan Bahadur Nur Mohammed Jan, a Central Asian trader from Kashgar who could talk both Turki and Kirghiz and would, I hoped, be able to interpret for me.

As we got out of the car beyond the small hamlet of Woyil, we were confronted by a most unusual scene. At that spot the road passes through a stretch of gently terraced rice-fields, clothed at that time of the year in the stubble of the previous season's crop. All round us, extending over an area of perhaps a hundred acres, were little groups of the Kazaks' felt *yurts*, pitched without any attempt at order or camp discipline, just where the owner's whim fancied. Groups of men were sitting outside many of the tents, idling in the winter sunshine, and here and there parties of women and children were collecting firewood and fetching water for their lazy menfolk. Scattered over the fields there were numbers of grazing horses, stocky, shaggy little beasts, some double-humped camels—and of course sheep, but not nearly as many as we had expected. Later we heard that, apart

black leather boots. None wore beards, though some had a few straggly hairs on their faces in addition to thin black moustaches. The women were clothed in woollen cloth from head to foot. Their head-dress was white; reminiscent of a nun's; for it covered forehead, ear and neck, and reached well down over the breast. They wore long coats made of a coarse type of *puttoo* or tweed, and pyjama-like trousers of the same material. Round the necks of some women were stitched silver coins which on examination proved to be pre-Bolshevik Russian roubles.

While we and the Kazaks had been taking stock of each other, the Khan Bahadur, who had been asking for the *Padshah*, returned with one of his sons, who signed to me to follow. Leaving my wife and children to explore the encampment, I accompanied the *Padshah's* son and the Khan Bahadur, and a short walk soon brought us to a group of *yurts* pitched round a white canvas tent with blue trimmings, which was clearly the *Padshah's*. As we drew near he came from the tent to greet me, with a kind of salute and a handshake. He was

Kazaks within sight, men, women and children, converged on us, and, forming a circle at close range, gazed at us in friendly astonishment, just as we gazed back at them—and their appearance certainly came up to our fullest expectations. The men, who were mostly short and thick-set, were dressed in fur-lined pointed caps with big ear-flaps, long sheepskin coats worn with the fur inside, and knee-high

on brightly coloured rugs spread on the ground. Half a dozen of his followers squatted by the entrance of the open tent to watch the proceedings.

The Khan Bahadur found that he could understand the *Padshah's* form of Turki well enough, and after the usual compliments had been exchanged, it was easy to turn the talk to the Kazaks' adventures since they had left their homeland. The *Padshah's*

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story, as written in my report to Delhi that evening, was as follows :—

“These people are Kirei Kazaks, whose home is in the Khanate of Hami, 300 miles east of Urumchi (the capital of Sinkiang) and south of the Great Altai Mountains of Outer Mongolia. During the past ten years, Soviet penetration of northern Sinkiang has been going on apace, and though the local officials are Chinese, they act on the orders of the local Russians, small groups of whom are to be found throughout the country. The declared object of these Russians has been to break down the tribal organisation of the Kazaks and put an end to their nomadic existence. The leaders of these tribes who resisted this process were killed or deported, and their families with them. As a result of this growing threat to their way of life, nearly twenty thousand Kirei Kazaks, men, women, and children, decided to seek a new home about five years ago. Accordingly they set off southwards, with their *yurts*, ponies, camels and sheep, and after an arduous journey across the little Gobi Desert reached Kansu, the north-west province of China proper, inhabited mainly by Tungans or Chinese Muslims. Despite the bond of a common religion, the Kazaks could not get on with the Tungans, and indeed were so harassed by them that eventually the *Padshah*, with about 4000 people, decided to move on.” (I subsequently obtained interesting confirmation of the Kazaks’ sojourn in Kansu; for one day the Khan Bahadur brought me a copy of a Turki newspaper, published in Kansu two years earlier, which contained a

and also of Calcutta, whither they decided to go in their search for a free life. They travelled westwards into Tibet, and reached Chamdo, about 400 miles east of Lhasa, when they were held up by a detachment of Tibetan soldiers and officials, who killed some of them and looted much of the belongings and animals still remaining to them after the depredations of the Tungans in Kansu. They tried to send emissaries to the Dalai Lama at Lhasa to obtain permission to proceed southwards to Calcutta, but they were prevented from doing this, and being unable to go south, had to continue in a westerly direction. Thus they traversed the whole of Tibet from east to west, in a journey that lasted many months, in the course of which they suffered many casualties and losses at the hands of a hostile population, while hardship, hunger, and fatigue also took a heavy toll of man and beast. At last they had reached the Ladakh frontier near Demchuk, and the rest of their movements are already known.”

In all his account the *Padshah* never made any mention of the looting and kindred misdeeds attributed to his people by the Tibetans. On the contrary, he insisted that his people had been the sufferers throughout, and declared as a typical example of their victimisation that on the very day they had surrendered their arms to the Kashmiri detachment at Demchuk, a gang of armed Tibetans had stolen 200 of their ponies. However, now that his people were safely in winter quarters in Kashmir, under the protection of the British, the *Padshah*

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Khan Bahadur brought me a copy of a Turki newspaper, published in Kansu two years earlier, which contained a picture of the *Padshah* and his sons being entertained by a Chinese notable

that his people were safely in winter quarters in Kashmir, under the protection of the British, the *Padshah* hoped that, for the present at least, their troubles were over. Poor fellow how could he guess at the

Throughout our meeting, which must have lasted a couple of hours, there was a changing audience of Kazaks, squatting by the entrance of the tent, listening to the talk, and even interjecting comments on occasion. This showed the *Padshah's* position in a very interesting light; for although his leadership was obviously autocratic, and appeared to be accepted without question, yet he governed in public, as it were, and all the men of the tribe were free to express their opinions. After taking a snapshot of the *Padshah* and his three sons standing outside the tent, I took my leave of him and went in search of my family, whom I found surrounded by women and children at the far end of the encampment. They told me they had been taken inside many of the *yurts*, where food had been pressed on them, and where their clothes and in particular my daughters' fair hair, so different from the black tresses of the Kazak women, had been fingered and examined. Two points in particular had struck my wife about these people: firstly, their smiling friendliness; and secondly, the men's laziness, remarkable even for Orientals. No man in the encampment appeared to do any work, and if a man had to move more than a few yards he climbed on to the back of one of the ponies, which were grazing everywhere, and rode to his destination—even if it were only a hundred yards away.

Later I found an excellent description of these people in Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg's book, 'Peaks and Plains of Central Asia': "They never walk, and take no exercise except on horseback. The life of the Kazak is to go skimming over the plains on his steed, rounding up horses or collecting stray cattle. His tent is warm, his clothing ample, his belly full, and he

lives a free, untrammelled existence, with his religion sitting lightly on him. His amusements are horse-coping, love-making, stealing, dancing, endless, ceaseless talking, drinking tea or kumiss (fermented mares' milk), and eating."

We returned to Srinagar full of the warmth of the Kazaks' friendliness, and glowing nicely after a day in the brisk winter sunshine, but as I sat down that evening to prepare my report I had a strong feeling that the Kazaks' troubles were not nearly done with yet. Nor were they—indeed, they had still to endure worse trials than any they had yet survived. The first was the fierce blizzard which caught the rear party on the Zogi La. They were snowbound for five days, and when at last they could struggle down the pass into the Sindh Valley, they left seventy of their number dead on the top of the pass, together with nearly all their animals. The next trial was their internment camp at Domel—a barbed-wire enclosure from which they were not allowed egress without a pass. Domel is a damp spot in any winter, and that winter it rained there incessantly. The Kazaks were accustomed to the dry cold of the snowy heights; they could not endure the damp and the low altitude of Domel. Moreover, confinement in a camp bore harshly on their nomadic spirit, and their ideas of camp discipline and sanitation were just non-existent. Hitherto they had never remained in any spot for more than a few days; for as soon as the grazing for their horses and sheep was exhausted, they had moved on. Now they were cooped up behind wire in a strange country, floundering in mud fouled by their own insanitary habits. On top of all this, they were essentially meat and not grain eaters, but meat

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was too expensive and so grain—in short measure—was supplied instead, and the camp contractor was a rogue and a cheat. Inevitably these conditions told on their health, and the death-rate began to rise. Within a month of their arrival at Domel it had reached the dreadful figure of seven a day, mostly from pneumonia. This grim development did, however, have one good result: it forced Delhi to lift the veto at last, and agree to the entry of the Kazaks into British India. With the assistance of the N.W.F.P. Government, a new home was found for them in the Hazara district, and there they were moved just before I also left Kashmir. In Hazara they were no longer behind wire, nor were they at the mercy of the officials of an unsympathetic Hindu administration, and their condition improved rapidly. But the change came too late for the

meeting some of the Kazaks again, but I never did; for another telegram came a day or two later, saying that the Hyderabad contingent had now changed their minds and had decided to remain in Hazara.

Two years later, in 1946, I was myself in Delhi, and there I came across recent correspondence, in another Department's file, with the Chinese Consul-General in Calcutta regarding the repatriation of the surviving Kazaks to their original home. It had been agreed that they should travel from Srinagar through Leh, and across the Karakoram range to Kashgar; thence 1000 miles eastwards to Urumchi, and so home. But, since they were legally Chinese subjects, the Chinese Consul-General insisted that they must first obtain Chinese passports before crossing the Karakoram into the Chinese province of Sinkiang. Whether the

for I was sent to the other end of India, to Calcutta—whither they had once wished to go. After nine months in Calcutta I was moved to Hyderabad, in the Deccan, more than 1500 miles as the crow flies from Srinagar. By a strange coincidence, the first telegram I opened in my office there was from a Moslem officer in Hazara, who was on special duty with the Kazaks, saying that the party of Kazaks selected for settlement in Hyderabad State would be moving in a week's time. I was naturally interested at the prospect of

Leh with Chinese passports in their pockets, they must have been very different Kazaks from those nomads who had ridden along it with their *Padshah* five years earlier. For their efforts to preserve their own form of life had failed utterly, and if the *Padshah* had lived, he must have asked himself what had been the purpose of their great exodus, if it had only been to exchange the frying-pan of Soviet infiltration for the fire of Chinese officialdom. Death had at least spared him this.

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After leaving Kashmir I never thought to hear of the Kazaks again; for I was sent to the other end of India, to Calcutta—whither they had once wished to go. After nine months in Calcutta I was moved to Hyderabad, in the Deccan, more than 1500 miles as the crow flies from Srinagar. By a strange coincidence, the first telegram I opened in my office there was from a Moslem officer in Hazara, who was on

meeting some of the Kazaks again, but I never did; for another telegram came a day or two later, saying that the Hyderabad contingent had now changed their minds and had decided to remain in Hazara.

Two years later, in 1946, I was myself in Delhi, and there I came across recent correspondence, in another Department's file, with the Chinese Consul-General in Calcutta regarding the repatriation of the surviving Kazaks to their original home. It had been agreed that they should travel from Srinagar through Leh, and across the Karakoram range to Kashgar; thence 1000 miles eastwards to Urumchi, and so home. But, since they were legally Chinese subjects, the Chinese Consul-General insisted that they must first obtain Chinese passports before crossing the Karakoram into the Chinese province of Sinkiang. Whether the Kazaks ever obtained these passports, and, if they did, how many of them still survived to undertake this return journey, I never learnt; but if any of them did start back along that road to Leh with Chinese passports in their pockets, they must have been very different Kazaks from those nomads who had ridden along it with their *Padshah* five years earlier. For their efforts to preserve their own form of life had failed utterly, and if the *Padshah* had lived, he must have asked himself what had been the purpose of

Kazakhs accused a Hui (Dungan) called Fulušan of leading Mongolian & Tibetan soldiers to attack and plunder them in their account of the massacres.

Tibetans, Mongolians and a Dungan Hui Muslim named Fulušan attacked the Muslim Kazakhs.

I'm inclined to believe the Hui and Tibetans on who started the fighting because they weren't on the same side but agreed on this.

Title *The Kazaks of China: Essays on an Ethnic Minority*

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Author Linda Benson

Editors Linda Benson, Ingvar Svanberg

Contributors Linda Benson, Ingvar Svanberg

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him. He rebelled and fomented numerous revolts against the Chinese. (15) Because later when Sheng Shicai had come to power he kept an eye on Elisqan, Elisqan went across to Gansu, around 1935. (16) The place where we lived, the district of Barköl in Qumil, was situated close to the border with Mongolia as well as Gansu. Therefore, after Elisqan had gone to Gansu, the government of Sheng Shicai had an eye on this area and arrested Fabdullah, Qaybar Täyži, Säyit Näbiy and other leading men in order to gain control of the people living there. (17) For this reason we the Kerey, the nomadic Kazaks who roamed in Qumil, followed Elisqan one by one over to Gansu in the years 1934, 35, 36 to 38. (18) If one goes by the authors or the documents of this period, the number of Kazaks who went to Gansu was 18 000. (19) The 18,000 people went to Qinghai and Gansu. (20) We stayed in Qinghai and Gansu for two years. (21) While we were living there during these 2 years the people who were resident in Qinghai and Gansu were Tibetans . . . They were a people who, in the past, had been attacking and pillaging each other. (22) After we had arrived, they grew angry with us, attacked us, drove our herds and livestock away and killed our hunters and herdsmen. Because they wouldn't make peace, Elisqan planned to move away from this area. (23) Especially after the child of Elisqan's close relative Kenžebay had been killed by Tibetan raiders, a petition was adressed to the government of Qinghai. (24) The petitioned government of Qinghai did not give this sufficient consideration. (25) Thus Elisqan became angered, moved away from Qinghai and settled in a place named Altınšöke, situated outside of Qinghai. He arrived at the summer pasture of Altınšöke in the year 1940, and then intended to set out for India via Tibet. (26) On the way the havoc-wreaking Tibetan people awaited him. (27) They were called "Quliq". (28) These "Quliq" were a warlike people who constantly plundered and attacked their own people and the Mongolians. (29) In order to destroy these warlike Tibetans, these Quliq, Elisqan first advanced against them with a number of men, tracked them down, exchanged shots and defeated them. In the course of this someone by the name of Omar was hit by a bullet. When they returned to the camp, Tibetan and Mongolian soldiers had stormed the camp in Altınšöke. (30) Their leader was a Dungan named Fulušan. He negotiated with Elisqan

the felt, the saddlery, even the whips from their hands, to the women's

(1) The reasons for our flight from the Altai were, briefly, the following: first political, second economical. The political reasons: in the years around 1933, a Chinese named Sheng Shicai came to power in East Turkestan with the help of the Soviet government; afterwards he began to terrorize the people. (2) In the years around 1932 the Kazaks led a nomadic life in the Altai and tended their livestock. (3) One year, it was 1932, a particular tribe demanded areas of settlement and pasture from Mongolia and in order to lead the herds to winter pasture climbed up the northern slopes of the Altai to the Mongolian side and spent the winter there. (4) In the following summer the Mongolians drove this tribal group consisting of five hundred families farther inland. When they arrived it became apparent that the chief of government, who had driven away this tribal group, was a Kazak by the name of Kenžebek. (5) The Kazaks, who were migrating, killed Kenžebek, fled, crossed the border and arrived in the Altai. (6) Also during the year between 1932 and 1933 it was particularly the winter in the higher Altai which caused a catastrophic loss of the livestock owned by the aristocracy. The people's livestock were completely destroyed. All of the rich became impoverished; it was a time of famine. (7) Around the month of June five hundred families came from Mongolia to the summer pastures of the Altai. After they had crossed over to the Altai, there was a fight, a conflict between Mongolia and the Kazaks. (8) As a result of the attacks on Mongolia, soldiers and airplanes came from Mongolia in July of 1934 and attacked the camp Bayqadam which is situated at a place called Šaraŋgol. Also many Kazaks perished. (9) That is why in that year many more people besides us moved away from the Altai; and we went to Barköl. (10) In the autumn of 1933 what I have called the political aspect was still thus: after Sheng Shicai had established himself in Urumchi and seized govern-

"Altinsoke"

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2005 · Snippet view

FOUND INSIDE – PAGE 180

... разгневанный Елисхан переселился подальше от Цинхая и разместился в местности , именуемой Алтыншёке (*Altinsoke*) , расположенной за пределами Цинхая ...

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... переселился подальше от Цинхая и разместился в местности, именуемой Алтыншёке (*Altinsoke*), расположенной за пределами Цинхая. Он прибыл на летние пастбища Алтыншёке в 1940 году, а затем намеревался отправиться в Индию, пройдя через Тибет. (26) На пути его поджидали мародерствующие, мсти-

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#Kazakhstan state media publishes a map of "Greater Kazakhstan," which includes parts of adjoining countries.



In the Marching wind, Office of Strategic Services (OSS) agent Leonard Clark mentions that Kazakhs who were fleeing from Soviet Central Asia, slaughtered Oirat Mongol Buddhists in Qinghai

the conflict between Tibetans and Mongols against the Kazakhs fleeing Soviet Kazakhstan in the late 1930s? They fled across Xinjiang, Gansu, Qinghai and Tibet to get to British India the Tibetans referred to the Kazakhs as their enemies and killed them

The Hui and Salar Muslims in Qinghai claimed that 8,000 Mongols were slaughtered by Kazakhs and stealing their livestock over the past 8 years.

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fact. That we want to be their friends, and fight with their help before it is too late!"

"You forget we Americans have a navy, and an air force."

He stared at me as if I were a child who had stepped on an egg. "You will be unable to beat even the rabble of China! Your casualties will be enormous!"

"Where?" I asked, smiling condescendingly.

"In easily defended Korea, or elsewhere . . . it is coming soon—with the fall of Ma Pu-fang!"

I argued no more, for I too knew that the mode for land war in Asia was changing; I had seen less than 300 American guerrillas tie up more than a million Japanese battle-infantry in China, while two of our guerrillas alone had probably destroyed as many railway locomotives and rolling stock as had the combined British and American Air Forces based on the mainland of Asia, and at a cost of only \$1,500 as against a cost of untold millions of dollars in operations, support, and the subsidizing of the Asian countries. There was only one way that man, the ever stubborn, ever learned, and it must always be the hard, bloody way. . . .

In Shan Je Te it was hot, much too hot for us who were long accustomed to the cold air of the uplands, and our horses were swishing their tails at the insects. On a tour of inspection we saw that two hundred Khoshoit Mongol families were settled here in large, square, clay-brick houses, and felt gers which were pitched in many of the courtyards of the town. A forest of masts fluttering with flags stood above flat rooftops and in the walled courts everywhere. Hundreds of tall, thin poplar trees were also here, planted in long ranks by Ma Dei-bio, a wonderful green to our eyes so long accustomed to the yellows, whites and blacks of Tibetan landscapes.

Nearby was a Mongol lamasery in the Tibetan castle style, over which an incarnated god-abbot presided, said to have been formerly a lama in the court of the old Urga king-priest. This king-priest had been blood descendant of Genghis Khan; the living Buddha, Hutuktu, Bogdo Gegan, God and Emperor, Prince of the Four Mongolian Khalka Khanates. He was now replaced by the economic-minded, baggy-pants, brief-case-carrying warrior commissars of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Outer Mongolia. The aged follower of this fantastic Urga prince, apparently also a hutuktu, a living Buddha, sent a messenger saying we must come to see him. He was

far too feeble with age to leave his temple; and as he was preparing for death and *Khorva* (Magical or Illusory Show), and reincarnation, this was indeed an honor.

Our tents were pitched alongside the fort in a grove of small trees, and equipped with Chinese paper lanterns. Solomon, Dorje, and I had—for courtesy's sake—to take over the colonel's private quarters within the walls of the fort. We couldn't find Fort Shan Je Te on the maps, so while joking about it with our astonished host—who fancied himself holding down Ma Pu-fang's west flank in Tibet—we marked the fort and town in with bright red ink on our new military maps.

Snakes had to be watched for. I nearly sat on a small green one in the grass among the tents of Camp 31. Evidently they were coming out of the Tsaidam, searching for rodents and birds among the drier gullies of the Burchan Buddha. Mosquitoes were bad, never a minute free of them, and being accustomed to the pests we and our livestock suffered accordingly. Even so, we began at once cataloguing all things Mongol. The general situation, while known to Sining, needed timely details to complete the picture. Sir Charles Bell, the late British political agent, an authority on Lhasa and a very able observer, had noted he had heard of the existence of Mongols in Tibet. But since the diplomat had not been permitted far out of Lhasa (where in 1920 he was the first European ever to be officially invited by the Tibetans), he could add little to verify or refute the rumor. Undoubtedly, many of these Mongols, particularly east of us, were the residue of former Mongol invasions launched in the direction of Lhasa; and Leagues and Banners, together with Arrows, are today represented more or less intact—though the ancient tribal systems are now destroyed in Soviet-dominated Outer Mongolia. These Sining Moslems said the fiercest of the Soviet's shock infantry used to stop the Germans at Moscow and Stalingrad, had been Mongols.

However, Dorje learned that during the past eight years the Moslem Hussacks (or Khyber Khasaks) had indeed come into Tibet from Sinkiang across Nan Shan, and had been responsible for pogroms among the Buddhist Mongols and running off stock, many of these Hussacks later reaching the safety of the home Khyber country with their booty. We now learned it was the belief of local Moslems that eight thousand Mongols had died in these massacres, as the Chinese

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Tibetans, Oirat Mongols and Hui all fought against the Kazakhs (who fled the Soviet famine in Kazakhstan and passed through Xinjiang, Gansu, Qinghai and Tibet to reach British India for asylum)

Kazakhs who reached British India, claimed that Tibetan forces were slaughtering the Kazakhs, (and also accusing Hui and Oirat Mongols of attacking Kazakhs), while the Tibetans said the Kazakhs started the fighting and raiding, and Oirat Mongols said they were slaughtered by the Kazakh migrants

this happened in the late 1930s-1940s

The Tibetans told one Japanese spy that Kazakhs were their enemies, and later Tibetan soldiers killed American CIA agent Douglas MacKiernan because he was dressed in Kazakh clothing

Nationalist Government had disarmed them. I had no way of checking such figures of course, in fact my friends seemed very reluctant to discuss this. Later in Lanchow, mentioning the Hussacks to the missionaries, they had not heard of any such raids and did not believe these had occurred. At any rate, a few stray bands of Hussacks were apparently still in the region, killing and looting what few people fell across their path. Ma Dei-bio's forces, of course, had been stripped for the fighting in China against Lin Pao.

As a result of Chinese intriguing and Hussack raiding, few Mongols, except in the Nan Shan mountains and south of them, are left today in north Tibet, and it was Colonel Ma's opinion that practically none exist in the Tsaidam. For hundreds of years this has been a favorite Mongol stamping-ground.

The expedition felt the low altitudes, as we were down to somewhere around a mere 8,000 feet. Physical laziness and sluggishness of mind now cropped up among us. Gone, however, was the nausea from those who suffered high-altitude sickness, and gone, too, sleepless nights due to lack of sufficient oxygen. Our thumping hearts had been too long overstrained, though no one seemed to suffer a dilated heart. Because of the mosquitoes, which set us itching without rest, we fled within the fort, to a second-story room having a paper-windowed balcony where the low-flying pests were not so numerous.

A *shagan*, probably second cousin to the Eskimo *shaman*, a Mongol "Black" Pön priest of atavistic sorcery, came and worked to eliminate the mosquitoes; whether it was his magic, or his incense, we could not determine—but the mosquitoes practically left the rooms.

Colonel Ma held a conclave in one of the rooms and decided to find a herd of new pack horses and about 40 fresh remounts. Yaks were considered too slow in these low regions. He scoured the countryside and secured in exchange for our worn yaks, several cattle-oxen—they being combination pack animals and also broken to haul the enormous two-wheeled carts in use here.

The Beile, introduced as a prince of the 3rd rank, chief of the local Mongols, presented to us, after much formal talk, a few sheep. With the Beile came the Merin (Mongolian magistrate) and the Khuruldei (Council of Chiefs)—their own laws intact since the Kho-shoit sacking of Lhasa in 1637. The Mongol *darkhans*, hereditary craftsmen, sent a good saddle. I rather imagine these titles are merely used by the Moslems in a social sense and do not imply power.

The expedition in turn dispensed medicines for these surviving Mongols. It also gave forth with plenty of free advice on how to run their affairs, a prerogative of Chinese government agencies in such regions. A cake was sent to the fort by the hutuktu, this as I recall being made of rice, raisins, brown sugar and *tsao*, a kind of dehydrated reddish date.

At the tents we indulged in our first afternoon tea, with Dorje presiding, plying ourselves with rock sugar and *yuan* (nuts, brown-colored and marble-like in shape). Later, after going over practical plans for the trek east to the great sea of Koko Nor, and marking waterholes on a map, we rode to a rich man's house. At the doorway of the pounded earth building, the crude wooden doors themselves plastered with the Chinese papers printed with some sort of devils in ancient classical costumes (as seen in Sining and all these towns); and as polite guests, each of us tried to salaam his neighbor in ahead of himself. This was necessarily accompanied by a stroking of the beard, and those of us who were clean-shaven pretended we had them. Since each guest insisted he was more humble than his fellows, our anything but grand entrance ended up practically in a wrestling match to see whose friends would have the honor of going in first. Tan Chen-te and Colonel Ma Sheng-lung jerked each other around, most politely of course, in and out of the doorway, finally joining and propelling me to the place of honor at the back of a foot-high table resting on a dais.

On carpets we settled ourselves crosslegged and began to crack and eat watermelon seeds. The customary quiet but elegant speech from the host followed more or less in this manner:

"Dear guests, beloved brothers, honorable sirs—having descended from heaven, you graciously honor me by coming to my poor, miserable house. For my honor, you eat of my disgusting food. For my honor, you sit on my shabby carpets. For my honor, you break your teeth on this tough mutton. Praise God."

Later we crossed over to Colonel Ma's tent, and listened to the breeze moving through the trees. We drank Chinese tea with white blossoms floating on the top of painted cups. We also discussed more plans for obtaining transport and riding animals. But the Hussacks had really impoverished the country, stripped it almost clean. Further, our party was obviously a drain on the local economy and we must clear out soon; and so more agents were dispatched into

the Mongols still wanted to strike a blow and kill some Kazakhs before the Kazakhs made it to the India-Afghan border

this makes the CIA look even more dumb, because this OSS agent knew about the conflicts between different ethnicities and how much Kazakhs and Mongols hated each other and how Mongols hated the local Xining (sining) Qinghai Muslims, yet the CIA agent MacKiernan still thought it was a good idea to wear Kazakh clothes and walk into Tibetan guards

he says that the Chinese KMT government did nothing to protect the Mongols from the Kazakh raids as the Kazakhs slaughtered Tsaidam (Qaidam) Mongols

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the countryside. A radiogram from Governor Ma urged us to hurry. Hurry back to Sining! Three hundred thousand troops had been lost to the Reds, who were victorious everywhere in Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, North China, northwest China, Turkestan.

In the starlit evening as we were being entertained by a traveling troupe of Khotan musicians and dancers, in the grove strung with paper lanterns, a Tibetan scout galloped in, reporting to Tan that some horses had been bought from Mongols; *but*, a pack of robbers—probably Hussacks—had attacked and stolen them. The Mongols wanted very much to regain the rustled horses, and at the same time strike a blow at the last Hussacks before they could cross over Chang Tang to the India-Afghan frontier. But all this was beyond our resources.

22

Entertained by a Hutuktu

WHEN a white man serves under the banner of an Oriental chieftain, "face" is the all-important consideration, and he must do everything in his power to build this up and to preserve it. Without face, you are ineffective, paralyzed; your chief servant can very often make you or break you: for important men check on you through him, using their servants as a means of contact.

Next morning after our receiving the news of the robber Hussacks, I was wakened in the fort of Shan Je Te, by the foghorn booming of the ten- or twelve-foot silver and copper ceremonial bassoons being blown at the lamasery. Since we have not gone into the matter of "face" and how it is sometimes built, perhaps this is as good a place as any. Hassan, the faithful servant, entered my kang-equipped bedroom, and playfully flogged off the serving men who were gathering, and brought *sung-pang* tea—believed to be a medical herb and an aid to digestion—and a brass bowl of steaming mutton. Hassan served notice to all, as usual, that he personally, would attend to matters. He wore that morning, a new Turkish cap of curly-black *karakul*, a robe of dark blue wool and shining black boots said to have been lifted off the corpse of a Red Army Russian officer killed at Khalkin-Gol, called today in Moscow "The Bain Tazagan slaughter," when Zhukov destroyed the Japanese Sixth Army in Mongolia, just prior to World War II.

Hassan beckoned the fort servants to approach closer now that I had begun to dress. He became extremely grand in manner: he deemed it advisable personally to assist me in cinching up and arranging every fold of my robe. But after due consideration he relented a bit, and allowed the others to assist, somewhat; these men were half a dozen regular servants belonging to the quartermaster department.

Hassan barked a command, calling up a man to stand at attention and hold up a mirror. Another held the hot-water basin. Another

Mongols in Tsaidam, Qinghai were also engaging in agriculture

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seeing camels as we rode through the most easterly spurs of the Burchan Buddhas, surely a lost paradise. These snow ranges fell off northwards, comprising the southern rim of the Tsaidam—a wide blue plain in the distance. On every ridge and in sheltered canyons were groves and forests of giant tamarisks, thick burly trees. Riding under their spreading limbs which were loaded with cooing blue pigeons, we were soon among *gers* (yurts), whole colonies, spread through the forest aisles and over the meadows like big, round, white mushrooms, wrapped in thick felt blankets bound tightly to willow frames. Smoke poured out of their domes. Suddenly I realized these were Mongols! The last of the Tsaidam Mongols. . . .

Dorje and I were excited being among these true sons of Genghis Khan, once proud conquerors of the most civilized parts of the earth, still living by their ancient warrior code, the Yasse (the Mongol Law of the Steppes).

Here, under a hill crowned with a great globe-shaped obo, rising skyward like the dome of a planetarium from which hung thousands of prayer-banners on high masts, were Mongols plowing behind camels—a strange sight. They were everywhere, these semi-settled nomadic Mongols—who had learned agriculture from the Rong-pa Tibetans. Surprisingly, they were dressed as Tibetans, in sheepskin chupas and black yak-leather boots. Being Buddhist Mongols, and therefore hating and fearing the Sining Moslems, they did not approach us as we streamed along.

At 3:40 P.M. we were greeted at Fort Shan Je Te (pronounced: "Shen-Re-Day") by its skull-capped Moslem commandante, the seemingly 6-foot-6-inch Colonel Ma Dei-bio (which is as close as I can spell it). He was a burly, hoarse-voiced, fierce-looking Tungan of perhaps 250 pounds of meat and bone, inherited by Ma Pu-fang from his father, the former Governor Ma-yuan, who (so they said in Sining) had stopped the expeditions of around thirty different would-be explorers.

"God has kept thee well," he said piously, holding his huge hands before him bowing a gracious *salaam* and stroking his long black beard; "Ma Pu-fang—a thousand years of life to him!—has informed us you were coming."

Ma Dei-bio as practically Amban (Viceroy) for South Chinghai, under the former Tungan governor, had had a hand in a bloody

punitive expedition against the Ngoloks which destroyed 480 families, some of whom were said to have been bound in leather and thrown into the Yellow River where they perished. He wore a long, ground-sweeping, black, so-called "modern-style" Chinese overcoat with high stiff military collars. His fort was new, constructed of high, beaten-clay walls and enclosing gray baked-brick houses with double-decked verandas in the Turki style. Its massive iron-studded, wooden gates were reinforced by heavily-armed Moslems, and two enormous stone Chinese lions. This fort marked China's western-most important permanent garrison in Tungan Tibet.

With giant, jolly, red-faced Ma Dei-bio, we had dinner while sitting crosslegged on thick-napped Yarkand rugs. We ate from bowls of Chinese porcelain, and with bone and ebony chopsticks. After such astonishing chinoiserie luxury, we stretched out on the carpets, for we had been in the saddle for nine and a half hours. The shrewd-eyed Commandante Ma Dei-bio was impressed with our ultra smartness, and said so a couple of times. We finally confessed that we had covered our real paucity by ingeniously stopping ten miles out, while the entire troop bathed in the river, shaved, and all of us who had them (including the Tibetans), had changed from old sheepskins into robes of black, blue or red, not forgetting our best silk sashes, our shiniest boots or most gaudy Tibetan footgear and spurs, daggers and sidearms, our swords and other gauds and accouterments. And—above all—the bugles and banners. The horses, too, had been curried and rubbed down glossy, and fresh double-knots twisted into their tails.

I doubt whether, except perhaps in Arabia and India, such splendor could be found in many places today. Ma Sheng-lung's robe was of knee-length Kashmiri blue velvet, edged with a four-inch silver band; very high black polished Russian Cossack boots, red silk sash with a four-foot tail falling behind in pleated folds, from which sash hung a sword and poniard. After removing his red fox Tibetan cap, his headgear was a white Moslem skull-cap. He rode his white stallion, purchased on the Yellow River, and was indeed a sight for all his soldiers to admire, and to follow anywhere with a wild yell!

Tan Chen-te had ridden a big, dancing, liver-colored stallion, and he was as elegantly dressed in velvet as Colonel Ma, but (as usual) in browns, tans and black, trimmed with gold. For some reason he always wore a blue silk sash. My own robe was a very dark

he says that the Chinese KMT Nationalist government did nothing to protect the Mongols from the Kazakh raids as the Kazakhs slaughtered Tsaidam Mongols

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western provinces would fall. The northwest provinces and the "dependencies" under Ma Pu-fang would definitely also collapse, either before or soon after the others, it made no long-range difference. I guessed only an overland road from south to central Asia (and none existed for Moslem anti-Red forces!) could keep any of the troops intact and fighting a *jihad* near this heart of World Communism. I began that rainy night to draw up military and political plans for submission to Ma Pu-fang in Lanchow—now his central headquarters. These included not only methods for facing the Reds in the localized region of China proper, but international patterns for an underground attack on the Soviet Union itself.

Based on what we had learned in Tibet, plans were made to salvage 30,000 crack veteran Moslem soldiers. Today this army constitutes the only effective Asian anti-Communist force available in central Asia. It seemed to me, as I worked in the rain, that exploration had come a long way since the days when it was necessary only to pick up a few flowers and press them in a book. At a time like this, the modern explorer in central Asia, unless he is a specialized scientist or a collector should be a combat political and military tactician. He must not only observe; he must act. With China lost, there was only one thing to do; see that Ma Pu-fang became the eastern hinge of the world Moslem block, and that Turkey became the western hinge. I must suggest to the governor that he make a pilgrimage to Mecca—and then continue to Cairo and Turkey, for the solidifying *within* of the generally anti-West Moslem peoples. He was said to have a house in Pakistan (a Moslem country), and from here agents could direct the means for supplying arms and essentials to his forces in Tibet. On this army and any of the Chang-Tang Tibetans who might join, would depend the fate of India and ultimately all Asia to the east of that country.

It was now clear that eight years before a thousand destitute Hussack families had trailed across Nan Shan and penetrated the Tsaidam Basin; and only last year did the main force return to Sinkiang. The Hussack raids against the Mongols had left only a remnant of these people, and these absolutely stricken and impoverished. The Chinese Nationalist Government did nothing to protect them during the fatal eight years, as the Hussacks were well-armed and stronger than the government's western forces.

A single Mongol herdsman lost overnight a thousand horses—the

source of his Arrow's livelihood. (An "Arrow," or "Sumon," is a subdivision of a "Banner," or "Hoshun.") The Hussacks are fanatic Mohammedans, professional killers, speaking a Turki dialect; they are ger dwellers when here.

In spite of the Hussack massacres, the Moslems said twenty-six Mongol Banners, however fragmented, still exist today in north Chinghai (Tibetan—Amdo.) This "Banner" designation is the same as that authorized by the Manchu emperors, who craftily scattered the feared Mongols to the far rims of the Celestial Empire.

one of the Qinghai Oirat Mongols openly spoke about the Manchu genocide against the Dzungar Oirats in the mid 18th century to this OSS agent. he mentions the Kalmyk Oirat return to Dzungaria as well in 1771

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The term "genocide" was unknown in China at the time but this Oirat Prince mentioned the "ultimate extermination" against his people and the Manchu slaughter of 600,000 Dzungars.

the others rested on a kang and tried to keep the flies off, and because I could no longer stomach the arrogant Chinese, I walked through fields of wild iris. The iris, which brings gladness to the color-starved eye and joy to the heart, is called by the Mongols "Little Daughter."

Nearby and close to a wrecked temple, on the north side of the houses, in an east-west line, loomed four giant sentinels of the dead, *soboroks* (the Mongol *chörten*). We had not seen anything like them before. The Tibetans build their great burial stupas in a round shape, somewhat like a top inverted, but these *soboroks* were square, and set astronomically, their twin faces turned southwards toward Lhasa, and northwards toward Urga. The multiple roofs were of three tiers, the widest being twelve feet along each side, and stacking up from large to small. On top were set 6-foot wooden spires, with the sacred emblem of the cupped moon, sun and flame.

Inside, visible through windows, were 4-inch tablets and cones of clay having patterned buttons and molded Buddhas. The clay is said to be made from the deceased Mongols' ashes. There must have been thousands of these tablets, objects which would one day likely confound archeologists, as today do the tombs of Ur and Babylonia.

I joined the others, who were wearily napping on their carpets, and soon we rode on to occupy Camp 33. It lay beyond in the desert, the tents glowing a welcome as night settled. Feed-crunching files of tethered camels, horses, yaks, mules, and oxen were already established between the tents. The wagons had been drawn up in a circle, as protection.

There were now with the expedition 240 animals: 34 oxen, 29 cart horses, 22 pack horses, 20 mules, 32 camels, 83 saddle horses, and a few remounts. Personnel had been trimmed at Sharia Ha to a 22-soldier escort, 40 Sarts and nomadic Turki of different tribes, quite a few of our old Fort Ta Ho Pa Tibetan tribesmen, and 30 new Tibetans—mostly Tanguts. Tanguts may very well be the descendants of mysterious Khara Khoto, Kozlov's famous "Black, Dead City" in West Mongolia (Black Gobi). Kozlov believed the desert "had swallowed them" some 600 years ago. Our Tanguts said their legends stated that some of their ancestors had indeed been driven out of Khara Khoto by a Chinese army, but that the survivors reached Koko Nor (or Ch'ing Hai), the Blue Sea. Here Dorje and I would soon see the Tangut tribes intact!

Gathered round a brush campfire, Solomon Ma, Abdul, the Secretary, Tan, Tujeh, Lord Huardamu, and all the others who were not on guard listened to a typical story of the Tibetan deserts. We had spread ourselves comfortably while gazing at the stars, enjoyed a full round of stories of hunting, fighting, and lovemaking. Finally Prince Dorje spoke, his face lit by the fire, filled with dignity and a touch of pride:

"In the mid-1700's the Manchus came out of China and killed 600,000 Öret Mongols, surprised in Inner Mongolia; thus began the Chinese pogroms against my people, still being carried on for the ultimate extermination of the Warrior Race. Having destroyed the Mongol South Wing they then, by decoying allies with intrigue and gold, took over all Sinkiang from the weakened Mongol West Banner—held by the Torgut Horde, my own, actually the 5th Khanate. Later they seized the other four Khanates, in Khalka, which today is Red Outer Mongolia.

"The Torguts—those who escaped the massacres of the Chinese—gathered together, and moved across the face of central Asia into Europe. Previously, it had been a Torgut who, having conquered the Tatar Hordes beyond the Urals in Russia, swore allegiance to the Czar of the Russias, by licking his knife's edge and placing it against his throat, and whom Russia then trusted and launched as their cavalry commander against the Turkish Empire in Constantinople. Under him the Torguts fought and defeated the Ottoman Empire—and its African, Arabian, and Middle East confederation of Moslem nations and races. These Torguts held, alone, the entire Moslem front penetrating Europe through the Balkans, thus allowing Russia to put down internal chiefs and to consolidate her feudal rear areas—forming what is today Red Russia. Two hundred and fifty years ago these Torguts smashed the feared Charles XII of Sweden, Europe's strong man.

"In 1771, 400,000 Torguts prepared to leave Russia by a ruse, learning from spies that Russia would now destroy them, though they—still Buddhists—had loyally served for generations. 'Bloody' Catherine [The Mongol name for Catherine the Great] then sent against them her Cossack armies, killing 300,000 men, women, and children. But in the end, 'Bloody' Catherine lost the campaign, for though her armies pursued the Torgut Horde clear across south Europe and Asia to the deserts of Sinkiang, she had forevermore lost

This Oirat Prince asked this OSS agent to support the Kalmyks against the Soviet Union (Stalin deported the Kalmyks)

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for Russia the support of the true Mongols. She had killed 300,000 but 50,000 still lived. Today, the Western Banners of the Torguts rest in their gers to attack in revenge the Slavic masses of the west. Clark!—the Red Army in Russia uses hundreds of thousands of northern Mongols. Why do you not go among the free West Mongols, and see in them the means for bringing about the fall of Red Russia?"

"I think the White House and the Pentagon should decide such matters," I answered.

"But they know nothing of the situation!"

"Forget it. Right now we are working on Amne Machin and the Moslems, remember?"

That night we rested comfortably, for there were no alarms, only a wolf or two. We struck camp at 8 A.M. next day, waiting late for a fog to burn off the desert, and finally rode at a slow pace into a white eastern sky. The pack train (including the big carts) had not been sent ahead as the desert seemed to hold some vague threat, about which Tan and the others would not speak. I suspected robbers, for invariably raiders and stock thieves were denied by them, as reflecting on the Moslem peace preservation program. It was usually only by Dorje talking to one of the underlings that anything of this kind was learned. I rather suspect we had been subject to more rustling forays than I knew about.

My face, previously frostbitten, was in poor shape due to mosquitoes in the Kuder hills and Tsagan Ussu. Skin was peeling off and no amount of protective United Nations' white-zinc ointment would help against the desert's wind and sun. Finally I bound a black silk scarf around my head, cutting eye-holes and a mouth-hole—scaring a few Tibetans passing west, if not easing my pain very much.

Sand . . . sand . . . sand—after two hours of trudging through the clinging stuff, word came in that robbers were riding far out along our flanks. We hurried on. There was no question of stopping to fortify ourselves against possible attack. We had to have water. Many of the animals, especially our old stock, were already weakening. Our guides said there was water and we had nothing to worry about.

All this hot desert region through which we trudged lay southwest of Koko Nor. Underfoot was a crusty, saline, sometimes sandy,

white-glaring mirror sparsely covered with a low, spiny brush. Solomon thought this would be bad country to fight in, offering little protection. We continued—camels moaning, yaks grunting, some packs rattling and making a considerable racket. Several times in rougher country Tan took precautionary measures, but instead of the robbers cutting in and charging, as was quite often customary according to the men, only kyangs scurried away from our line of march, and gazelles flashed signals as they jumped away under thin spirals of white dust. It became plain to some that the robbers were banking on our not finding sufficient water for so large and awkward a caravan. The Secretary warned that sometimes waterholes are found poisoned. . . . As I think back on it, he may have meant poisoned from chemicals in the ground.

While going ever deeper into the desert that afternoon, half-asleep in the saddle from the impact of heat and fatigue, wearily swishing off horseflies and gnats, two strange Tibetans were found checking on our strength and movements. They were watching from a ridge overlooking an old trail we were at the moment following. One of our flankers had luckily crossed their tracks; and instantly taking their trail, he approached them from the rear, shooting one fellow in the back of the head (so he said) and capturing the other. This one was led along on the end of a rope attached to a saddle cantle.

A scout was sent forward to the top of a low hill. He cantered back saying he had seen the water; we dodged north and camped on a stream called Sha Liu Ho (Sand Willow River), its shallow bed gleaming with mica. As the animals and men drank, Dorje and I saw that this stream flows not into the nearby Koko Nor, our objective yet fifty miles away, but westward toward Tsaidam basin. This westward-flowing river is called Mek by the Tibetans, and in crossing the desert they always try to find it. At this season its dusty banks were loaded with blooming red-bud bushes. No fish could be found in the riffles; we had hoped to add a few to our boiled camel and yak. The game trails of bighorn sheep and musk-deer angled sharply back and forth across the steep, barren slopes of high ridges standing bleakly about Camp 34, whose elevation (3,545 meters, 10,820 feet) made it cold at night. Just south rose "White Cedar Mountain," while north stood Sharza (Lead Mountain), a source for Tibetan bullets. (These are local names and will not be found on any map.) Even here in the north, this region except in a general way, remains

the Oirat Mongols in Qinghai were also paranoid about the Hui (Tungans)

the Oirat Mongols in Qinghai were also paranoid against Hui people and thought they might go jihad on them

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Torja's ragged ger, one of the forty round felt gers standing about, Prince Dorje and I drank cool milk of a particularly fine flavor. It was explained that, first, fermented grain is put into fresh yak or camel milk, and set aside to stand two or three days; the result tastes not unlike buttermilk. None of our proud Moslem conquerors would condescend to enter the ger, and so sat on their horses, their gullets remaining dry, while we took our leisure inside.

In Torja's ger, a lamaistic shrine was standing against the felt wall directly opposite the doorway. Brass cups holding water were lined on the altar before the brass Buddha. Prayer-lamps of butter were lit. There was little butter for the god, Torja explained, only enough to show reverence and none to eat, as the tax collector had taken all that very morning. The stove in the middle of the ger was more elaborate than that of the Tibetans. Stored around the white felt walls were old, tooled saddle-bags, cases of hide bound in metal, camel harnesses, yak saddles and heaps of yak dung.

Prayers were now said to the Lord Buddha. Then our Mongol hosts, and their wives, whispered that the feared Tungans were harder taskmasters than even the Chinese before them—if that could be possible. With clockwork regularity a Moslem holy war swept through Chinghai every third of a century, and Torja felt another was about to break. He had only one old musket to defend the tribe.

We were faced with a long ride, and so regretfully left the Mongols and outside found the tribe gathered to bid us good-bye. The women in their long sheepskin robes, colored boots, and peaked hats, sang a song of spring to us. Standing among the colony of gers were a score of masts from which hundreds of prayer-flags fluttered. Against a background of lowing camels and yaks and moaning prayer-mills operated by wind, we felt as if time had reverted back to the Great Khans. Solomon took a picture with his camera.

At 3:45 P.M. we changed course, and turned our camels and the other train animals outward, away from the basin and headed for the lowest notch in the snow-capped South Koko Nor Range. While riding thus east through rocky valleys waving with wild flowers, alternate stony ridges, and grassy upland slopes, we saw our first Tibetan snake since leaving Tsaidam. It was only 18 inches long, a mottled brown, with a narrow neck and a flat ugly head. The reptile was cold and did not move much, merely crawling into the top of a thorn bush. The horses were not afraid, for having been raised

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This practise of Human Sacrifice by Vajrayana cultists of Tibet continued well into the 20th century. Young children were sacrificed and buried under stupas

But the question of the continued practice of human sacrifice still remains unresolved. In 1915 a British visitor to Gyantse was told that in certain rituals in previous times, babies had been sacrificed in the monastery there, indicating that this practice was not totally alien to Tibet.⁸⁸ We also have the testimony of Robert Ekvall, an American missionary and anthropologist who was born in China and spent at least eight years of his adult life in the regions inhabited by Tibetans. He reported that although animal sacrifices were more common, there were some instances of human sacrifices.⁸⁹ The most convincing clue we have comes from Sir Charles Bell. Bell wrote that he once visited a spot on the Tibet-Bhutan border where he saw a stupa called *Bang-kar Bi-tse cho-ten* that contained the bodies of an eight-year-old boy and girl “who had been slain for the purpose” of some *religious ritual*.⁹⁰

"bell wrote that he once visited a spot on the"

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Prior to 1951, 95% of Tibetans lived in a feudal society ruled by the 13th&14th Dalai Lamas. They were abused & cruelly treated which are inherent to the traditional Tibetan system, such as making drums out of human skins&cutting of girls' tongues for rituals #Tibet #Feudal

Hirata Atsutane wrote about Han style Estoteric, Tantric Vajrayana Buddhism (Shingon) which is still practiced by Japanese. Apparently they also did rituals with feces and using skulls filled with blood and a statue with a naked women showing her genitals, like the Tibetans.

devotedly every morning. Within the litany of the ritual is a passage that offers his worship and devotion to the very same Kuebiko no mikoto. Given the evidence of his devotion to spiritual studies and the occult, it seems likely that Atsutane himself carried out Esoteric Buddhist practice, at least in the form of the *Kuebiko saishiki*. A hanging scroll/*honzon* that depicts this *kami* is still preserved today within his archives.

Haga Noboru writes that while Atsutane was critical of Buddhism overall, and especially the more popular sects such as Nichiren Buddhism, he was relatively respectful of Zen and Shingon Buddhism, the latter being the source of his Esoteric Buddhist ritual collection. Haga goes on to suggest that these collected rituals, along with his *Maichō shimpai shiki*, may have been used for recruitment, especially around the time he was making his recruiting tours of the Kantō countryside before and after he met Torakichi.²⁴ The ambivalence and contradictions evident in both Atsutane's and Torakichi's attitudes toward Buddhism as expressed in *Senkyō ibun* probably reflect the true situation; that is, Buddhism was powerful and useful to both of them, so in truth neither of them could swear it off completely.

There is another interesting note on the connection between *Senkyō ibun* and Esoteric Buddhist practices. At one point in the text, Torakichi gives a particularly graphic description of a bizarre Esoteric ritual. It involves the statue of a naked woman with special emphasis on the genitalia. Dunking in feces and anointment by skulls filled with blood round out the description of the ritual, which is supposed to bring some sort of evil power to the practitioners.²⁵ Atsutane may have been an Esoteric practitioner in private, but what he records in *Senkyō ibun* about Esoteric rituals is quite negative. He usually makes Esoteric ritual, at least as practiced by Buddhists, sound much more like evil pornography than a blissful reunification with the universal soul.

Torakichi as Spirit Medium and Divine Child: Buddhist Precedents

One of Torakichi's special abilities and the one thing that set him apart from other religiously devoted teenage boys was his talent for spirit possession; he could intentionally cause spirits to possess him or his ritual assistants, or he could become spontaneously possessed. The exercise of these talents shows his debt to both the Buddhist and Daoist traditions,²⁶ but for the most part the possession rituals rely heavily on Buddhist images and practices. The following example has Torakichi describing a ritual he would commonly perform for people seeking his assistance.

In *Kuebiko saishiki* the practitioner is instructed to set up a *honzon*. In Esoteric Buddhism this might typically be a Dainichi nyorai image or something that represents Dainichi nyorai. In Atsutane's ritual, Dainichi has been replaced by Musubi no kami. The Esoteric pattern would then call for offerings of several sorts, and this was also copied in Atsutane's ritual. In the Esoteric model, the climax of the ritual would occur after performing contemplation and meditations meant to produce an image of the intermediate being, an alter ego of Dainichi, Fudō myōō perhaps; then unification or identification with that intermediary would take place. In Atsutane's ritual, Fudō was replaced by Kuebiko no mikoto. While the Esoteric practitioner becomes a buddha in that very body, Atsutane's practitioner becomes a *kami* in that very body. The individual soul ritually achieves the goal of reuniting with the universal soul. In Atsutane's ritual, where the Buddhist would say "many buddhas," the Chinese character for buddha is simply replaced by the character for *kami*. In the spot where the text should say "becoming a buddha," it says "becoming a *kami*." The results and the goals of the ritual are written about as *kaji* and *rieki*, just what the Esoteric Buddhist practitioner would have been hoping for.²³

The Shinto tradition does claim a long history of practitioners uniting with the *kami*, which we might be more used to associating with spirit possession, or even shamanistic practice. In modern Shinto terms, when this possession is seen to occur without artificial assistance, it is called *kishin*, and when it is induced it is called *chinkon*. Therefore, Atsutane's Kuebiko ritual could be categorized as a *chinkon* ritual, which could associate it with the so-called ancient Shinto tradition. However, the contents of his *Categories of Esoteric Doctrines and Rituals* are proof that he copied the ritual straight from an Esoteric Buddhist precedent and changed the buddhas into *kami*.

Categories of Esoteric Doctrines and Rituals contains more than a hundred more rituals, all coming from Esoteric Buddhist practice. Most of them are for defeating enemies, overcoming evil, or performing initiations. Many of the rituals in this collection contain references to or invocations of Daoist immortals, and many of them involve Kangiten or Shōten, which provides a link to Torakichi and his *sanjin* master. However, the attitude usually expressed toward Esoteric Buddhist rituals in *Senkyō ibun* is one of wariness. Atsutane readily recognized the power in these kinds of rituals, but he was afraid of their corrupting influences. Perhaps, as was explained by Torakichi, Atsutane agreed that those who held the proper reverence for the *kami* could practice them.

We know that Atsutane had published a daily morning ritual of *kami* worship he called the *Maichō shimpai shiki*, and he practiced this ritual

Mongols practiced human sacrifices in the 1910s on various peoples, they did it to Qing soldiers, White Guard Tsarist monarchists, and skinned Kazakhs alive. The infamous Oirat leader Ja Lama skinned two Kazakhs alive and used their skins as a meditation mat

<https://twitter.com/Nicholastrad/status/1095166137770233856>

<https://archive.is/r6yqG>

Then some people became mad at him because he skinned two Kazakh chiefs. The cossacks deported him back to Russia. He was sent to a prison in Irkutsk, but it was too warm for him (he was not human so the cold felt too warm).

http://tibetanbuddhistencyclopedia.com/en/index.php/Life_of_Ja_Lama

"In response to the complaint a detachment of eighty Cossack under the command of one Captain Bulatov was dispatched from the Russian border town of of Khöshöö Mod. On February 8, 1914, they suddenly appeared at Muunjaviin Ulaan and surrounded Dambijantsan's ger. Apparently he was arrested without a struggle. Searching his ger, the Cossacks discovered two complete human skins of people who had been flayed alive by his orders. One of the skins reportedly was that of Khaisan, the Kazakh chieftain with whom Dambijantsan had been feuding with earlier. The human skins along with a chest of silver and other items in his ger were confiscated."

http://worldwidewanders1.blogspot.com/2008_05_13_archive.html

Ja Lama and the Siege of Khovd ... and that he even used the skin of a Kazakh man as a meditation mat.

Ja Lama skinned Kazakhs alive after sacrificing Qing soldiers and other Mongols human sacrificed White Guard Tsarist soldiers and former Qing China soldiers

<https://www.scribd.com/document/195145542/Kuzmin-S-L-Hidden-Tibet-History-of-Independence-Occupation>

<https://www.scribd.com/document/160457526/Hidden-Tibet>

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<https://www.chushigangdruk.ca/History%20docs/Hidden%20Tibet%20History%20of%20Independence%20and%20Occupation.pdf>

<https://pdfcoffee.com/download/kuzmin-s-l-hidden-tibet-history-of-independence-and-occupation-pdf-free.html>

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[id=tG32DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA125&lpg=PA125&dq=%22and+took+the+skin+off+a+Kazakh%22&source=bl&ots=-](https://books.google.com.nz/books?id=tG32DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA125&lpg=PA125&dq=%22and+took+the+skin+off+a+Kazakh%22&source=bl&ots=-)

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Hidden Tibet: History of Independence and Occupation

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[Sergius L. Kuzmin](#), Andrey Terentyev · 2011 · Education

... early twentieth century: Ja Lama sacrificed ten Chinese prisoners *and took the skin off a Kazakh*; Choijon Lama ate the heart of a White Guard soldier; ...

<http://savetibet.ru/img/2010/tibet-book-eng.pdf>

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<http://savetibet.ru> > img > tibet-book-eng

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by SL Kuzmin · Cited by 8 — prisoners and took the skin off a Kazakh; Choijon Lama ate the heart of a White. Guard soldier; some commanders used hearts' blood of ...

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Hidden Tibet - Dhokham chushi gangdruk society, Canada

<https://www.yumpu.com> > document > view > hidden-tibe...

prisoners and took the skin off a Kazakh; Choijon Lama ate the heart of a White Guard soldier; some commanders used hearts' blood of executed Chinese and ...

That's when the Dalai Lama called for scientists around the world to abandon the use of the word "Lamaism". We will not use it either and for reasons of a purely scientific nature".

Nevertheless, China's propaganda materials can often be found to contain the assertion that "the Tibetans have their own Tibetan religion: Lamaism,"³³ which supposedly is a branch of Chinese Buddhism, and that the Panchen Lama is apparently a "religious teacher of Chinese Buddhism".³⁴ But, perhaps, things are changing. The English translation of the Chinese "White Book" on Tibetan Culture in 2008 has already used the term "Tibetan Buddhism" instead of "Lamaism".³⁵

In addition to the adherents of Bon and Buddhism, there are also some Muslims and Christian Catholics in Tibet. Prior to the occupation there were also some Hindus.³⁶ There was complete tolerance of other faiths. Theocracy never tried to convert them to its own faith. This was reported by both Muslims and the adherents of other religions.³⁷ So it is wrong to assert that "the so-called unitary faith that existed in old Tibet was in fact a violation of human rights under the social theocratic system that took a distorted shape. Indeed, in the old days people could not even manage their own destiny, let alone have rights to freedom of religion".³⁸

As we see, Tibetan Buddhism is full of interesting things. Nevertheless, people are often attracted by the aberrations. I will not discuss "the para-Buddhist" concepts, such as theosophy. I will also not discuss the propaganda aimed at inciting hatred between the religions (relevant responses can be found on the Internet).³⁹ I will only dwell slightly on some frequently discussed examples, and firstly, "ritual murder" and "sacrifices" in Buddhism.

Russian merchant, A.V. Burdukov, wrote the following about a Mongolian sacrificial ceremony in the early twentieth century: Ja Lama sacrificed ten Chinese prisoners and took the skin off a Kazakh; Choijon Lama ate the heart of a White Guard soldier; some commanders used hearts' blood of executed Chinese and the White Guards to sprinkle their banners. During the "Tibet Today and in the Past" exhibition in Beijing in 2008, human skin, products made of "serfs'" skulls and leg bones were on display. Similar promotional exhibitions followed the suppressed uprising in 1959 and were held at Drepung Monastery, Lhasa, Sera, Gyantse, Lhoka and other places.⁴⁰ Visitors were told that people were killed for the sake of these items. In 1948 monks allegedly sacrificed twenty-one people in hope of preventing

33 Briefly on Tibet: Population and peoples...

34 Negotiations...

35 Protection and development...

36 Shakabpa, 1988.

37 For example, Butt, 1994; Harter, 2002.

38 China and Tibet, numbers and facts. 2006...

39 For example, Pandaev, 1999.

40 Smith, 2008, p.68, 72, 133-135.

https://books.google.com.my/books?id=28wUAAAIAAJ&pg=PA61&lpg=PA61&dq=%22Ja+Lama+ordered+the+breast+of+a+Kazak+leader+to+be+cut+open+and+the+heart+torn+out,+and+then+the+skin+flayed+from+the+body+to+be+used+for+some%22&source=bl&ots=D_rGPesVLO&sig=ACfU3U2X1w6_iNcDggs2ai19MyIGORilwg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjTgoqf-anzAhXEc98KHQxuAIUQ6AF6BAgCEAM

Nationalism and Revolution in Mongolia

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Owen Lattimore, [Sh Nachukdorji](#) · 1955 · Mongolia

region¹⁸. Not feeling certain of his position, he gathered some followers and went down to an oasis in low desert mountains called the Ma-tsung Shan, in a sort of no-man's land between Outer Mongolia and the Chinese provinces of Sinkiang and Ninghsia, with their Mongol fringes. Here he built a fort, in and around which he gathered about 300 troopers and some 500 tents of people.

This is as far as Maiskii's account takes us, but we know from the *Life of Sukebatur* how the new government eventually felt it necessary to send a detachment down to his stronghold, which negotiated its way in to see him and then shot him down. (There are many supplementary details in the unpublished *Autobiography* and *Political memoirs* of the Dilowa Hutukhtu, whose monastery and administrative district lay on the edge of the western territory in which the Ja Lama was most active, and who knew him personally.) The official reason for killing him was that he was in dangerous contact with Chinese border provinces from which Outer Mongolia might be attacked. There is probably some truth in this. The account of the Chinese caravan men who told me tales about him in 1926 was that, on an understanding with the governor of Sinkiang, he had begun developing a new, protected caravan route to replace those that had been closed by Outer Mongolian independence¹⁹, and there is support also in the fictionalized but very true-to-life account of this last phase of the Ja Lama in a Russian adventure-book²⁰.

What stands out as characteristic of the political life of Mongolia in the 1920's however is the fear that one bold adventurer with 300 troopers at his back and a proved ability to excite old tribal passions and loyalties might be able to change the whole fate of a vast country of some 600,000 square miles, with a population of the order of one million. The Mongols had just lived through about fifteen years in which again and again great events had been decided by small numbers. The importance of the critical decision and the deciding event comes to the fore again and again in the *Life of Sukebatur*.

¹⁸ Many sources testify to his extreme cruelty. Maiskii relates that after a clash with some "Kirghiz" (i.e. Kazaks of the Altai) Ja Lama ordered the breast of a Kazak leader to be cut open and the heart torn out, and then the skin flayed from the body to be used for some "religious" (i.e. *shamanistic*) purpose. For equally lurid details (and some striking photographs) see Hermann Consten, *Weideplätze der Mongolen*, Berlin, 2 vols. 1919 and 1920, vol. 2, pp. 214 *et seq.* Consten was in Mongolia in 1912.

¹⁹ Lattimore, as cited.

²⁰ This story is one of the episodes in V. A. Obruchev, *V debryakh tsentral'noi Azii* (In the ruins of central Asia) Moscow, 1951. See review by Owen Lattimore in *Pacific Affairs*, 27, 2, June 1954, pp. 166-168.

Another Mongol, Magsarjav sacrificed the hearts of both Kazakhs and Qing soldiers (I do not have any idea of the ethnicity of these soldiers or whether they were a mix of Manchu or Han

soldiers, they could be either)

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[Michael Dillon](#) · 2019 · History

Magsarjav also sacrificed the hearts of Kazakh bandits when his troops were operating in the Uriankhai region during the chaotic revolutionary period.

debts for Chinese merchants. The year 1911 was the final year of the decaying Manchu Qing dynasty which ruled Mongolia as well as China. Magsarjav was well placed to play a major part in a Mongolian uprising against imperial rule that had been simmering for years and finally came to the boil in November of that year, when the Mongols established their independent provisional government under the Bogd Khan.

In the summer of 1912 Magsarjav was instructed by the Mongolian revolutionaries to remove all Manchu and Chinese officials from the western region around Khovd and to 'transfer all official business in the Khovd region to the office of the Khalkh Regular Service'. The officials from China, unable to accept the loss of their authority, refused and threatened to arrest Magsarjav who galloped to Niislel Khüree (Urga and later Ulaanbaatar) to report to the new Mongolian central government. Magsarjav and another hero of the revolution, Manlaibaatar Damdinsüren, were appointed Commanders of the Expeditionary Forces of the Western Frontier and returned to Khovd with orders that troops be mobilized under their command. When they had amassed sufficient forces, they attacked the city, killing many of the garrison, and taking many Chinese troops prisoner:

Commander Magsarjav chopped the heads off the two Chinese captured earlier, together with those of the three who had just been captured, five in all. In order to raise the morale of the Mongol soldiers, Magsarjav paraded all his soldiers. Then he had the bodies of the Chinese soldiers opened and their hearts taken out to be sacrificed to the standard of the Commander-in-Chief of the Mongolian Army. Then Magsarjav and other officers tasted the blood of the five Chinese soldiers. He also ordered the Mongol soldiers to taste it, in order to show their heroic determination.²¹

After a failed attempt to breach the city walls with explosives, the Mongol cavalry launched a murderous onslaught and Khovd surrendered on 9 July 1912. The Manchu viceroy, his deputy and the local Chinese military commander were all captured, and the shops of Chinese merchants were looted, although Magsarjav, who had been on friendly terms with some traders, had given orders that there was to be no plunder.

Magsarjav also sacrificed the hearts of Kazakh bandits when his troops were operating in the Uriankhai region during the chaotic revolutionary period. He also led troops into Inner Mongolia to attack Chinese garrisons but in 1915, after the signing of a trilateral Russian-Chinese-Mongolian treaty that ceded Inner Mongolia to China, he retreated to Niislel Khüree and was appointed commander-in-chief of the Mongolian armed forces.

Kazakhs were long time historical enemies of Oirats, the Dzungars fought long wars against the Kazakhs and the Kazakhs massacred tens of thousands of Oirats returning from Kalmykia to Dzungaria in 1777

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31 Before Antony's expedition King Artavazd of Armenia had gone over to the Parthians, but he soon acknowledged his allegiance to Rome and brought his Armenian ...

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a bookish tradition developed.²⁸ Resisting proselytizers of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, most Mongols remained Shamanists until the sixteenth century, when Altan Khan, after a campaign in Tibet, brought back Buddhist lamas of the Yellow Hat sect to eastern Mongolia. The Oirats adopted Buddhism somewhat later, after their Sanskrit scholar Namkhaizhamso returned from Tibet.²⁹ Thereafter they maintained contact with Tibet, sending embassies to Lhasa when a khan died, to obtain from the Dalai Lama the title of khan for his successor.³⁰

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the Lamaists converted the Mongol population by brute force

only Altan Khan consented to the conversion and he authorized the Lamas to brutally burn alive, force convert, destroy Tengrist shrines

The Tibetan Buddhist Lamas utilized the same violent methods against Tengrist shamans in Mongolia itself, in Buryatia (Buryat Mongols) and Tannu Tuva (Tuvan Turkic Tengrists) from a period spanning the 16th-19th centuries in order to convert the population through brute strength.

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[Walther Heissig](#), Geoffrey Samuel · 1980 · Religion

... Barghutsin , Suisu up to Tungkin and Alair destroyed through fire all Ongghot figures , instruments and costumes of the shamans and shamanesses .

THE LAMAIST SUPPRESSION OF SHAMANISM

The comparison of the pyre of assembled Ongghot figures with a Mongolian yurt of four frames enables one to calculate with some accuracy the number of confiscated Ongghot. A normal Mongolian round tent is about 2.40 m. (8 feet) high at its highest point; a *qana*, a folding-frame side-section, is about 2 m. (6 feet 8 inches) long. The pyre accordingly had a circumference of about 8 m. (27 feet) and was up to 2.40 m. (8 feet) high. The size of the confiscated Ongghot figures would scarcely have differed from that of the Ongghot still found today, which are about 25 cm. (10 inches) high.⁴ Thus the number of Ongghot collected in the territory of the Khorchin alone must have consisted of several thousand examples.

Around 1650 *Rab 'byams pa* Caya Pandita (1599–1662) took similar measures in the Ili territory, inhabited by West Mongolian tribes, and in North-Western Mongolia. He gave his monks and disciples this instruction: 'Whoever among the people whom you see has worshipped Ongghot, burn their Ongghot and take their horses and sheep. From those who let the shamans and shamanesses perform fumigations, take horses. Fumigate the shamans and shamanesses however with dog dung.'⁵

One can still observe the same kind of Lamaist procedure against shamanism and Ongghot worship in the last decades of the eighteenth century in connection with the spread of Lamaism among the Buryats, the northernmost Mongol group. Although the Buryat tradition reports the presence of Lamaist monks among the Khori Buryats as early as the first third of the seventeenth century,⁶ Lamaism did not flourish among the Buryats before 1712. For this year the arrival is reported of the first Lamaist missionaries from Tibet in the Selenga and Khori territory.⁷ There the first Lamaist monasteries were founded only in 1730, when more than fifty further Tibetan monks and a hundred Mongolian monks were sent into this region.⁸ The Lamaist missionary activity among the Khori Buryats extended from then until 1741.⁹ Until 1788 the Agha Buryats were 'complete adherents of the shamanist faith'.¹⁰ Only in 1819 did a monastic assembly of the Conghol monastery decide on the persecution and burning of shamanist idols.¹¹ From 1820 on 'the Selenga and Khori Buryats, the fifteen clans, Irintsin, Khasakh, Barghutsin, Suisu up to Tungkin and Alair destroyed through fire all Ongghot figures, instruments and costumes of the shamans and shamanesses.'¹²

The persecution of shamanism among the Mongols, however, never rested on the private initiative of individual missionaries; it always went back to the Dalai Lama's command. The Third Dalai Lama first demanded the destruction of the Ongghot when he met with and converted Altan Khan in 1578. He imposed the same obligation on Abadai Khan of the Khalkha when Abadai requested

they are'—Sent out over the whole banner, the monks and messengers gathered the idols in and brought them together from all sides. What they had gathered together they then piled as high as a tent of four folding frames before the dwelling of the lama [Neyiči Toyin] and set fire to them.—Thus the false religion was brought to its end, and the Buddha's doctrine became immaculate.³

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The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in 1995 exhibited a Buddhist painting depicting a Mongol shaman being burned to death while lamas calmly look on.

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The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in 1995 exhibited a Buddhist painting depicting a Mongol shaman being burned to death while lamas calmly look on.

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[Kevin B. Turner](#) · 2016 · Body, Mind & Spirit

The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in 1995 exhibited a Buddhist painting *depicting a Mongol shaman being burned to death while lamas calmly look on*.⁸ A ...

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The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in 1995 exhibited a Buddhist painting depicting a Mongol shaman being burned to death while lamas calmly look on.

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The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in 1995 exhibited a Buddhist painting depicting a Mongol shaman being burned to death while lamas calmly look on.

coexist without restriction. If any spiritual practice or philosophy could increase the Great Khan's power and knowledge, he cheerfully welcomed it. His reign also brought something more—the foundations of international law, trade, and travel. The crossfertilization of cultures across Eurasia had never before reached such a degree of intensity.

MONGOLIAN SHAMANISM AND THE REINCARNATED LAMA SYSTEM IN TIBET

The sophisticated set of shamanic practices within Tibetan Buddhism probably constitutes Tibet's single most important contribution to humanity.

—GEOFFREY SAMUEL, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*

*What is called Buddha, Buddha
Is just some paint from Shanghai.*

—DARKHAD SHAMANESS SUNCHIG UDGAN, quoted by Morten Axel Pederson in *Not Quite Shamans*

Travelers from the birthplace of Buddhism in India introduced its teachings into Nepal and then Inner Asia from about 200 BCE–300 CE, setting off a competition between Buddhism and shamanism that exists to this day. I prefer the term Lamaism, as distinct from Buddhism when speaking about this Tibetan tradition, because I believe modern-day forms of Buddhism in Tibet are only very distantly related to the original forms of Buddhism in India.

After the era of Chinggis Khan, Mongol rulers increasingly came in contact with Lamaist messengers and missionaries, and Tibetan Lamaism became the dominant religious force in Mongolia in the latter part of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Altan Khan.

In a cozy arrangement between Altan Khan and a Tibetan monk named Sonam Gyatso, it was agreed that the Mongolian leader would declare the monk a reincarnation of the famous lama Drogon Chogyal Phagpa (who had worked to convert Kublai Khan and the Mongol aristocracy to Lamaism), bestowing on him the title of “Ocean Lama,” or *Dalai Lama* in the Mongolian language. Sonam Gyatso became the Third Dalai Lama after Altan declared his previous two incarnations (posthumously) *Dalai* as well. In return, as described by Peter Kingsley, the newly titled Third Dalai Lama would declare Altan the reincarnation of Kublai Khan, reinforcing his royal status.⁷

Sonam Gyatso spent the rest of his life in Mongolia, never returning to Tibet. He publicly announced that he and Altan Khan—the reincarnations of Drogon and Kublai Khan—had been reborn together again to convert all of Mongolia to Lamaism. However, there was one significant and ruthless part of the deal: Sonam Gyatso demanded that the Mongol emperor mercilessly annihilate shamanism in Mongolia.

The spiritually independent shamans were an inconvenience to an organized state religion, so they were viciously persecuted. Thousands of shamans and their supporters were deported, dishonored, marginalized (by incorporating them into a lineage of Lamaist *tulkus*, or masters), imprisoned, and/or put to death. This occurred in both Mongolia and Tibet. The Mongolian populace converted to Lamaism in mass numbers to avoid the slaughter. The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in 1995 exhibited a Buddhist painting depicting a Mongol shaman being burned to death while lamas calmly look on.⁸

A program of translating Tibetan texts into the Mongolian language was undertaken, with letters written in silver and gold, paid for by the new Dalai Lama's conscripted Mongolian devotees. Within two generations, virtually all Mongols had become Lamaists,

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McDermott, Joseph Peter McDermott, Joseph P. McDermott, Faculty Of Oriental Studies · 1999 · History

after the conversion of Altan Khan to Tibetan Buddhism in the sixteenth century, a fierce struggle erupted between local shamans and Tibetan religious propagators. The militant intervention of missionary lamas, who not only started the unauthorized construction of temples but also fought and even persecuted local cults, was articulated in a number of ways, such as: '1) the display of greater magic power; 2) greater medical proficiency; 3) influencing the sovereign to interfere with the old religion by economic encouragement of converts; 4) iconoclastic purges of shamanistic idols'.⁷⁵ This activity by the lamas, who generally enjoyed the support of the Mongol aristocracy, generated the shamans' unforgiving hatred, as can be seen in the story of Suncig, a young shamaness who, after her son had entered a lamasery at the age of five, put a curse on him and hanged herself.⁷⁶

they did the same in Tuva

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[id=QdPUAAQBAJ&pg=PA17&lpg=PA17&dq=%22thereafter+the+same+religion+continued+to+make+less+spectacular+inroads+among+the+turkic-speaking+peoples+of+the+south%22&source=bl&ots=5_B8MYilwX&sig=ACfU3U3AFdA96L1Iqg54cG3FugAsPF8zKw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiK3ciF66rzAhV3M1kFHTPKCeMQ6AF6BAGCEAM](https://books.google.com.my/books?id=QdPUAAQBAJ&pg=PA17&lpg=PA17&dq=%22thereafter+the+same+religion+continued+to+make+less+spectacular+inroads+among+the+turkic-speaking+peoples+of+the+south%22&source=bl&ots=5_B8MYilwX&sig=ACfU3U3AFdA96L1Iqg54cG3FugAsPF8zKw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiK3ciF66rzAhV3M1kFHTPKCeMQ6AF6BAGCEAM)

Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination

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seen) some disappeared. More generally, the system depended on exploiting the labour of the natives for profits which were almost completely appropriated by their foreign masters. The tribute of furs was often exacted with considerable brutality, including the murder, torture, plunder, imprisonment and enslavement of those who fell behind in it, and Russian officials normally levied further payments to make private fortunes. From 1697 onward the central government repeatedly forbade the ill-treatment of aboriginal peoples, and was almost as consistently ignored. The principal British historian of Siberia, James Forsyth, has summed up the first three centuries of Russian rule as 'a hierarchy of power in which there were practically no effective laws and no ethical imperatives'.² The worst development of all, as far as the indigenous populations were concerned, was that they were turned into minorities in their own lands. By 1700 there were already about as many Europeans settled in Siberia as there were natives. By 1900 the latter were reduced to about 10 per cent of its inhabitants, and during the twentieth century that figure halved again. Furthermore, the initial disposition to tolerate local customs and beliefs ended dramatically in 1706, with the publication of an imperial decree requiring the conversion of all natives to Christianity, with death the penalty for any who refused.

The results must be put into perspective by emphasising that Christianity was only one of three missionary faiths operating in Siberia at this period. One of the others was Islam. The first step in the Russian conquest, the attack on the khanate of Sibir, was inspired partly by the militantly Moslem identity which that state had adopted shortly before. Thereafter the same religion continued to make less spectacular inroads among the Turkic-speaking peoples of the south west, the most notable being the conversion of those of the Baraba steppe in the 1740s.³ The other faith was Buddhism, which reached the eastern Buryats in the 1710s and became dominant among them. By the 1820s a fifth of their male population were monks. Over the same period many of the Soyots of Tuva, and the Nanais, Oroches and Evenks of the Amur region, were also converted. Between 1904 and 1921 a new revelatory religion based on Buddhism, and essentially anti-Russian, swept through

the Altaian peoples.⁴ At first sight, Buddhism should have made a better fit with native beliefs than Christianity or Islam, because it could incorporate traditional deities and rituals, but the reality was different. Monks viewed shamans and other tribal spiritual functionaries as rivals with opposed moral codes, and took ruthless action against them. In the eastern Buryat lands, according to one historian, 'the poor shamanists were everywhere hunted down. No forests, no mountain could hide them from the vengeance of the lamas'.⁵ In Tuva the monks erected their shrines on traditional sacred sites, razing the latter to make way for them.⁶ In the Altai believers in the charismatic Buddhism which appeared during the 1900s abolished traditional sacrifices, beat shamans, burned their equipment and trampled their fields.⁷

In this competition for allegiance, Orthodox Christianity had the advantage of being supported by the imperial state, with the limitation that the decrees of the latter were effective only where churchmen and administrators were numerous and zealous enough to enforce them. Such a place was Kamchatka in the 1740s, where the Itelmens were literally thrashed into accepting baptism. A similar campaign was mounted in the period between 1710 and 1760 among the Nenets, the Khants and Mansi, and the Turkic-speaking groups of the south-western steppes, officials being sent out to burn shrines and impose the new faith. The death penalty was rarely, if ever, exacted unless religious resistance was coupled with armed rebellion, but the process of evangelism could still be brutal. In 1762, for example, four Khants were convicted at Tobolsk of sacrificing a horse for good luck on a hunting and fishing expedition. All were given a public flogging, and the ringleader was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a monastery on a 'strict fast'. It seems that by the mid eighteenth century most Siberian natives made a profession of Christianity, sometimes sincere, wherever they lived or moved in the vicinity of Russian settlers or colonial authorities. This consideration did not apply, of course, to the majority of the territory under nominal Russian rule.⁸

The missionary effort flagged in the second half of the century, as Catherine the Great adopted the general trend among European rulers towards religious toleration. This policy was reversed in turn

Tengrist Daur's remembered the brutal persecution by Tibetan Buddhist Lamas against Tengrist Shamans, so they harboured hatred against the Tibetan Lamas at court during the

Qing dynasty. Daur people lived in Heilongjiang and are Mongolic speaking people, they had a tale called tale of Ny Dan the shamaness on how she is targeted by evil Tibetan lamas at court

"but she is at the mercy of the envious Tibetan monks"

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[id=OJkvEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA225&lpq=PA225&dq=%22but+she+is+at+the+mercy+of+the+envious+Tibetan+monks%22&source=bl&ots=_QJzzO2AUj&sig=ACfU3U1YEqJMiPesvoHvYIlvCY-frnbpA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj-ypOC7KrzAhWrElkFHVqADHkQ6AF6BAgCEAM](https://books.google.com.my/books?id=OJkvEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA225&lpq=PA225&dq=%22but+she+is+at+the+mercy+of+the+envious+Tibetan+monks%22&source=bl&ots=_QJzzO2AUj&sig=ACfU3U1YEqJMiPesvoHvYIlvCY-frnbpA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj-ypOC7KrzAhWrElkFHVqADHkQ6AF6BAgCEAM)

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Donald S. Lopez Jr. · 2021 · Religion

Ny Dan is like a deity , capable of mobilizing the sacred eagle , *but she is at the mercy of the envious Tibetan monks* (called “ lamas ” in the story) and ...

shamaness. In longer versions, the same basic story appears in myth or epic forms under the title of *Nisan Shamaness*. The term "legend" is used here because *Ny Dan the Shamaness* chiefly represents legendary historical figures.

Ny Dan the Shamaness was recorded by the Manchu scholar Aisin-Gioro Wulaxichun in 1985 from an older Manchu named Ji Chunsheng. Ji was nearly eighty years old at the time of recording and lived in Sanjiazi Village, Youyi Township, Fuyu County, Heilongjiang Province. The legend was narrated in Manchu and recorded in Manchu script, phonetic symbols, and Chinese transliteration and translation, with detailed notes. Based on the content of the story, *Ny Dan the Shamaness* may be the prototype of *Nisan Shamaness*, which is circulated among all Tungus-speaking groups (the Ewenki, Hezhen, Manchu, Orochun, and Sibe) and the Daur people in northeastern China.

Apart from being a fascinating legend, *Ny Dan the Shamaness* offers several clues to the understanding of Manchu shamanism and history. First, female shamans were the most powerful and common. Manchu myths relate that the Almighty Sky Deity created Nisan (Ny Dan) and sent her down as the first shaman to teach humankind. Historical records and myths show that the Manchu once had female shamans. The reason that they now only have male shamans is probably due to the rise of patriarchal dominance. Second, shamanhood can be obtained through learning. Among the Manchu, only the intelligent young people are chosen to become shamans, and they have to spend years learning to read Manchu scriptures, to recite chants and chant songs, and to master the techniques of healing through ecstasy. Third, the drum is an important vehicle for the magical flight of the shaman(ess). Many Manchu myths describe how shamans ride their drums to the other worlds to retrieve wandering souls or to obtain healing power. The constant drumming can induce an ecstatic state. Fourth, Tibetan Buddhist monks and lamas are the opponents of shamans. Although there are traces of Tibetan Buddhist influence over shamanism, they belong to two different systems. The conflict in the legend reflects the real Tibetan Buddhist persecution of the shamans (mainly in Mongolia) from the late sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Fifth, shamans may earn a living as healers or soul retrievers. Shamans in traditional societies are generally nonprofessionals; they farm or herd as the common folk do. But many of the Manchu shamans did become professional during the Qing dynasty. Finally, the shaman's power is both boundless and limited. Ny Dan is so powerful that even the emperor has to ask for her help; but there is a limit to her power to retrieve the souls. Ny Dan is like a deity, capable of mobilizing the sacred eagle, but she is at the mercy of the envious Tibetan monks (called "lamas" in the story) and the ungrateful emperor. However, the shamanic power outlasts that of the emperor, and the shamaness eventually becomes an immortal. As the legend ends, Ny Dan not only is still dancing and drumming somewhere below or above but also is attracting Manchu people to carry on the shamanic tradition.

The following text was narrated by Ji Chunsheng and recorded by Aisin-Gioro Wulaxichun, Central Academy of Nationalities Beijing, China. Textual source: "Ny

Dan Saman [Ny Dan Shamaness],” in Aisin-Gioro Wulaxichun, *Manzu gu shenhua* (*Ancient Myths of the Manchu*) (Huhhot: Inner Mongolian People's Press, 1986), pp. 88–106.

Further Reading

Margaret Norwak and Stephen Durrant, *The Tale of the Nisan Shamaness: A Manchu Folk Epic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977); Giovanni Stary, *Three Unedited Manchu Scripts of the Manchu Epic “Nisan Saman-i Bithe”* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985).

Ny Dan, the Shamaness

Ny Dan the shamaness was twenty years old when her husband died. To support her mother-in-law, she learned the art of shamanism. After gaining the shamanic techniques, Ny Dan helped her people to heal the sick. She could even revive a deceased person soon after death by entering the lower world and bringing back the soul. As time went by, Ny Dan's shamanic power gradually increased.

One day the crown prince was seriously sick. Two lama priests were called in to the court, but they could not help. The crown prince's sickness went from bad to worse, and he finally died. The emperor wailed over his son's death. When he heard the story that Ny Dan the shamaness could retrieve souls of the dead, the emperor sent his men to ask the shamaness for help. Ny Dan the shamaness was washing clothes when the imperial wagon came, but she picked up her hand drum and set off in the wagon.

Because the emperor invited Ny Dan the shamaness, the two lama priests were furious at her. They hid behind the gate of the imperial palace and attempted to murder the shamaness. On her way, Ny Dan had a vision in which she learned of the plan of the two lama priests. So when she reached the gate of the imperial palace, Ny Dan the shamaness got off the wagon and flew into the palace on her hand drum. Thus the lama priests failed in their conspiracy.

Ny Dan the shamaness stepped down from the drum and met the emperor. Seeing that Ny Dan the shamaness flew into the imperial palace on the drum, the emperor was annoyed.

“No civil officials nor generals under Heaven can enter my palace at will; how dare a shamaness ride on a drum and fly into the palace!” the emperor thought. But anxious to save his son's life, the emperor did not pour out angry words.

The emperor said, “Go to the lower world quickly and bring back the soul of my son!”

As soon as Ny Dan reached the lower world, she met her [deceased] husband, who was boiling in a cauldron of oil. When he saw Ny Dan, he thought: "Gosh! You are also dead?" Then Ny Dan told him how she became a shamaness and learned the shamanic magic.

Ny Dan said: "The soul of the crown prince is in here and the emperor asked me to get it."

The husband said: "If you can help others to retrieve their souls, why do you not save my life?"

"You have been in the lower world too long and your flesh has decayed. I am not able to revive your soul now. Even if I took your soul back, you could not live as before."

Ny Dan's husband was very disappointed and angry. He quarreled with her and blocked her way. Ny Dan was angered and, with her magic, threw her husband's soul far away into a deep waterwell in Fengdu town. Now his soul could never be reincarnated again. It was in this matter that Ny Dan committed a sin.

Ny Dan the shamaness walked swiftly forward and finally found the soul of the crown prince playing on a thick layer of grass. She quickly caught the soul in her hand and flew back to the human world.

The emperor was very pleased with the revival of his son. He offered a grand feast and invited many people for celebration. At the feast, the emperor suddenly thought of his younger sister who died years ago; so he asked Ny Dan to retrieve her soul.

Ny Dan replied: "Your sister died three years ago and her flesh has already decomposed. Even if I could obtain her soul, she cannot be revived."

The emperor was displeased on hearing the reply. Thinking of Ny Dan once riding her drum into the imperial palace and now refusing the imperial request, the emperor became furious. At this moment, the two lama priests came to the emperor and criticized Ny Dan.

They told the emperor: "Ny Dan the shamaness can actually revive your sister's soul, but she does not intend to do it." The emperor was outraged. He ordered Ny Dan to be thrown into a deep well in the west, wrapped in a heavy iron chain. Ny Dan thus died in the well due to the false charges of the two lama priests.

After Ny Dan's death, the imperial palace was shadowed with pitch-darkness for three days. The emperor was puzzled and asked his ministers: "What is happening?"

A minister carefully observed the sky and replied: "The dark days are not because of clouds, but due to the wings of a big bird. Please ask a master archer to shoot at the sky and see what will happen."

The emperor asked one of his generals to shoot an arrow into the sky, and a piece of the Eagle Deity's tail feather fell from above. The feather was so big that a wagon could not hold it.

The minister said: "This is because Ny Dan the shamaness died of unjust

treatment. It is said that she could summon the Eagle Deity for help. So the dark days are caused by her wandering soul, seeking revenge."

Hearing such words, the emperor repented and addressed [Ny Dan]: "If you really died of unjust treatment, I will order the Manchu to conduct offering rituals in honor of you while making offerings to their deities."

As soon as the emperor finished, the dark sky suddenly became clear. Since that time, the Manchu must present offerings to the Eagle Deity when they make ritual offerings to their ancestors. Ny Dan the shamaness is regarded as the creator of all shamans.

Even today, anyone passing by the well where Ny Dan was chained can hear the shamanic drumming and dancing. Some people have attempted to pull out the iron chain that held Ny Dan the shamaness, but the chain is endless.

"Orochi living on the Amur River cite the Manchu influence in shamanic"

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[id=t7AwDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA242&lpg=PA242&dq=%22Orochi+living+on+the+Amur+River+cite+the+Manchu+influence+in+shamanic%22&source=bl&ots=anUjHJ8mo&sig=ACfU3U2833rX4BxKiH1Jsf2XQs50OqMVDQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjlgZTi7arzAhXMEIkFHXC3CvYQ6AF6BAgCEAM](https://books.google.com.my/books?id=t7AwDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA242&lpg=PA242&dq=%22Orochi+living+on+the+Amur+River+cite+the+Manchu+influence+in+shamanic%22&source=bl&ots=anUjHJ8mo&sig=ACfU3U2833rX4BxKiH1Jsf2XQs50OqMVDQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjlgZTi7arzAhXMEIkFHXC3CvYQ6AF6BAgCEAM)

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... and *Orochi living on the Amur River cite the Manchu influence in shamanic rituals as well as in clothing styles, the structure of the winter dwelling, ...*

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Orochi living on the Amur River cite the Manchu influence in shamanic rituals as well as in clothing styles, the structure of the winter dwelling, fur.

households still called on professional shamans for healing and communication with the world of the dead).⁵⁶ Women performed the domestic shamanic rituals, just as they do in contemporary Korean households.⁵⁷

Shamanism and State Building

Shamanism was one of a set of cultural policies that changed the societies of people living on the Siberian frontier. The Manchu rulers directed intensive efforts to control the hunting and fishing groups living on the lower reaches of the Amur after the Treaty of Nerchinsk. In the seventeenth century Daur, Oroqen, Evenk, and other peoples were enrolled into the banners as “new Manchus” (*ice manju*). *Ice manju* were sent to Ningguta for training, then assigned to new garrisons built along the Qing-Russian frontier. A decision in 1692 to move the Xibo, who had been subordinates of the Khorchin Mongols, from the Mongol to the Manchu banners, had far-reaching consequences for the Xibo, who were sent to garrisons in Shengjing, Peking, and Xinjiang in the eighteenth century. The Xibo were eventually dispersed all over the northeast, Peking, Dezhou (Shandong), and Xinjiang, and Manchu supplanted their own spoken language, Mongolian, as the first or native speech. The Xibo community in Xinjiang became one of the few that still retained fluency in Manchu in the early twentieth century.⁵⁸

The Xibo experience can be generalized for the northeast. Banner schools were established that taught Manchu to Tungus and Altaic-speaking peoples. The result was a “Manchuization” of the northeastern population. Manchu provided the vehicle through which these peoples heard Chinese literary works read aloud in villages; Manchu funerary and marriage customs influenced their practices. When Shirokogoroff visited this region in 1915–17, he found strong traces of Manchu influence. During the Qing, he notes, “The Manchu language became indispensable to the northern Tungus. . . . Manchu books, Manchu fashions, and Manchu ideas became the standards for the northern Tungus.”⁵⁹ Other contemporary surveys of northern Tungusic peoples such as the Negidal, Nanay (Nanai), Ul’chi, Udegey, and Orochi living on the Amur River cite the Manchu influence in shamanic rituals as well as in clothing styles, the structure of the winter dwelling, furnishings, decorative motifs, and hairstyles, including the Manchu queue for men and the Manchu hairdo for women.⁶⁰

Promotion of shamanism reinforced Qing legitimacy among the northeastern tribes. Just as the Mongols deified Chinggis Khan, so too did Manchus circulate legends about Nurgaci.⁶¹ In existence since the seventeenth

century, these legends were probably revised and elaborated during the dynasty. One collection of these stories, *Nan bei han wang zhuan*, was a banned book in the Qianlong reign; the other, *Ruzhen pu ping*, was a late Qing collection of stories from Heilongjiang, written down by a *xiucai* (first degree-holder).⁶² A team of scholars collected over one hundred versions of these Nurgaci stories in counties in Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning in 1984. The legends relate how Fodo *mama* sent her sacred dog to guide Nurgaci to a cave, where she revealed herself to him and instructed him on how to organize the eight banners. Another story tells how a deity taught the Jurchen how to plant buckwheat during a food crisis in the Later Jin state. Others describe the birds and tigers coming to protect Nurgaci when he was born; in one story, a mother eagle uses her wings to sweep the ground of snow and warms him with her feathers. Nurgaci's battle exploits, disseminated through such oral legends, were also enshrined in shamanic rituals at the Kunning palace. Shamanic prayers cited Ugunai, the grandfather of the Jin dynasty founder, and linked the Aisin Gioro to the Jin ruling house. The "Mihu mahu" dance that is performed on imperial birthdays, for example, featured the successful combat between Nurgaci and his foes, represented as masked performers dressed in bearskins and sheepskins. The presence of similarly garbed dancers performing in front of the Taihedian during an imperial wedding suggests the wider presence of these motifs in other court rituals.⁶³

The Manchu imprint on the cultures of Northeast Asian peoples remains evident today, long after the end of the Qing dynasty. The Manchu general Sabsu lives in a Daur folktale about a cannon that would fire only upon the Russians and not upon the Manchu forces. Other folktales explain the creation of Qiqihar and talk about how a Daur general helped the Daur avoid payment of freshwater pearls as tribute to the Qing court. An oral story about "Ny Dan the Manchu Shamaness," written down in 1985, reveals the Daur perspective on their encounter with the Qing. In this story, Ny Dan is summoned to the Qing imperial palace after two "lama priests" have failed to bring the crown prince back to life. Although these priests try to prevent her meeting with the emperor, she evades them by flying into the palace on her hand drum. Ny Dan travels to the lower world, finds the crown prince's soul, and brings it back to the human world. The Tibetan Buddhist priests then get the emperor to ask her to retrieve the soul of his younger sister. Ny Dan replies that she cannot do this because the sister has been dead for too long and her flesh is decomposed. In a fury, the emperor has Ny Dan killed by throwing her into a well. The sky darkens after Ny Dan's death and there is no light until the emperor conducts

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propitiary rituals. Thereafter, Manchus must make offerings to the Eagle Deity who was Ny Dan's spirit helper. And Ny Dan can still be heard drumming and dancing at the bottom of the well.⁶⁴

"Ny Dan the Manchu Shamaness" touches on several issues in the cultural exchange between the Daur and the Qing court. The emperor needs the shamanic assistance that Ny Dan can provide. She has tremendous powers, she flies into the palace, she successfully retrieves the crown prince's soul, and her unjust death causes darkness to fall on earth. The Tibetan Buddhist priests at court who plot against Ny Dan and eventually cause her death represent the forces of Tibetan Buddhism that flourished under Qing patronage (the Daur resisted conversion and remained faithful to shamanism). The emperor in this story is neither omniscient nor wise. He is irritated because Ny Dan doesn't obey palace rules concerning entry into the Forbidden City. He asks Ny Dan for unreasonable things, such as the retrieval of his long-dead sister. He can be gulled by the "lama priests." And he has arbitrary secular power. Despite her shamanic prowess, Ny Dan is put to death by his orders.⁶⁵

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244 / *Qing Court Rituals*

propitiary rituals. Thereafter, Manchus must make offerings to the Eagle Deity who was Ny Dan's spirit helper. And Ny Dan can still be heard drumming and dancing at the bottom of the well.⁶⁴

"Ny Dan the Manchu Shamaness" touches on several issues in the cultural exchange between the Daur and the Qing court. The emperor needs the shamanic assistance that Ny Dan can provide. She has tremendous powers, she flies into the palace, she successfully retrieves the crown prince's soul, and her unjust death causes darkness to fall on earth. The Tibetan Buddhist priests at court who plot against Ny Dan and eventually cause her death represent the forces of Tibetan Buddhism that flourished under Qing patronage (the Daur resisted conversion and remained faithful to shamanism). The emperor in this story is neither omniscient nor wise. He is irritated because Ny Dan doesn't obey palace rules concerning entry into the Forbidden City. He asks Ny Dan for unreasonable things, such as the retrieval of his long-dead sister. He can be gulled by the "lama priests." And he has arbitrary secular power. Despite her shamanic prowess, Ny Dan is put to death by his orders.⁶⁵

TIBETAN BUDDHISM

In the seventeenth century the reconversion of Mongols to Tibetan Buddhism profoundly altered both Mongol and Tibetan political affairs. Mongol chieftains vied with one another to patronize the religion and thereby enhance their own legitimacy, while the dGe lugs pa order established a theocracy in Tibet with Mongol military assistance. The Manchu rulers had to compete with Mongol khans for regional hegemony and they too turned to Tibetan Buddhism for legitimacy. The history of Tibetan Buddhist patronage by the Qing court is thus closely intertwined with the successful Manchu campaign to extend their control over the Mongols, who constituted their greatest potential threat.

Manchus held Mongol princes in contempt for converting to Tibetan Buddhism, Manchu emperor Hongtaiji ridiculed the Mongols for it behind their backs

"Hung Taiji did not shy away from condemning Buddhist lamas as"

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Hung Taiji did not shy away from condemning Buddhist lamas as "liars," "incorrigibles," 163
Hauer, Huang-Ts'ing k'ai-kuo fang-lüeh, p. 368.

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Hung Taiji did not shy away from condemning Buddhist lamas as "liars," "incorrigibles," 163
164 165. Hauer, Huang-Ts'ing k'ai-kuo fang-lüeh, p. 368.

multiple significance. The distinction elevated the royal house and limited the size of this select group. It also reflected the separation of the Aisin Gioro from the Gioro clan and involved a new use of strict genealogical descent – more Chinese than Jurchen in its conception – as the criterion for clan membership.¹⁶³

The new emphasis on strict genealogical descent raises the interesting possibility that this was the time the Manchu royalty adopted an account which, according to a visitor to the Manchu court in 1634, described the origin of a Hūrha tribe.¹⁶⁴ To demonstrate the reputable origin of their royal clan, if Nurhaci was not to be a descendant of Möngke Temür, they modified the Hūrha myth to include the origin of the Aisin Gioro clan. The myth, which contains ancient Chinese as well as shamanistic elements, makes no mention of either Möngke Temür or the Chin dynasty.¹⁶⁵ Later official Ch'ing sources consistently accept it as the account of the origins of the Ch'ing imperial house.

Concern with military conquest, interest in Ming government structure, and recognition of some basic Chinese values did not exclude or diminish Manchu attention to non-Chinese people and cultures. Control over Inner Mongolia gave the Manchus the opportunity to style themselves as protectors of Tibetan Buddhism, which helped consolidate their rule over the Mongols and foreshadowed their claim to Tibet. After converting to Buddhism during the late sixteenth century, some chiefs of the eastern Mongol tribes had turned their residences into centers of religious and literary activities with ties to the religious authorities in Tibet. The Manchu leaders showed little interest in becoming Buddhists themselves. Hung Taiji did not shy away from condemning Buddhist lamas as “liars,” “incorrigibles,”

"Privately Hung Taiji was contemptuous of the Mongols' belief in Buddhism, thinking that it vitiated their cultural identity"

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The New Manchu Mandate

The Manchu victories over the Chahar Mongols in 1634–1635 had another unforeseen consequence. During the campaign, the Manchus captured the great seal of the Mongol khan. This meant that Hung Taiji could call himself the successor to Chinggis Khan and the Yuan emperors.¹³⁸ The new designation not only elevated his stature in Inner Asia, where he took on more and more the trappings of a universal king, including the sponsorship of the Tibetan Buddhism that the Mongols believed in; it also established an even stronger claim to the emperorship of China than his connection with the earlier Jin dynasty had done.¹³⁹

even further. By 1600 only about 3,000 horses a year were being purchased, and these were mainly mild-tempered geldings which were no match for Mongol and Manchu stallions bred for battle. Morris Rossabi, "The Tea and Horse Trade with Inner Asia during the Ming," pp. 137–160; Rossabi, *Inner Asia*, pp. 82–83; Ray Huang, *Taxation and Government Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China*, pp. 260–261.

138 Roth Li, "Early Manchu State," p. 179.

139 Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shinchō zenki shakai zakkō," p. 306. The link between the Mongol khanate and Buddhism was forged by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In 1578, at his invitation, the head of the 'Bras-spuns Yellow Sect monastery in Lhasa met with a delegation of Mongol princes on the banks of the Kokonor River. The Tibetan dignitary bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o was given the title of "Universal Lama" (Dalai Lama); and he in turn declared Altan Khan to be the reincarnation of the emperor Qubilai. At the time of the Manchu expansion, the Tushetu Khan, who had been invested as leader of the Khalka Mongols north of the Gobi in Outer Mongolia by the Dalai Lama, declared that his own son was a "living buddha" and the embodiment of the messianic Maitreya. This effort to unify the Khalka Mongols under a theocratic leader failed, however, because the Eastern Khalka, under Setsen Khan in the Kerulen River basin, refused to accept the leadership of the Western Khalka. As early as 1637, some of these Khalka Mongols began offering tribute to the Manchus. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 8–9; Rossabi, *Inner Asia*, pp. 112–115; Larry William Moses, *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism*, pp. 92–93, 104–106. Privately Hung Taiji was contemptuous of the Mongols' belief in Buddhism, thinking that it vitiated their cultural identity. "The Mongolian princes are abandoning the Mongolian language; their names are all in imitation of the lamas." Nevertheless, in 1637 he invited the fifth Dalai Lama to

139 Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shinchō zenki shakai zakkō," p. 306. The link between the Mongol khanate and Buddhism was forged by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In 1578, at his invitation, the head of the 'Bras-spuns Yellow Sect monastery in Lhasa met with a delegation of Mongol princes on the banks of the Kokonor River. The Tibetan dignitary bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o was given the title of "Universal Lama" (Dalai Lama); and he in turn declared Altan Khan to be the reincarnation of the emperor Qubilai. At the time of the Manchu expansion, the Tushetu Khan, who had been invested as leader of the Khalka Mongols north of the Gobi in Outer Mongolia by the Dalai Lama, declared that his own son was a "living buddha" and the embodiment of the messianic Maitreya. This effort to unify the Khalka Mongols under a theocratic leader failed, however, because the Eastern Khalka, under Setsen Khan in the Kerulen River basin, refused to accept the leadership of the Western Khalka. As early as 1637, some of these Khalka Mongols began offering tribute to the Manchus. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 8–9; Rossabi, *Inner Asia*, pp. 112–115; Larry William Moses, *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism*, pp. 92–93, 104–106. Privately Hung Taiji was contemptuous of the Mongols' belief in Buddhism, thinking that it vitiated their cultural identity. "The Mongolian princes are abandoning the Mongolian language; their names are all in imitation of the lamas." Nevertheless, in 1637 he invited the fifth Dalai Lama to

Qing emperor Hongtaiji said behind their backs that that the Mongol princes were abandoning Mongol names and customs and using Tibetan names and following the Tibetan Lamas who were liars

the Qing emperors only patronized Tibetan Buddhist at court for the same reason the Ming did before them, the Ming emperors had Tibetan lamas at court until the Jiajing emperor to control the Mongols

Do you remember the "invasion" by the Anhui clique warlords of Outer Mongolia to remove the Bogd Khan? Firstly, the Anhui clique were pro-Japan (in contrast to the pro-western Zhili warlord clique) and Japan had urged them to immediately occupy Outer Mongolia to forstall Bolshevik intervention there.

Secondly, several Outer Mongolian princes, actually invited them, they sent some invitations to the Anhui clique which controlled the Republic of China capital at Beijing because the Outer Mongol princes were getting sick of the Bogd Khan and his Lamaist theocracy (which has somehow been misportrayed as the "natural state" of the Mongols to western esoterists)

once the Anhui clique were in control they started doing other things of course like general looting and misbehaviour but they were initially invited by Outer Mongol secular princes

against Bogd Khan

Some people portrayed it wrongly as an entirely Chinese initiative to conquer Outer Mongolia and that Baron Ungern Sternberg was restoring Outer Mongolia to a natural state of "Lamaist theocracy" by driving out the "Chinese republicans" (when the Anhui clique were clients of Japan)

this article from nytimes on Outer Mongol princes who urged Beijing to intervene (the subtext was about the Bogd Khan)

<https://www.nytimes.com/1919/10/31/archives/outer-mongolia-tired-of-autonomy-asks-china-to-pay-her-princes-and.html>

James Palmer (anti-China) also wrote in his biography on Baron Ungern that some Outer Mongol princes invited the warlord government in Beijing to intervene to get rid of the theocratic government of the Bogd Khan

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<https://cambridgescholars.com/news/item/book-in-focus-shamanic-dialogues-with-the-invisible-dark-in-tuva-siberia-the-cursed-lives>
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more accounts of the Lamas forced conversion of Tengrists under Altan Khan's decree

"Its most important functionaries, the shamans, were the natural enemies of the Lamas, who hardly had any chance to win the hearts of the people as long as these shamans and their shamanistic family idols"

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6.2. *Propagation of the dGe-lugs-pa School among
Different Mongolian Tribes*

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, the dGe-lugs-pa school, the “Yellow Doctrine” (Mong. *sir-a-yin šasin*), not only took root amongst the Southern and Southeastern Mongolian tribes, but also among the Western Mongolian Oirat, in East Mongolia and in North Mongolia. Every noble family of the Oirat was obliged to devote one of their sons to being Lama.¹¹⁵ Among these were two princes of the Qošod tribe: Neyiči Toyin (1557–1653)¹¹⁶ and Caya (Zaya) Bandida Namqayijamso (Nam-mkha’i-rgya-mtsho, Oγtarγui-yin Dalai) (1599–1662).¹¹⁷ Both played an important role in the propagation of the dGe-lugs-pa school: Neyiči Toyin among the Eastern Mongols, and Caya Bandida among the Oirat.

The dGe-lugs-pa considered doing away with shamanism as one of their most important tasks in spreading the Buddhist faith. The “Black Faith” (*qara šasin*), the “religion of the shamans” (*böge-yin mörgöl*), is the popular religion of the Mongols. Its most important functionaries, the shamans, were the natural enemies of the Lamas, who hardly had any chance to win the hearts of the people as long as these shamans and their shamanistic family idols—the *ongγon* figures—were not destroyed. Therefore, one of the first steps taken by Altan Khan after his meeting with the Dalai Lama was to burn and liquidate the shamans.¹¹⁸

Shamanism was particularly strong among the Eastern Mongolian tribes, the Qorčın, Ongniγud, and others (and is, up to the present, still not “exterminated”). It is evident that the resistance against Buddhism was particularly strong there. Together with one of his pupils, Neyiči Toyin saw it as his task to break the power of the shamans, and he fought a bitter battle with them. It is reported that when he used his magic powers to cure a severely ill Ongniγud princess and in the process to defeat a great shaman, this impressed the common people so much that many converted to Buddhism. When he cured an ill female shaman, Aoba, the impact on Tüsiyetü Khan of the Qorčın

¹¹⁵ Jiryal 1996, p. 164.

¹¹⁶ On his life, see Heissig 1953; Klafkowski 1987, pp. 351–361.

¹¹⁷ On his life, see Norbu 1990/Norbo 1999; Jiryal 1996, p. 166.

¹¹⁸ Kollmar-Paulenz 2001, pp. 298–299; Elverskog 2003, pp. 158–159.—According to the Biography of first rJe-btsun-dam-pa, the Dalai Lama himself burnt the *ongγon* idols, see Bawden 1961, p. 35. For the function of the *ongγon* see Heissig 1970, pp. 312–315.

was so great that he also became a Buddhist and supported Neyiçi Toyin in his battle. They finally succeeded in forcing the nobility and the common people, as well as the shamans, to hand in their *ongyon* figures. These were subsequently burnt. The statement in the sources that this was the end of the veneration of *ongyon* figures should not be taken literally, because, even up to the present day, there are shamans in Eastern Mongolia.¹¹⁹

Neyiçi Toyin did not restrict himself to the battle against the “Black Faith”. He preached, took care of the recitation of holy scriptures, built and consecrated monasteries, in short, he did everything to spread the Yellow Doctrine among the Eastern Mongols.¹²⁰

Contrary to Neyiçi Toyin, Caya Bandida Namqayijamso (Tib. Nam-mkha'i-rgya-mtsho), the second great monk from the Qošod tribe, stayed in his Western Mongolian homeland after his period of study in Tibet. There also, the shamans and their followers were the major opponents of the dGe-lugs-pa. Caya Bandida did not consider the battle against the “Black Faith” to be his most important duty but rather the translation of texts from Tibetan. He and his disciples translated more than two hundred Tibetan works, some of which were very elaborate.¹²¹ Among these were not only canonical works, but also the Sa-skyapa hierarch bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan's (1312–1375) famous Tibetan historical work “The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies” (*rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*),¹²² a biography of the second Dalai Lama dGe-'dun-rgya-mtsho (1475–1542)¹²³ and a new translation of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's *Shes-bya rab-gsal*.¹²⁴ In 1648, after Caya Bandida had created a script for the Oirat language—a language that deviates from Eastern Mongolian especially in sound and lexicon, his translations as well as the translations done by his disciples were also transmitted in the “clear script” (*todo bičig*).¹²⁵ This is a further indication that the Buddhist monks were preoccupied with making religious texts accessible in the vernacular language. Up to the most recent times, new copies of many of these works were distributed.

¹¹⁹ Heissig 1953, pp. 524–526; Klafkowski 1987, pp. 354–355; Bawden 1989, pp. 32–33.

¹²⁰ Huth 1896, pp. 257ff.; Heissig 1953, p. 20; Jiryal 1996, p. 166.

¹²¹ List of the translated works in Damdinsürüng 1959, pp. 327–334.

¹²² Damdinsürüng 1959, p. 328, no. 38.

¹²³ Damdinsürüng 1959, p. 329, no. 45.

¹²⁴ Damdinsürüng 1959, p. 328, no. 40. Bareja-Starzyńska 2002, p. 14.

¹²⁵ Šagdarsürün 2001, p. 115.

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Violence against the shamans and their idols was exercised generally. The newly-converted Altan Khan allowed the Dalai Lama to burn up all his ongons in a ...

same time of consolidating their own position. Already at the time of the meeting between Altan Khan and the Dalai Lama, the question of the recognition of the clergy as equals, rank for rank, of the nobility, had been settled, and offences against their persons were henceforth to be punished as if the corresponding member of the nobility had been aggrieved. The lamas addressed their missionary work principally towards the rulers and nobility of Mongolia, so that something like the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio* was in operation. The Torgut missionary Neichi Toyin (1557-1653), who preached in eastern Mongolia, achieved, for instance, a great success by curing the grave sickness of a princess of the Ongnigut, defeating with his superior magic powers the efforts of a great shaman. In consequence there took place a mass conversion of the ordinary people of the Ongnigut. Later, by curing a sick shamaness, he was able to gain such influence over Aoba, the Tushetu Khan of the Khorchin, that the latter declared himself for the faith, encouraged his people to do likewise, and took steps to suppress shamanism. Everywhere the process seems to have been the same. The lamas showed themselves superior to the primitive shamans in their theology and their practical abilities, and gained the confidence of the rulers who were not committed to any rival faith likely to be able to challenge Buddhism in its attractiveness. The princes had their people come over to the new faith, even permitting the missionary lamas to use fairly forceful methods. The lama known as the Jaya Pandita, who preached among the Oirats in the first half of the seventeenth century and who is known as the elaborator of the Oirat or 'clear' script and as the translator of numerous religious works, gave very definite instructions to his co-workers. They were to burn the *ongons* or family idols of anyone found worshipping them, and to confiscate the horses and sheep of the offenders. The horses of anyone found inciting male or female shamans to shamanize were likewise to be confiscated, and the shamans and shamanesses themselves to be fumigated with dog-filth. In this uncompromising manner the people were to be turned to the 'White Direction' and the religion of the Buddha was to be exalted. Violence against the shamans and their idols was exercised generally. The newly-converted Altan Khan allowed the Dalai Lama to burn up all his *ongons* in a ritual fire, and he also published decrees ordering his people to refrain from slaughtering

"If they did not give up their old customs they would be executed or have their property confiscated or be banished from their pastures"

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[Bawden](#) · 2013 · Social Science

If they did not give up their old customs they would be executed or have their property confiscated or be banished from their pastures.

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2 KAKLY MONGOLIAN BUDDHISM (1246-1691) lit order to pinpoint ...

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If they did not give up their old customs they would be executed or have their property confiscated or be banished from their pastures." 60.

however I believe the author below wrongly blames persistence of human sacrifice like Ja Lama's sacrifice of hearts on Tengrism when Tibetan Buddhism has many tales about deities flaying people and Tibetan Lamas literally disemboweled French Catholic priests.

their beasts, to reverence the lamas, to burn their *ongons* and in their place to make meatless sacrifices to the Buddhist deity Mahakala. If they did not give up their old customs they would be executed or have their property confiscated or be banished from their pastures. Neichi Toyin too, who gained much of his prestige from his superior medical skill, had the *ongons* of the people destroyed. Shamanistic practices of course survived, even in high places, as they do in residual form to this day. When, for example, an envoy sent from the Manchus to Ligdan Khan in 1618 failed to return on time, it was rumoured that he had been killed as a sacrifice to the Mongol war standard. This practice was revived in the present century by the Mongol commanders who captured Khobdo from the Chinese in 1912, while the living hearts were ritually torn from the bodies of prisoners as late as the civil disturbances of 1932.

While missionizing against the shamans the lamas took care to identify themselves with the ruling class, with the result that while Buddhism thoroughly penetrated all levels of Mongol society in the coming centuries, organizationally it developed almost as a state within the state. It was a body distributing high titles, owning enormous wealth in flocks and herds and in serfs, and enjoying such political prestige that the Manchu emperors tacitly recognized the supreme head of the Faith, the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu or 'Living Buddha' of Urga, as quasi-ruler over the people. When the Khalkhas submitted to the Manchus at the end of the seventeenth century, and when sixty years later a general rebellion had to be pacified, the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu was treated with as a temporal authority. From very early on the nobility and the higher clergy saw in mutual identification of interests the way to continuing power. That the Tumet should have got a member of their own ruling family accepted as the fourth Dalai Lama is a striking instance of this process, and it is paralleled in Khalkha by the elevation in 1650, at the age of fifteen, of the son of the Tushetu Khan Gombodorji to the position of first Jebtsundamba Khutuktu. Seven reincarnations succeeded to the first, though only one more was 'revealed' in Mongolia, the Manchu emperor Ch'ien Lung decreeing, for reasons of state, that the third and later re-incarnations were to be found in Tibet, and thus outside the imperial family of Genghis Khan and the Mongol nobility. We know that much earlier Neichi Toyin was born as the

descendent of a powerful noble of the Torgut, and that the Jaya Pandita was born in 1599 into a well-known Khoshut family.

Relations between ecclesiastical and secular authorities were such that representatives of each conferred titles upon the other. The titles borne by Mongol princes and the Emperor often had a religious connotation, and far from being empty epithets must have served to demonstrate the solidarity existing between Church and State, and to suggest the identity of interests of the Yellow Faith of the Dalai Lamas and the posterity of Genghis Khan. As we have seen, the Dalai Lama received his title from Altan Khan, and while one tradition says that Altan demanded the title of khan himself from the Mongol emperor Daraisun Kudeng and was accorded it, it is also recorded that the Dalai Lama conferred upon him grandiose titles with a religious flavour. Many epithets are recorded in chronicles and in the colophons of religious texts for Ligdan Khan of the Chahar, stressing equally his imperial descent and his patronage of the Church. His legitimacy as monarch is maintained not only by the use of the title of Genghis Khan, first borne by his great ancestor, but by the deliberate association of his person with other Chinese imperial families. Ligdan was known as 'The Chakravarti Saint, Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung' or as 'The blessed Ligdan, Wise Emperor of the Great Yuan', epithets linking him with the great second emperor of the T'ang dynasty and with Khubilai Khan respectively. More explicitly expressive of the alliance between Church and State was his title 'Blessed Ligdan, Marvellous Genghis Daiming Setsen, Conqueror of the Directions, Powerful Chakravarti, T'ang T'ai-tsung, God of Gods, Khormusda of all within the world, Turner of the Golden Wheel, King of the Law'. Lamas accepted their honorific titles from both religious superiors and from laymen. Thus the Jaya Pandita of the Khalkha had his epithet conferred by the Dalai Lama, while the better-known Jaya Pandita of the Oirat received his from Zasagtu Khan of the Khalkha. It was also not unusual for laymen of noble birth to receive consecrations in the Buddhist church, and to have the empowerment to perform certain rituals conferred upon them. Abdai Khan was so distinguished in 1577, and in the next century, in 1663, his descendant Chakhundorji, the successor as Tushetu Khan to the father of the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, received certain consecrations from the Dalai Lama of the day in Lhasa,

"This disparity we see between rhetoric and reality when it comes to the Gelugpa and the other Buddhist sects"

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Divine Knowledge: Buddhist Mathematics According to the ...

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This disparity we see between rhetoric and reality when it comes to the Gelugpa and the other Buddhist sects intensifies when it comes to the nameless ...

(Klaffkowski 1987: 32).⁶⁵ Both the Sakya and the Karmapa had been active among the Mongols since the early years of the Mongol Empire. The status of the Sakya stemmed from their alliance with the Mongols going back to Qubilai and 'Phags pa. The importance of the Kagyu was bolstered by their ties with the rulers of Tibet (Berger and Bartholomew 1995: 52). The Nyingmapa, whose Order started during the old Tibetan Empire and continued thereafter to maintain its veneration of the teaching of Padmasambhava, had been known as the 'Old School' since the days of Atīśa (982-1054), who proclaimed the new teachings that would come to characterize all others (Klaffkowski 1987: 28).

In the idiom of the Gelugpa, these various schools were often referred to in binary fashion differentiating the Gelugpa from the rest in various dichotomies, New versus Old, Yellow versus Red, Reformed versus Unreformed (Berger and Bartholomew 1995: 51).⁶⁶ The meaning of this distinction is made clear by the 5th Dalai Lama, who admonished, among others, Zaya Pandita (1599-1662), the leading Buddhist cleric of the Oirats, not to teach what he called the 'Old Teaching' among the Mongols. By this he was referring not only to the Nyingmapa but all unreformed sects, in particular both the Sakya and Karmapa (Klaffkowski 1987: 143, 351).

Though such an admonition would have us think otherwise, these various schools were not mutually exclusive, but coexisted in syncretistic fashion. Red and Yellow faiths were supported concurrently by both Altan khan and Tümen Jasaytu khan, the former favoring the Gelugpa, the latter, the unreformed Karmapa, an ecclesiastic divide that mirrored their political rivalry (Bawden 1989: 27, 30). When Abadai khan of the Khalkha set out to build Erdeni juu monastery, while it was his devotion to the Yellow sect that caused him to do so, the monastery's first buildings were constructed by local Sakya monks in the Chinese style based on the model of Altan khan's monastery at Kökeqota, while Gelugpa monks built the remaining buildings in Tibetan style. Though in the years following the advent of the Gelugpa there would be much conflict with the 'Red' sects, they continued to flourish and would eventually reconcile (Bawden 1989: 53; Berger and Bartholomew 1995: 53).

This disparity we see between rhetoric and reality when it comes to the Gelugpa and the other Buddhist sects intensifies when it comes to the nameless native tradition. As we have seen, at the ceremony where they exchanged titles in 1578, Altan khan and the 3rd Dalai Lama condemned

⁶⁵ For a more thorough description of Buddhist sects in Mongol historiography, see Klaffkowski (1987: 25-34). See also Tucci's concise historical survey (1988: 33-39).

⁶⁶ See, for instance, the Yellow versus Red dichotomy in *Erdeni tunumal* (Elverskog 2003: 197).

various sacrifices and rites and ordered the burning of the *ongyod*. This anti-shamanism rhetoric was echoed in 1582 when Tümen Jasaytu khan promulgated a law code of his own.⁶⁷ The pervasiveness of this rhetoric in Buddhist chronicles has led scholars to understand that the Buddhist revival in Mongolia was extremely intolerant of the native tradition and violently purged its priests.

While the sources are quite emphatic about this, and so convincing enough of themselves, scholars' propensity to believe them is fueled by the inclination to understand what was occurring in terms of religion and not mathematics. As religious sects these various traditions are perceived to be discrete in their conventions and teachings and so at odds with each other. However, when understood in terms of mathematics, these different traditions, interrelated in what is universal in nature, coalesce, such that there is no absolute distinction between a Gelugpa lama and a pagan priest, let alone the lamas of other Buddhist sects. They all stand for divine knowledge and perform the same sorts of functions if not the same rites. What is more, with the failure to understand the rhetoric of the period in terms of mathematics, comes the tendency to take rhetoric much too literally, and so miss its nuances and the complexities of history.

As one nuance of history might have it, prohibitions against shamans should be understood as akin to those in the Mongol Empire and throughout Chinese history which prohibit sorcery. These laws were not intended to be enforced to the letter of the law, but as a warning against treachery. When it comes to treachery, though this was not necessarily the case among the Oirats or Tibetans to the west, where the rhetoric of the *bon* tradition plays a role in their civil war, there appears to be little if any use of the rhetoric of the indigenous Mongolian tradition in conjunction with military resistance to the Gelugpa in the eastern Mongolian lands. When Neichi toyin comes from the west to teach the dharma among the eastern Mongols, he brings no army for support. He has been invited. In their struggle against Ligdan and the Sakya sect the eastern Mongols were seeking to convert. Without some form of insurgency or counterrevolution, the native tradition had no institutional support whatsoever (Berger and Bartholomew 1995: 52). There was literally nothing for the Gelugpa to attack. Thus when we read in Altan khan's biography, the *Erdeni tunumal*, that "The mad and stupid shamans were annihilated and the shamanesses humiliated" this should not be taken literally but as a hagiographical flourish referring not to the pagan tradition

⁶⁷ This follows in the wake of a law code promulgated by Altan khan. Altan khan's code, however, though he decrees anti-pagan stipulations elsewhere, makes no provision for the prohibition of blood sacrifices, other native rites, or the imposition of Buddhist norms (Atwood 2003: 10).

the Yuan, Ming and Qing emperors never permitted Lamas to mass convert their people when they consorted with the Lama. Only Altan Khan of the Northern Yuan did. Kublai and all the

Yuan emperors up to 1368 did not authorize Lamas to mass proselytize to Mongol commoners regardless of whether they patronized them or not. The Ming emperors also had Lamas in Beijing and a Lamaist shrine just like the Yuan ones but never permitted them to spread their religion among their people. Manchu commoners also didn't get proselytized either during the Qing..

This is an account of a massacre of Catholics in the Chagatai city of Almaliq in Xinjiang in 1339 or 1340, after the Chagatai Khanate converted to Sunni Islam

<https://twitter.com/Matthews2410/status/1423282880512413696>

<https://archive.org/details/cathaywaythither03yule/page/30/mode/2up>

commending the new bishop "to the whole body of Christian people dwelling in *Molephatam*." Now, this kingdom is mentioned by no one else that we know of except Jordanus himself in his *Mirabilia*, where he spells the name precisely as in the Pope's letter, a very unusual agreement when Asiatic names are in question. Hence, to me it seems certain that the information which led the Pope to write to Molephatam was given by Jordanus himself, and derived from his personal knowledge.

Indications of date, though slight, may also be gathered from the book. In it (p. 54) he speaks of Elchigaday as the reigning sovereign of the second Tartar (or Chagatai) empire. Ilchigadai became Khan in 1321 [1322?], and the date of his death is not given. Some of the histories, indeed, put the death of his successor in 1327, but this is certainly inaccurate as will be shown below. Still, as that successor (Tarmashirin Khan)² had a reign of some length [1322-1334] and certainly was dethroned about 1334 at latest, it seems pretty clear that Ilchigadai must have been dead long before Jordanus could have returned from exercising his episcopate in India. Hence he must have written his work before he went on that mission.

Before the printing of the *Mirabilia* the name of Jordanus was known, from his connexion with the friars put to death at Tana, but it was not known of what country he was. Hence the Portuguese claimed him as a countryman, and the Portuguese Hagiologist Cardoso declares that Jordanus himself was eventually a martyr to the faith, but with no particulars or evidence³. It is

¹ *Odoric. Raynalii Annales Ecclesiast.*, 1330, lv. ["Universis Christianis commorantibus in Molephatam gratiam in presenti, quae perducatur ad gloriam in futuro."] Molephatam (*Malifatan*) is mentioned by the historian Rashiduddin as one of the cities of Ma'abar, in a passage quoted at the end of the third letter in this collection.

² [There is a Khan, Dua Timur (1321-1322), between these two, of very brief reign. This, however, rather strengthens the argument.]

³ *Kunstmann* in *Phillips and Görres*, xxxvii, p. 152.

not known that he ever reached Columbum as bishop; we only know that there is no mention of him or any other bishop on Marignolli's visit twenty years later.

I have taken the opportunity of inserting at the end of these remarks a few additional notes to the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus, in correction of my own mistakes or in further illustration of the author's text.

The last letter is one from PASCAL, a young Spanish Franciscan on a mission to Tartary, written in August 1338 from Almaliq, the capital of the Khans of Turkestan or Chagatai. It describes his proceedings from his quitting his convent at Vittoria in Spain to his arrival at Almaliq, and shows a burning zeal for his work, which had the consummation which he seems almost to have anticipated, in the martyrdom which befel him, together with several of his brethren, probably within less than a year from the date of this letter¹.

The letter is derived from Wadding, who also relates the story of the martyrdom. Its circumstances are likewise briefly told by John de' Marignolli, who was at Almaliq the year after they occurred. And another reference to the story, of earlier date perhaps than the composition of Marignolli's book, is found in John of Winterthur's chronicle². The narrative is given most fully by one of the Franciscan hagiologists, Bartholomew of Pisa, who wrote later in the same century, and his account, with which Wadding's is nearly identical, runs as follows³:

"In the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec in the Middle Empire of Tartary, in the year 1340, the following Minorites suffered for the faith—viz.,

¹ Compare note on Marignolli, with the remarks on that traveller's chronology in the introductory notice. The data appear to fix the death of the friars to 1339, whilst the time of year assigned by the ecclesiastical writers (midsummer) would be probably correct.

² *Eccard, Corpus Histor.*, i, col. 1877-8.

³ *Barthol. Pisan., De Conformitate*, etc. (as above, p. 5) f. lxxx ver.

Friar Richard the Bishop of Armalec, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Pascal of Spain, Friar Raymond of Provence; these four were priests; also Friar Lawrence of Alessandria, and Friar Peter of Provence, both lay brethren, and Master John of India, a black man, belonging to the third order of St. Francis, who had been converted by our friars. All these had been very well treated in that empire by the emperor then on the throne. Indeed, he had been cured of a cancer by Friar Francis of Alessandria (more by prayer than by physic), and on this account the emperor used to call Friar Francis his father and physician. And so it came to pass that he bestowed upon the brethren lands and privileges and full authority to preach, and even made over to them his own son, then seven years of age, to be baptised; and so he was, accordingly, by the name of John. But by the permission of God, the emperor himself, on his way to a hunting match, was taken off by poison, and his four sons also were put to death. Then the empire was seized by a certain villain of a falconer¹, a Saracen of the blood-royal, whose name was Alisolda. And as the brethren by their preaching had made many converts to the faith, this new emperor ordered that all the Christians should be made Saracens, and that whosoever should disobey the third order to this effect should be put to death. And so when the brethren aforesaid would not obey this order they were bound and all tied to one rope, which was dragged along by the infuriated mob, who smote and spat upon them, stabbed and slashed them, cutting off their noses and ears, and otherwise mutilating them, till at length they fell by the sword and made a blessed migration to the Lord.

"But the aforesaid emperor before long was himself slain, and his house destroyed by fire. Now, these brethren suffered in the year before-mentioned, about the Feast of

¹ *Falcherius.*

St. John Baptist, and whilst Gerard Odo was General of the Order!"

It is impossible to reconcile the revolutions of government, as stated in this ecclesiastical story, with the chronology of the Chagatai empire as given by Deguignes². But the latter admits the dates of succession to be very uncertain, and there seems some ground for believing that the Franciscan statements are substantially correct.

According to the lists of Deguignes Tarmeshirin Khan, the first Mussulman Khan of Chagatai, was dethroned in 1327 by his brother Butan Khan; Butan again was dethroned by Zenkshi or Jinkshi; he by his brother Yesun Timur; and he again by ALI-SULTAN of the descendants of Okkodai, who in 1332 was succeeded by Kazán, who reigned till 1346³.

¹ There is a little discrepancy in the list of friars. Wadding omits Raymond, and adds that William of Modena, a Genoese merchant, moved by their example, also suffered with constancy. Marignoli omits Raymond, calls Lawrence of Ancona, and gives Gilott as the name of the merchant.

The appointment of a bishop to Armalech seems to have escaped the notice of the annalists, nor is any other besides this Richard named by Le Quien in *Oriens Christianus*. [iii, col. 1360: "Is probabiliter est episcopus ille Armalech, nomine Richardus de Burgundia, Ordinis Minorum, quem idem Waddingus refert ad annum 1342. num. 7. pag. 480. hoc anno, circa festum S. Joannis Baptistae, gloriosum, cum pluribus aliis Minoritis, martyrium subiisse in civitate Armalech vicaria Tartariae."] He may have been sent in 1328, when John XXII is stated to have despatched bishops of the two orders with priests to various Asiatic states, including Khorasan and Turkestan. (*Wadding*, vii, 88.) But it is pretty clear that Pope Benedict himself did not know anything of the bishop, for in a letter to two ministers of the Khan of Chagatai, who were Christians, he praises their beneficence "*cuidam Episcopo de Ord. Frat. Min. in civitate Armalech deputato.*" (*Mosheim, App.*, p. 177.)

[According to Gams, p. 454, Richard of Burgundy, O.S. Fr., was appointed bishop of Armalech in 1338, and was martyred in 1342; the pope Benedict XII being elected in 1334, it was during his reign and not under John XXII that the appointment of a bishop, the only bishop of Armalech, was made.]

² *Deguignes*, i, p. 286; and iv, p. 311.

³ [According to Stanley Lane Poole's *Muhammedan Dynasties*, p. 242, the list of these chiefs of the western branch of the line of Chagatai Khans (those of Mávará-un-Nahr or Transoxiana) is: 17. Tarmashirin, began to reign A.H. 722 = 1322; Sanjar? A.H. 730-4?

One Chagatai Khan overthrow his Sunni Muslim relative and tried to restore the Chagatai Khanate back to its non-Muslim status, persecuting Sunni Islam and letting Christians rebuilt Churches, but another Sunni Chagatai, Ali Sultan took over the Chagatai Khanate again and started massacring Catholics and non-Muslims.

Again, in the narrative which is given in Astley's collection from Abulghazi and others, the succession of the princes is the same, but Tarmeshirin Khan dies in 1336, and no other date is given except the death of Kazán in 1348.

If the dates in Deguignes be correct, the Ali-Sultan of the history certainly cannot be the Alisolda of the Franciscans. The other statement has nothing inconsistent with this identification which so obviously suggests itself. Now, the first dates are *certainly* incorrect; for Ibn Batuta visited Tarmeshirin Khan not many months before he entered India, and that was in the end of 1333. About two years later, he tells us, he heard of the dethronement of Tarmeshirin by his cousin Buzan Oglu (Butan Khan?)¹. This would place the event about 1334-5. Ibn Batuta also tells us that this Buzan was an unjust sovereign who persecuted Islam, and allowed the Jews and Christians to rebuild their temples, etc. This looks very like a counterpart, from the Mussulman point of view, of the favourable character given by the missionaries of the sovereign who patronised them.

There is, however, a letter written in 1338, from Pope Benedict XII to the Khan of Chagatai, thanking him for his kindness to the Christians in his territory, and especially to Archbishop Nicholas when on his way to Chambalec². And another letter to the ministers of the Khan, already quoted, speaks of their having granted a piece of land to the mission to build a church on, etc. Now, this Khan is

= 1330-4?; 18. Jinkishai, A.H. 734=1334; 19. Buzan, A.H. c. 735 = c. 1335; 20. Isun Timur, A.H. c. 739 = c. 1339; Ali (of Oktai stock), A.H. c. 741 = c. 1340; 21. Muhammad, A.H. c. 743 = c. 1342; 22. Kazán, A.H. 744 = 1343; Danishmanja (of Oktai stock), A.H. 747 = 1346; 23. Buyan Kuli, A.H. 749 = 1348; anarchy and rival chiefs until the supremacy of Timur, A.H. 760-771 = 1358-1370 A.D.]

¹ There are some curious difficulties attending the chronology of Ibn Batuta's journey, but though their solution might throw the dates in question later, I believe it could not throw them earlier.

² *Mosheim, App.*, p. 175.

called in the Pope's letter *Chansi*, which seems to identify him with the Jinkshi of the historical lists; whilst the circumstances mentioned seem to identify him with the Khan whose kindness to the mission is commemorated in the martyrology, and who would thus appear to be Jinkshi rather than Butan. As Nicholas was named Archbishop late in 1333, the date of his being at Almaliq was probably 1335 or 1336. There is, under these circumstances, nothing inconsistent with the revolt and success of Ali Sultan taking place in 1338 or 1339, or with his being slain soon afterwards, as the ecclesiastical story tells; though there remain some minor discrepancies.

It may be added that we have the positive statement of Friar Pascal in the letter here translated, that when he arrived on the frontiers of Chagatai, the emperor thereof had lately been slain by his natural brother. The letter is dated August 10th, 1338, and the event in question, which might have occurred from half a year to a year earlier, must have been, it seems to me, the dethronement of Jinkshi by Yesun Timur. We shall then have the data afforded by Ibn Batuta, the Pope's letter, the ecclesiastical story of the martyrdom, and Pascal's own letter, all quite consistent with one another, though all inconsistent with the accepted historians. The succession of sovereigns will then run:—

Ilchigadai dies probably about	1321.
Dua-Timur	1321-22.
Tarmeshirin Khan dethroned by Butan	1334.
Butan	"	by Jinkshi	1335.
Jinkshi	"	by Yesun Timur,	1337.
Yesun Timur	"	by Ali Sultan,	1338-9.
Ali Sultan	"	by Kazán	1339-40.

And this Kazán was no doubt reigning when Marignolli was so well treated at Almaliq¹.

¹ See Marignolli, *infra*.

Before the Oirats converted from Tengrism to Tibetan Buddhism, some of them appeared to have Muslim names like Mahmud, an Oirat leader who interacted with the Ming dynasty and Oirat envoys with names like Pir Muhammad.

Mahmud=馬哈木

Pir Muhammad = 皮兒馬黑麻等

Its unknown why they had these names or how widespread Islam was among Oirats when they were Tengrist before they converted to Tibetan Buddhism

命馬收其良者，青銀鼠皮各收一萬，惟貂鼠皮全收之，餘悉令其使

its from the Ming veritable records

another Oirat was called Haji Ni'ma = 火只你阿麻

瓦剌使臣火只你阿麻回回，進玉石五千九百餘斤，詔免進令其自賣

<https://twitter.com/MalMoncrief/status/1309019505566375940>

This is one of the most gruesome murder descriptions I have come across. In 1905 the French Catholic missionary Jules Dubernard was tortured and killed by Tibetan lamas in Yunnan. The Scottish plant collector George Forrest was lucky to escape. <https://bit.ly/3i2kTqi>

I forgot If I sent this specific paper already but Tibetan Buddhists burned Tengrist idols and images and declared it a false religion when they were spreading their religion in Mongolia

<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/225167994.pdf>

<https://jstor.org/stable/3176686>

of an opposing, self-consciously autochthonous tradition can satisfy all the needs and requirements that Buddhism does.⁷¹

In Tibet much the same pattern applied; the rival non-Buddhist religion, Bon, while presented in classical texts as an alternative tradition to Buddhism, actually seems to have developed virtually all of its doctrines in self-conscious opposition to Buddhism. Śākyamuni's biography has twelve deeds, and so does that of Shen-rab, the founder of Bon, but while Buddhists turn their prayer wheels and circumambulate temples clockwise, Bon-po do the same motions counterclockwise.⁷² The elaboration of Bon as an institutional religion, like that of Daoism in China and Shintô in Japan, thus seems to have developed out of mixed rivalry and imitation of the immigrant faith. At the same time, though, the Tibetan tradition offered an alternative model for the integration of native faiths into the new religion. In this model, which centers on the biography of Padmasambhava, the eighth-century yogin who came to Tibet to subdue the demons who blocked the building of Samyas monastery, the native deities were subdued by the yogin's superior magic power and forced to take an oath to defend Buddhism.⁷³

When Buddhism first spread to Mongolia, though, neither of these models was applied. The native religion was not seen as a precursor of Buddhism, nor were its deities reinterpreted as incarnations of the Buddha. Still less were they brought under an oath to defend the new faith. Instead, during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, the opposing religion was treated as wholly false, and its images and ritual articles were burned in great bonfires, while fines were imposed on any who continued to worship them. At the same time *dhâranîs* were propagated among the people, with rewards for those who could remember them, and the *onggods*, or felt images which contained the spirits of the ancestors, were replaced by images of the fierce Buddha Mahākala.⁷⁴

The result was a remarkably complete replacement of the original shamanist rituals. As we have seen, the categories of ritual found among most of the Mongols are largely comprehensible in terms of a multifaceted Buddhist tradition, wherein the original ecstatic shamanist use of the spirits of powerful ancestors for apotropaic purposes found no place. Yet, at the same time, many of the pioneer missionaries felt the need to

⁷¹ For Daoism in China, see Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence in Early Daoism," *T'oung-pao* 66 (1980): 84–147; for Shintô in Japan, see Kuroda Toshio, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7 (1981): 1–21.

⁷² Samten G. Karmay, "A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon," *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 33 (1975): 171–218.

⁷³ Yeshe Tsogyal, *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava: Padma bKa'i Thang*, pt. 2, *Tibet*, trans. Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Says (Berkeley, Calif.: Dharma, 1978).

⁷⁴ See references in n. 52 above.

Christians in Syria were in open uprising against the Sunni Mamluks in 1260 due to the Mongols and were welcoming the Mongol attack against the Sunnis.

"The infamous Shaykh Khadir, Baybars' Rasputin"

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the Mamluk government's decree in 1354 that Christian and Jewish doctors should no longer care for Muslims.³²⁹ According to Atiya, who has analysed the treatment of the Copts in great detail, some forty-four Coptic churches were destroyed between 1279 and 1447.³³⁰

The infamous Shaykh Khadir, Baybars' Rasputin, indulged in excessively harsh measures against the Jews and Christians in Mamluk lands. His fellow Muslims were alarmed by his conduct. He damaged the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and killed the priest personally. He ruined the church in Alexandria which housed the alleged head of John the Baptist and turned it into a Qur'an school, calling it the Green College (*al-madrasa al-khadra'*), and thus making a pun on his own name. In 669/1271 he destroyed the great synagogue in Damascus.³³¹

Anti-Christian feeling in the Mamluk period could arouse great civic unrest, especially at moments of great crisis. According to the Muslim sources, after the coming of the Mongols in 658/1260, the Christians in Damascus had waxed proud. They went through the streets in a public procession, carrying their crosses and proclaiming the superiority of their religion and the abasement of the religion of the Muslims. In reprisal the Muslims plundered the Christians' houses and destroyed the Church of the Jacobites and the Church of Mary.³³² According to al-Maqrizi, those actions were in retaliation for the Christians' uprising against the Muslims: 'The Christians had destroyed mosques and minarets which were in the neighbourhood of their churches. They openly rang their bells, carried the cross in processions, drank wine in the streets, and sprinkled Muslims with it.'³³³

Al-'Ayni points to the *rapprochement* between the Christians and the Mongols, which was probably the trigger for these hostile actions on both sides.

Mamluk chroniclers often betray a strong anti-Christian bias and their bile is directed particularly at the Coptic Christian administrators who played such an important role in the Mamluk bureaucracy. Al-'Umari describes the Coptic bureaucrats in the high echelons of the Mamluk state as possessing 'white turbans and black secrets' and as 'blue enemies who swallow red death'.³³⁴ Envy of the Copts' administrative skills and high government positions was common. It is enshrined in the so-called testament attributed to the Ayyubid sultan, Najm al-Din Ayyub (d. 1249), who became mortally ill at the time of Louis IX's attack on Egypt. The work probably echoes later Mamluk anti-Christian sentiments. Advising his pleasure-seeking son Turan Shah on how to rule, the sultan declares:

Look at the army department (*diwan al-jaysh*), my son! Those who have wronged the country the most and have even reduced it to ruin are the Christians who have weakened the army as if it belonged to them and they could sell it.³³⁵



Figure 6.82
(above and opposite)
Leisure pursuits, vintaging and animals, Fatimid carved ivory plaques, (from a book-cover), eleventh–twelfth centuries, Egypt

Mamluks persecuted Christians severely, even more than Saladin and his Ayyubid family did.

this is about the pre-Mamluk era

THE CRUSADES: ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES



Figure 6.76 'Blessing from Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate': Kufic inscription on a metal lamp, c. 900, perhaps from Iran

as scapegoats for Muslim defeat. Whether this is just a device imposed by later Muslim writers for their own motives or a reflection of genuine collusion between Franks and Oriental Christians is impossible to say. It is intrinsically likely that the Oriental Christians might have seen their best interests as often residing in collaborating with their fellow Christians, the Franks. The fall of Antioch in 491/1098 is blamed, for example, on 'the devices of the armourer who was an Armenian named Firuz'.³¹⁰

One episode in the year 518/1124–5 is worthy of mention in this context. The Frankish leader Joscelin had been conducting devastating raids in northern Syria. The geographer Ibn Shaddad writes that:

When the Franks besieged Aleppo in the year 518 and they disturbed the graves which were outside it and burned what was in them, they [the people of Aleppo] went to four of the churches that were there and made them into mosques.³¹¹

Ibn al-'Adim, the chronicler of Aleppo, is even more explicit:

With the agreement of the leaders of Aleppo the qadi Ibn al-Khashshab ordered that the altars (*maharib*) of the churches belonging to the Christians in Aleppo should be destroyed and *mihhrabs* should be made for them towards the direction of the *qibla* and their doors should be altered and they should be made into mosques. That was done in their great church and it was called the mosque of the saddlers (*masjid al-sarrajin*) and it is the college of the candy sellers (*madrasat al-halawiyyin*) now. The church of the ironsmiths (*kanisat al-haddadin*)... He left only two churches, no more, for the Christians in Aleppo and that is still the case.³¹²



Figure 6.77 Coptic priest swinging a censer, lustration bowl, after c. 1050, Egypt

the Copts and churches attended till today by the Christian Copt clients.³¹⁷

The Ayyubid Period

A significant turning-point may have been the Ayyubid period, during which – because of links, either real or supposed,³¹⁸ between the Franks and the local Christians – reprisals were taken against the latter because of the misdeeds of the former. Sivan lists three major uprisings of this kind – the first in 1219 in Egypt during the siege of Damietta, the second in 1242, also in Egypt, at Fustat, and the third in 1250 at Damascus.³¹⁹ The Copts of Egypt enjoyed mixed fortunes under the rule of Saladin and his family. On occasion they were dismissed from office because of alleged links with the Crusaders, and their churches were destroyed. Yet members of their community were still appointed to high positions – Saladin had a private secretary, Ibn Sharafi, who was a Copt, and Saladin's brother, al-'Adil, put a Copt named Ibn al-Miqat in charge of the army ministry (*diwan al-jaysh*). The appointment of a Christian to a position of such power in war-time and in an area that was militarily so sensitive tells its own story. Indeed, the loyalties of the Copts in the Ayyubid period seem often to have lain more with the Muslims and with their own local interests than with the Crusaders. This was demonstrated in the Crusade of Damietta in 1218 when the Copts helped to defend the city, and as a consequence suffered greatly at the hands of the Crusaders.³²⁰

The evidence for Ayyubid Syria is rather mixed. The anti-Christian bias of the Mamluk chronicler al-Maqrizi should always be borne in mind but he certainly mentions discriminatory measures taken against the Christians by the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, al-'Aziz, on 14 Sha'ban 592/13 July 1196: 'He prohibited the people of the convenant in the Sultanic service, and they were compelled to wear the dress distinguishing non-Muslims.'³²¹

It seems that Oriental Christians may well have been treated under the Ayyubids in Syria in much the same way as they had always been. If Christian (and Jewish) doctors are taken as an example of a prominent group within Muslim society – and there is evidence above all from the biographical dictionary of doctors by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a³²² – it is clear that they were treated relatively tolerantly. But doctors may well have been a special case.³²³

A distinction might perhaps be drawn between Egypt and Syria, although the evidence is too scanty to allow firm judgements.

The Mamluk Period

We have seen that in the Mamluk period the combined impact of Crusader interventionism and fanaticism, on the one hand, and the terror and brutal ferocity of the Mongol conquests, on the other, aroused a heightened desire in the hearts of the Muslims of Syria,



Figure 6.79 Design for a playing card, c. 1250, Fustat, Egypt

and this is about the Mamluks



Figure 6.80 Leisure pursuits, Fatimid carved ivory plaques, eleventh–twelfth centuries, Egypt

Palestine and Egypt to defend their territories, and an iron determination to interpret the Islamic concept of *jihad* to suit their own circumstances and predicament. Indeed, the Mamluk sultans of Egypt prosecuted *jihad* with devastating strength and success.

That said, how far can it be asserted that the situation for the Oriental Christians deteriorated during and after the Crusading period? It would appear that matters did worsen, especially after 1291, and it is thus legitimate to wonder whether the Crusades were the cause, indirectly or directly, of the persecution of the Oriental Christians by their Muslim overlords.

There was great pressure on individuals and groups to convert. The Mamluk government did not have consistent policies towards its non-Muslim subjects. Sometimes it tried to protect its non-Muslim officials who because of their wealth and influence often excited outrage amongst the Muslim population. On other occasions, however, the Mamluk government was forced to give in to popular pressure and allow discriminatory measures and persecutions, since public order was their prime concern. A strong lead came from the *'ulama'* who insisted on a strict interpretation of the subordinate position of Christians and Jews within Islamic society.

Reference has already been made to the Covenant of 'Umar. The fact that it was reissued with such frequency does seem to suggest that its conditions were often flouted.³²⁴ Some evidence points to an increasingly hard-line policy on the part of the Mamluk sultans. Discriminatory measures were taken against the Oriental Christians, as well as Jews and Samaritans. According to al-Maqrizi, in 1301 the Mamluk government decreed that differently coloured turbans should be worn by members of the religious minorities – the Christians should wear blue, the Jews yellow and the Samaritans red.³²⁵ Similar discriminatory measures were later taken against Christian and Jewish women (in 1354, 1401 and 1419).³²⁶ The decree of 1354 passed by the Mamluk government against the Christians and Jews stipulated once again that Christian and Jewish women should wear one black shoe and one white.³²⁷

According to al-Nawawi (d. 1278),³²⁸ Muslims should consult only Muslim doctors. This legal statement was followed up in practice by



Figure 6.81 Polo-sticks on a Mamluk playing card, fifteenth century, Egypt

the Mamluk government's decree in 1354 that Christian and Jewish doctors should no longer care for Muslims.³²⁹ According to Atiya, who has analysed the treatment of the Copts in great detail, some forty-four Coptic churches were destroyed between 1279 and 1447.³³⁰

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Figure 6.82
(above and opposite)
Leisure pursuits, vintaging and animals, Fatimid carved ivory plaques, (from a book-cover!), eleventh–twelfth centuries, Egypt

The Copts are not only blamed for undermining the Egyptian administration but they are also accused of collaborating with their co-religionists, the Crusaders:

I have heard that they [the Christians of Egypt] wrote to the Frankish kings of the Sahil [the Levantine coastline] and the islands, saying to them: 'Do not fight the Muslims. We ourselves are fighting them night and day, we are taking their possessions and attacking their women, we are ruining their country and weakening their soldiers. Come, take possession of it! There is no obstacle left for you!'

The enemy is near you, in your state; it is the Christians. Do not trust those who convert to Islam . . . Even if they do so, it is for another reason. Their faith is hidden in their heart like fire in ashes.³³⁶

This hostility is reiterated in the accusations made by al-Maqrizi, who attacks the Copts for sabotaging the Egyptian land tenure system (*iqta'*) on which the military depended:

The Copts practised every kind of deceit and they started to weaken the Egyptian army. They scattered a single *iqta'* in different places so that some of the collection took place in Upper Egypt, some in al-Sharqiyya province and some in al-Gharbiyya province, in order to exhaust the soldiery and increase expense.³³⁷

Al-Maqrizi is also hostile to the Christian clergy. He describes one Jacobite patriarch as being 'fond of power and the amassing of wealth . . . given to simony, exacting ordination fees from those whom he ordained'.³³⁸ This anti-Christian sentiment was enforced and intensified in the circles of the religious scholars and above all, in the Mamluk period, in the polemical writings and *fatwas* of Ibn Taymiyya, who harboured no tenderness towards Christians either outside or inside the 'House of Islam'.

The Intervention of Europe

Thus we see that in a range of Islamic sources there is evidence for a backlash against the Oriental Christians. But its impact clearly varied according to geographical and political circumstances.³³⁹ Such a backlash targeted Oriental Christians both inside and outside the Mamluk empire, and was often triggered by external acts of aggression on the part of western Europe, either in the form of individual acts of piracy or larger-scale campaigns. Occasionally, too, there were reprisals by western Christians triggered by anti-Christian measures being taken by the Mamluks. The capture and sack of Alexandria by Pierre I of Lusignan, the Crusader ruler of Cyprus, in 1365 is a good example of this process. The Muslim writer al-Nuwayri (Muhammad



al-Iskandarani) was in Alexandria at the time and gives a graphic account of the calamity of Muharram 765/October 1365,³⁴⁰ when Pierre and his army sacked Alexandria for a week. This was, he says, 'the greatest catastrophe in the annals of Alexandria'. Al-Nuwayri himself attributes this attack, amongst other reasons, to the persecution suffered by the Oriental Christians who had been dismissed from their jobs and forced to wear distinctive clothing.³⁴¹ Other Muslim chroniclers make it clear that the Copts continued to be subjected to persecution at regular intervals throughout the fourteenth century and beyond.³⁴²

General Reflections

But how much of all this hardening of Muslim attitudes can be blamed on the effects of the Crusades? Certainly, to attribute it all to the fanaticism of Crusaders from Europe is too facile, although there must have been some cause and effect. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that Islamic society always had the ability to reform itself from within, to renew and redefine itself, to purify itself of unwanted innovations and pernicious influences. One has only to recall the rise of the two militant Berber dynasties in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Maghrib, the Almoravids and the Almohads, who had no need of Crusader attacks to feel the overpowering urge to impose their vibrant reformist Islam on the cities of North Africa and Spain. Such movements of reform (*islah*) have punctuated Islamic history in many parts of the world until the end of the twentieth century. Thus it could be argued that the renewed religious zeal of the Sunni Muslims in Syria, Palestine and Egypt from the twelfth century onwards did not spring predominantly from the bitter tribulations they had suffered at the hands of the Crusaders. Instead, this renewed spirit of *jihad* and internal hardening would have happened anyway, as an integral part of the nature of the Islamic community.

The sultans of Mamluk Egypt, whose rule extended well beyond the time when the Crusaders left the Levant, and indeed lasted until the early sixteenth century, constitute a special case. They were ethnic outsiders, recently converted to Sunni Islam, hard-headed military men with simple, uncompromising beliefs, who infused new life into the Muslim community. It could thus be argued – in theory – that the Mamluk rulers did not need the example of the Crusaders to pursue fanatical policies against religious minorities within their territories. The Mamluks, as newcomers to the Near East, did not understand or see the need to come to terms with the long-standing Christian presence in the Levant and were not interested in drawing distinctions between different Christian groups. Nor for that matter would they tolerate the existence of 'heretical' groups of Muslims, such as Isma'ilis, Druzes or other bodies of Shi'ite believers in the Near East. The Islamic community had to purge itself from within against all contamination, innovation and heresy, and the Mamluks were the ideal warriors to defend Sunni Islam. They formed an alliance with the '*ulama*' who



Figure 6.83
(above and opposite)
Scenes of work, leisure and animals, Fatimid carved ivory plaques, eleventh–twelfth centuries, Egypt

were only too eager to instruct and reinforce their rulers in the latter's consolidation of the True Faith.

General Remarks on Muslim–Christian Relations after 690/1291

The preceding discussion has attempted to highlight the important but ultimately unanswerable issue of the effect of the Crusades on the attitude of the Muslims in Mamluk times towards Christianity and especially towards Near Eastern Christians. Whilst it is clear that Muslim society always had the inherent ability to redefine and renew its faith, the timing of the upsurge of Muslim religious zeal in the Mamluk period, after centuries of general tolerance towards the 'People of the Book' within the 'House of Islam', would seem on balance to suggest some connection with the Muslims' experience of the Crusades. Hence it can be argued that the coming of the Crusaders with their 'new brand' of fanatical Christianity acted as a catalyst, or even a direct agent, in the process of hardening Sunni Muslim hearts against people of other faiths, and indeed against any kind of religious deviancy within the ranks of the Muslims themselves.

The fanaticism of the newly arrived Crusaders shocked the Muslim world in 1099 and continued to do so. The so-called Counter-Crusade did not begin in the thirteenth century with Mamluk successes. Muslim reaction had been born in the twelfth century with Zengi or even earlier and had risen steadily to a crescendo first under Nur al-Din and Saladin and then later under the reinvigorated power of the Mamluks. After 1291 the Muslim response did not cease once their territories were purged of the Crusader presence. In addition to defending their own territories, they could now also launch counter-attacks against neighbouring eastern Christian states – Cilician Armenia, which was conquered by the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Sha'ban in 1375; the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus, which was made a tributary of Mamluk Egypt under Sultan Barsbay in 1427; Constantinople, which fell to the Ottomans in 1453; and the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes, who held out until the Ottomans finally took the island in 1522. These events belong together.

Indeed, the Ottomans also harboured bellicose intentions towards Christian Europe, and as early as the fourteenth century Sultan Murad I (d. 1389) had announced that 'he would come to France when he had finished with Austria'.³⁴³ This swell of reaction to the Crusades on the part of the Ottomans reached its climax in the sixteenth century. They conquered the Balkans, then Hungary, and moved ever deeper into the heart of Europe, to the very gates of Vienna. Indeed, the shadow of the Turkish threat hung like a black cloud over much of continental Europe throughout the sixteenth century. Thus the Muslim revanche lasted a very long time.

Conclusions

It is not surprising that the cultural interplay between Muslim and



and Sunni accusations of Twelvers opening the gates of Baghdad for Hulagu are probably true because the Twelvers were spared along with Christians while Sunnis experienced a week of hell as they were butchered and raped. A Twelver cleric met with Hulagu and said Imam Ali

prophesied his coming to destroy the Sunni Abbasids and Hulagu spared the Twelver center of Al-Hilla

when the Mongols massacred the citizens of Baghdad, the Shias were spared

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Lost Islamic History: Reclaiming Muslim Civilisation from ...

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[Firas Alkhateeb](#) · 2017

FOUND INSIDE

This book rescues from oblivion and neglect some of these personalities and institutions while offering the reader a new narrative of this lost Islamic history.

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of the Abbasid prompted the Mongols to invade Baghdad. There appears to be some truth in this allegation for when the Mongols massacred the citizens of Baghdad, the Shias were spared. It further appears that Halaku attacked Baghdad only when he felt sure that the Muslims of other states would not come to the help of the caliphate. The point that is brought home is that unless the

"The larger community remained fragmented and scattered across the region, the availability of key"

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Twelver Shiism: Unity and Diversity in the Life of Islam, ...

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[Newman Andrew J. Newman](#) · 2013 · Social Science

The Mongol and Ilkhanid periods: the rise and limits of the school of al-Hilla

The century or more following the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols and the killing of the last Abbasid caliph, like the later Buyid period, has been viewed by scholars and the faithful alike mainly via the careers and contributions of a precious few – in this case, Jafar b. al-Hasan al-Hilli (d. 1277), known later as *al-Muhaqqiq* (the researcher), and his nephew al-Hasan b. Yusuf al-Hilli (d. 1325), later called *al-Allama* (the most learned).¹

As in 1055, so the 1258 fall of Baghdad resulted in widespread destruction of the community's resources. Twelver scholars did win recognition by the Mongol and Ilkhanid political establishment, as they did with that of the Saljuks. But actual Twelver influence was quite probably more limited than later Twelver accounts suggest.

The larger community remained fragmented and scattered across the region, the availability of key, early primary sources remained problematic and the onset of a marked decline in scholarly activity across the region, but especially in Iran, that would last until the fifteenth century is particularly notable.

Missing is the post-1258 equivalent of al-Qazwini's *Kitab al-Naqd*, with its insights into the situations of the non-elite believers – the majority in any age – across parts of the region at least. Indeed, what remains for later generations, admittedly and once again, are the written texts of these several elites. Read carefully, however, these, as earlier texts, reveal a degree of equivocation on a variety of issues that attests to disquiet within the community as to the specific interpretations of their authors, these authors' efforts to assert their authority over the community more generally and, also as prior to 1258, the continuation of Twelver pluralism in matters of doctrine and, especially, practice.

The fall of Baghdad and the rise of al-Hilla

The destruction visited on the scholarly community of Baghdad during the Mongol conquest of the city seems to have rivalled that of the Saljuk conquest. As to the Shia, Baghdad's Shii quarter of al-Karkh was plundered and the shrine at al-Kazimayn was destroyed, both probably owing to sectarian fighting. The overall loss of Shii materials, some key items among which were already, for Ibn Tawus anyway, no longer directly accessible, was arguably the greater as these were less dispersed than corresponding Sunni materials.²

Al-Hilla had been, as already seen, a Twelver centre before 1258. According to Twelver sources, the survival and, thus the subsequent rise in the fortunes of al-Hilla in the aftermath of the fall of Baghdad, owed itself in no small part to one of the Tawus family.

A nephew of Ibn Tawus, one Majd al-Din, along with the father of al-Allama, are said to have met Hulagu Khan (d. 1265) before he invaded Baghdad and to have recounted to the Mongol conqueror a prophecy of Imam Ali that fore-told that Hulagu would end Abbasid rule. He also sent a large sum of money to Hulagu and dedicated a work to him. Thus, it is said, he saved al-Hilla from destruction, although in fact the town's surrender to the Mongols probably also made a good bit of difference. Mongol troops were also sent to protect Imam Ali's grave site at Najaf, and Karbala was also spared destruction.

Ibn Tawus, born in al-Hilla, may also have had some role in the saving of his home town. He was caught in Baghdad during Hulagu's entrance into the city. According to his own account, at a meeting of all the city's scholars convened by Hulagu shortly thereafter, he was the only one who, when presented with Hulagu's request for a ruling on whether it was preferable to serve a just non-believing ruler or an unjust Muslim, affirmed the former. At that the others in attendance agreed, but Ibn Tawus and some 1,000 followers were escorted to al-Hilla.³ Ibn Tawus, in Najaf in 1259, was back in Baghdad in 1260, having accepted an appointment by Hulagu as the city's Alid *naqib*.⁴

He was made *naqib* of all Iraq in 1262–3.⁴

Other members of the Al Tawus also enjoyed connections to the Mongols. A son of Ibn Tawus was briefly *naqib* of both Baghdad and Najaf, and his own son was nominated to be *naqib*. Majd al-Din's brother Ahmad b. al-Hasan (d. 1304) led the *hajj* on several occasions. As to al-Hilla, the connection between the town and the Al Tawus also included that of Ibn Tawus' third brother, Ahmad (d. 1274–5). It is said that he was brought to Hulagu by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274) – a sympathiser with Twelver Shiism, if not himself an acknowledged Twelver – and was gifted a large estate in al-Hilla and died there in 1274–5. He was a teacher of al-Allama. He was the first to offer the formal classification of the Twelver traditions into the four categories of *sahih* (correct), *hasan* (good), *muwaththaq* (trustworthy) and *daif* (weak). With his death, however, the entire remaining male line of the Al Tawus came to an end.⁵

It was in al-Hilla, in 1205, a half-century before the arrival of Hulagu, that Jafar b. al-Hasan, al-Muhaqqiq, was born. From an established scholarly family, al-Muhaqqiq spent most of his life in the town. He had close ties to both contemporary and earlier moderate rationalist Twelver scholars. He studied under his father, as well as a member of Al Zuhra family and Muhammad b. Nama al-Hilli (d. 1239–48), a student of Ibn Idris. As his predecessors among the rationalists of the later Buyid period, al-Muhaqqiq was not at all opposed to involvement with the political institution. Indeed, he established connections with various officials at the Mongol court, including Nasir al-Din al-Tusi. Al-Muhaqqiq also dedicated his *al-Mutabar*, a work on *usul*, to an Imami official at court. His students included those with affiliations both to al-Hilla and also to such other pockets of the community as Abi, Sham (i.e., greater Syria) and Kufa.⁶

The Mongols were not uninterested in Shiism, if not Twelver Shiism in particular. In this period, for example, Ghazan (1295–1304) visited the Iraqi shrine cities and may have had coins struck bearing Shii-type inscriptions. Ghazan also maintained an interest in the family of the Prophet, for example, by establishing hostels for sayyids.⁷

Indeed, in the years immediately following 1258, the Mongols were also witness to the popular veneration for the family of the Prophet's family visible across the plateau, especially in the preceding centuries. In these years imamzadas were established at Shahsavār, Burujird, sites in Qum, Qazwin, Sava, Khuzistan, Varamin, Isfahan, Hamadan, Ishtihard, Nurabad (Fars), Shahrida (Isfahan), Tabriz, Sabziwar, Gilan, Kashan, Amul and Kilardasht. Work was also done on the shrine in Rayy and on another site in Rayy and a site in Bistam.⁸

Al-Muhaqqiq's nephew, al-Allama was born in al-Hilla in 1250, and was of the same Banu Asad tribe of which the town's founders, the Banu Mazyad, were a sub-clan. He witnessed the arrival of Mongols in the region and, as noted, his father apparently assisted in al-Hilla's formal surrender, thereby sparing the town. Al-Allama studied under a series of scholars, including his father and his uncle al-Muhaqqiq, members of the Al Tawus, other al-Hilla-based scholars and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi himself. He also studied under Shafii, Kufa and Baghdad-based Hanafi scholars, and debated with the great Shafii Ashari scholar, Abdallah al-Baydawi (d. c. 1286). He did spend time in al-Hilla, but also in Baghdad and Maragha, site of al-Tusi's famous observatory. His students hailed from Medina, Gurgan, Amul, in Tabaristan, from among Al Zuhra and other Aleppans as well as from the Jabal Amil region of the Lebanon. Several sources note that he became head of the Imami community in al-Hilla.⁹

Al-Allama himself spent much of the mature period of his career in Baghdad, but, more travelled than his uncle Jafar, c. 1309 he settled at the court of the Ilkhanid sultan Uljaitu (d. 1316), especially in the capital of Sultaniyya, near modern-day Qazwin. There it is said that he won a measure of tolerance for the faith. He debated with Sunni scholars at court. His later role in the conversion of the Khan to the Twelver faith is recounted, usually at length, in the major Shii biographical dictionaries.¹⁰ According to these accounts, the sultan ordered the *khutba* throughout the realm to be read in the name of the twelve Imams, and had coins struck bearing the names of the Imams.¹¹

Whatever the case, al-Allama did dedicate a number of works to Uljaitu. His *Kashifat al-Haqq* (*The Unveiling of the Truth*), written at the sultan's request, was a description of the differences between himself and a Sunni cleric with whom he had debated at court in the presence of the sultan. Al-Allama also composed *Minhaj al-Karama fil-Imama* (*The Manner of Nobility on the Imamate*), on the Imamate in general, the proof of the Imamate of Ali and the twelfth Imam in particular, and the invalidation of the rule of the first three caliphs. In his dedication, al-Allama described the sultan as 'the kings of kings of the Arab and Persian peoples'. His *Nahj al-Haqq* (*The Path of Truth*), also dedicated to the Khan, was a similarly basic work on the faith. In both works he cited a tradition attributed to Imam Ali that al-Allama interpreted as predicting the coming of the Mongols, and added that it was based on this text that al-Hilla had surrendered to

the Mongols – according to al-Allama, this was the same text Ibn Tawus had cited to Hulagu. Al-Allama also wrote a short work on Imami *ahkam* in response to questions put to him by Uljaitu, and an essay on prayer and ablutions for a vizier at court.¹²

Twelver sources also suggest that after the sultan's conversion to Imamism, al-Allama began to receive assistance from the sultan for the propagation of the faith and was constantly present at court or with the sultan during his travels. By the latter half of his career, even non-Twelver sources record that al-Allama had become extremely wealthy.¹³

The state of the community

If activity at al-Hilla generally and that of the Al Tawus and, especially, that of the two Hillis was so extensive, [Appendix II](#) suggests that no great recovery of pre-1055 texts occurred over this period beyond, perhaps, the production of copies for individual use.¹⁴

No copies of *al-Mahasin*, *Basair* or *Kamil al-Ziyarat* are recorded, and but three copies of *al-Kafi* are attested. All of Ibn Babawayh's works seemingly disappeared. The same applies to the several works of al-Mufid and al-Murtada. Some of al-Tusi's works seem to have been more accessible: his *tafsir* work *al-Tibyan* fared the best, and there are a very few copies of *al-Mabsut* and *al-Istibsar* dated to this period. His *rijal* works and those of his contemporaries, however, 'disappear' over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the twelfth century Iran-based pockets of the faith had predominated in the region. With the rise of al-Hilla on the intellectual 'map', for each of the next two centuries the situation between Iran and Iraq was more balanced. As suggested in [Appendix I](#), for the thirteenth century – the years that included the 1258 fall of Baghdad to the Mongols – there is a very marked decline in Iran-based scholarly activity that lasted until the sixteenth century. Pending detailed study, it might certainly appear that this decline could be attributed to the Mongol invasion and its aftermath. Certainly, Qum, for example, is said to have suffered terribly during the invasion, and its numbers for this century are markedly lower than for the previous century.

Whatever the cause(s), in the thirteenth century Iraq is associated with a very modest rise in numbers over the previous century. Of the Iraqi sites, the largest cluster is associated with al-Hilla – which experienced a large increase over the previous century – making it the largest centre in the region, although Baghdad was not far behind.¹⁵ Bahrain and Aleppo are accorded eleven.

As for movement between regions, in the thirteenth century scholars travelled from the Hijaz to Baghdad and remaining there, from Isfahan to Baghdad in the 1230s, from Zanjan to al-Hilla, Tabriz to Najaf, from Ramalla to Aleppo, from Tabriz to Najaf, and also before 1258, from al-Hilla to Damascus, to Aleppo and to Egypt.¹⁶

Taken together the overall figures for activity across the region – if not absolutely accurate – are quite a lot lower than for the previous century, mainly owing the Iranian decline.

Over the fourteenth century, al-Hilla's prominence, and that of Iraq generally, grew further, followed by Aleppo and Jabal Amil, such that, again, together the scholars associated with these regions dwarfed those identified with all the sites in Iran taken together. To be sure, Iran does enjoy a slight edge over Iraq, though the difference is small, especially if the numbers attested are taken as indicative and not absolute. Across the century Iran-based figures can also be seen to have gone to al-Hilla, India, Aleppo, Kufa and Damascus. A Yemeni came to Mosul and an Aleppan travelled through Khurasan but returned home.¹⁷ But for this century, as for the previous one, even if, as suggested, the figures cannot be taken as absolute, the overall numbers of active Twelver scholars remain low. If al-Hilla's numbers expanded in these years, however, the city never became as great a centre of scholarship in this period as some Iranian sites had been in the twelfth century.

The jurisprudence of al-Hilla: cautious advances I

Just as al-Muhaqqiq and al-Allama were on good terms with the secular authorities of their times, as were their late Buyid period rationalist predecessors, so each argued for a rationalist form of jurisprudence. The latter necessitated a hierarchical structure of authority within the community during the occultation and, as it had in the past, an especially politically quietist/accommodationist form of theology and practice. Their *ahkam* formulations, however, reveal a cautious and sometimes hesitant, if not also equivocal, manner that, together with their frequent recourse to the traditions, suggests that their views and their authority more generally were contested within the community. Yet again, it appears that the rationalist elites' interpretations were in the minority.

In his *fiqh* work *al-Mutabar (The Contemplation)*, al-Muhaqqiq accepted the need for a class of

The Mongols of the Ilkhanate massacred and enslaved Sunnis but spared Twelvers and their cities from destruction.

<https://twitter.com/SReports2/status/1317246755881308160>

#Shia cleric Ali Raza Rizvi: Allama Hilli said that Imam Ali had predicted Mongol attack on Baghdad and asked Shias not to resist the attackers. Hence Sheikh Tusi met Hulagu Khan and sought permission to take Shia books from Baghdad to Najaf.

The majority of Iranians were Sunnis before the Safavids with minorities of Zaydis and Twelvers so the Mongols sacked and massacred the majority of Iranian cities and castles they came across due to the Persians in them being Sunni.

This talks about the Mongol taking of the Persian city of Isfahan.

<https://twitter.com/Ballandalus/status/606606898490712064>

Interesting excerpt from Ibn Abi al-Hadid's "Sharh Nahj al-Balagha" (ca. 1255) on the Mongol conquest of Isfahan.

وقام بعده ابنه قآن مقامه، وثبت جرماغون في مكانه بأذربيجان. ولم يبق لهم إلا أصبهان؛ فإنهم نزلوا عليها مراراً في سنة سبع وعشرين وستمائة. وحاربهم أهلها. وقتل من الفريقين مقتلة عظيمة، ولم يبلغوا منها غرضاً، حتى اختلف أهل أصبهان في سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وستمائة وهم طائفتان: حنفيّة وشافعيّة، وبينهم حروب متّصلة وعصبية ظاهرة، فخرج قوم من أصحاب الشافعيّ إلى من يجاورهم ويتأخّمهم من ممالك التتار؛ فقالوا لهم: اقصدوا البلد حتى نسلمه إليكم، فنقل ذلك إلى قآن بن جنكزخان بعد وفاة أبيه، والملك يومئذٍ منوطٌ بتدبيره، فأرسل جيوشاً من المدينة المستجدة التي بنوها وسموها قراهرم؛ فعبرت جيحون مغرّبة، وانضمّ إليها قوم ممّن أرسله جرماغون على هيئة المدد لهم، فنزلوا على أصفهان في سنة ثلاث وثلاثين المذكورة وحصروها، فاختلف سيفا الشافعية والحنفية في المدينة، حتى قتل كثير منهم، وفتحت أبواب المدينة، وفتحتها الشافعية على عهد بينهم وبين التتار أن يقتلوا الحنفيّة، ويعفوا عن الشافعيّة؛ فلما دخلوا البلد بدأوا بالشافعية، فقتلوهم قتلاً ذريعاً؛ ولم يقفوا مع العهد الذي عهدوه لهم، ثم قتلوا الحنفيّة، ثم قتلوا سائر الناس، وسبوا النساء، وشقوا بطون الحبالى، ونهبوا الأموال، وصادروا الأغنياء، ثم أضرّموا النار، فأحرقوا أصبهان، حتى صارت تلوّاً من الرماد.

فلما لم يبق لهم بلدٌ من بلاد العجم إلا وقد دوّخوه، صمدوا نحو إربل في سنة أربع وثلاثين وستمائة، وقد كانوا طرّقوها مراراً، وتحيفوا بعض نواحيها فلم يُوغلوا فيها، والأمير المرتب بها يومئذٍ باتكين الروميّ، فنزل عليها في ذي القعدة من هذه السنة منهم نحو ثلاثين

it says there was a conflict between the Hanafis and Shafi'is in the city. Hanafi and Shafi'i are two Sunni Madhhabs (schools). It says the Shafi'is agreed to open the gates for the Mongols in exchange for them killing the Hanafis, but when they opened the gates, the Mongols then massacred the Shafi'is and then massacred the Hanafis, the Mongols slaughtered all the Sunnis in the city.

English version here

<https://twitter.com/FikrAlJabarti/status/1204595733845950464>

The rivalry was so bad, that the Shafi'is even helped the Mongols take Isfahan in the hopes that the Hanafis would be weakened.

After Changiz Khān, his son [Ögeday] Qā'ān succeeded him [in 1229/626], reconfirming Chormaghun in Āzarbāyjān. Only Iṣfahān held out against the Tatars and they attacked it repeatedly in the year 1229–30/627. The inhabitants resisted and great numbers perished on both sides. The Tatars, thus, were unable to achieve their goal until disputes broke out among the people of Iṣfahān in the year 1235–36/633. The Iṣfahānīs were divided into two factions, the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfi'īs, between which there was constant and violent open warfare. A group of Shāfi'ī leaders journeyed to the adjacent territories of the Tatars and told them, “come to the city immediately and we will surrender it to you.” This information was relayed to [Ögeday] Qā'ān, son of Changiz Khān who had taken control of the empire after his father's death. He dispatched troops from Qaraqorum, the newly constructed capital, and, moving westward, they crossed the Oxus where they were joined by reinforcements sent by Chormaghun. Descending upon Iṣfahān, they surrounded the city in the year 1235–36/633 as mentioned above. Meanwhile, within the city itself, the Shāfi'īs battled the Ḥanafīs and many were killed. The gates of Iṣfahān were then thrown open by the Shāfi'īs in accordance with their pact with the Tatars, who had promised in return to slay the Ḥanafīs and spare the Shāfi'īs. Yet, when the Tatars entered the city, they fell upon the Shāfi'īs, contrary to their agreement with them. They then turned against the Ḥanafīs and the rest of the population.

[https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?](https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:https://twitter.com/bdaiwi_historia/status/1167886310641586176)

[q=cache:https://twitter.com/bdaiwi_historia/status/1167886310641586176](https://twitter.com/bdaiwi_historia/status/1167886310641586176)

<https://archive.is/VoZiO>

http://web.archive.org/web/20190910214746/https://twitter.com/bdaiwi_historia/status/1167886310641586176

A contemporary witness & historian, Ibn Abi al-Hadid (d. 1258) tells us that in 1235 AD the Shafi'is (Sunni legal school) of Isfahan surrendered the city & helped the Mongols invade, in the hope that the Mongol armies would wipe out their rivals, the Hanafis (Sunni legal school)

Hui Chinese Muslims in Myanmar call Indian Muslims and Bengali Muslims kala or kalar.

<http://eastbysoutheast.com/in-chinas-hinterlands-a-new-life-for-myanmars-rohingya/>

<https://mmtimes.com/national-news/mandalay-upper-myanmar/9998-panthay-muslims-protect-their-name.html>

"no intermarriages with Kala either"

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1287cz8.10>

Islamic Transnationalism - Yunnanese Muslims - jstor

<https://www.jstor.org> > *stable*

by Y Muslims — “No, *no intermarriages with Kala either.*” “Why not?” “Our lifestyles [shenghuo xiguan] are different.” “No intermarriages at all?”

https://books.google.com/nz/books?id=nWPkBQAAQBAJ&pg=PA123&lpq=PA123&dq=%22no+intermarriages+with+Kala+either%22&source=bl&ots=kWMxNV3dc-&sig=ACfU3U1XtY_dIJGwm7lcuYFbCXFmHtqxXg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjGz67tj7LzAhWvdt8KHQNfDN0Q6AF6BAgCEAM

Beyond Borders: Stories of Yunnanese Chinese Migrants of Burma

<https://books.google.com/nz> > *books*

[Wen-Chin Chang](#) · 2015 · Social Science

“No, *no intermarriages with Kala either.*” “Why not?” “Our lifestyles [shenghuo xiguan] are different.” “No intermarriages at all?” “Very few, very few cases ...

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PDF

“No, *no intermarriages with Kala either.*” “Why not?” “Our lifestyles [shenghuo xiguan] are different.” “No intermarriages at all?”.

Since then, Panglong people have scattered to Lashio, Tangyan, Taunggyi, and Kengtung. No more Yunnanese Hui live in Panglong today.”

“What did you do while you were in Tangyan and Kengtung?” I asked.

“I transported goods back and forth between Tangyan and Mandalay. Meanwhile the family also made soy sauce to sell. After moving to Kengtung, I still worked transporting goods until 1963 or ’64 when Ne Win confiscated all shops [*shoupuzi*]. Consequently, there were no goods for transport. We lived solely on soy sauce making. My niece is still running the business.”

“I see. Business in food seems to be popular among Yunnanese,” I said.

“Yes. We were refugees; most countrymen didn’t have much capital for investment. The food business didn’t require much capital. Many Yunnanese made noodles. Kala used to call us *Kauk-swei wala*.”

“What does that mean?”

“Noodle men.¹⁶ In return, we call the Kala *Kali wala*, meaning grooms.”

“How about the term ‘Panthay’? Do you call yourselves Panthay?” I asked.

“We are Chinese Muslims from Yunnan. ‘Panthay’ is the term used by the Burmese. We often call ourselves *musilin* [Muslim] or *huijiao* [believers of Islam].”

“What does ‘Panthay’ mean?”

“Don’t know. It must have been a derogatory term.”

“But young people [Yunnanese Muslims] have adopted it when speaking Burmese?”

“Yes.”

“Do you intermarry with Han people?”

“No, no intermarriages.”

“Why not?”

“Our beliefs are not the same. It is no good to have two religions in one family.”

“How about with Kala?”

“No, no intermarriages with Kala either.”

“Why not?”

“Our lifestyles [*shenghuo xiguan*] are different.”

“No intermarriages at all?”

16. *Kauk-swei* is noodle in Burmese, and *wala* is people (mostly referring to laborers) in Hindi.

“Very few, very few cases. Also very few with the Han.”

“Do you have social or business interactions with Han or Kala?”

“Yes, some people have more; others have less. It varies from person to person. We are Chinese Muslims. We observe Chinese culture [*zhonghua wenhua*] centered on Confucianism, such as filial piety, propriety, diligence, and thrift. Most Hui parents register their children at both Burmese and Chinese schools. In addition, they send them to learn Arabic at mosques or hire private tutors to do the teaching at home. Hui children therefore have to work harder than the Han, as they have one more language to learn. In comparison, we Chinese Muslims are more liberal and gentle than the Indian Muslims, who are religiously more conservative and fundamental and secularly more cunning, quarrelsome, and untrustworthy. You have to be careful. You go to a Kala mosque, you may not be able to find your shoes after you have finished your prayer.”

I smiled at Ma Yeye’s comment about the Indian Muslims. I had repeatedly heard similar remarks from other Hui informants. Finally I asked Ma Yeye if he has been on Hajj pilgrimage. He replied:

“Yes, twice, in 1984 and 1990. My belief has helped me strengthen my faith. Allah is the True Lord [*zhenzhu*]. Everything is predestined by him.”

Ma Yeye’s narration revealed an important part of Panglong history. Perhaps because of decades of chaotic situations and repeated migrations, only the generation over sixty years old knows the facts about Panglong history. Luckily, apart from oral transmission, a small booklet (*Panglong booklet*) written by a Panglong Hui outlining the history was printed in 1998 for distribution. This booklet records the founding of Panglong in 1875, the ambivalent relationship with the surrounding Wa that was characterized by reciprocity as well as warfare, the invasions by the British and Japanese, and the final flight of the Panglong people after the Second World War. Ma Yeye’s narration and the *Panglong booklet* share a similar ethnocentric tone that renders heroic the ancestors’ migration and resettlement experiences. Moreover, the booklet gives detailed accounts of several battles against the Wa that emphasize the remarkable prowess of the Panglong Hui.

The history of the Panglong Hui has seldom been explored. Yegar (1966) and Forbes (1986, 1988) are the two main scholars who have studied it. Their research was primarily drawn from colonial sources supplemented by a few interviews. Their works provide information on the

Yunnanese Hui community in Pyin U Lwin and its religious life and education. He said:²⁴

“Prior to 1972, we didn’t have our own place for prayer and had to pray at Kala’s mosques. In 1972, there were about forty Hui families.²⁵ We set up the Association of Mutual Help for Weddings and Funerals [*hunsang huzhuhui*], helping each other in the organization of these events, which took place at private homes. Every Friday some folks came to pray at my maternal uncle’s towel factory. In 1975, I purchased my maternal uncle’s place—one acre—and donated it for communal use. At that time my business was going quite well. We started to organize a basic Arabic class for our children there. I funded the class for the first ten years. However, we still didn’t have our official mosque. Although we and the Indians [Muslims] follow the same religion, our cultures are different. We take on different habits in daily life. We and the Indians don’t fit together well [*zongjuede gegeburu*]. It’s better that we have our own mosque for prayer following our increased population. In 1986, our community bought another piece of land facing the main road where there was a two-story house. We finally had our own mosque. There were over eighty Chinese Muslim families at that time. Imam Zhang was our first Imam. A few years later we built another two-story building next to the mosque. This new building was used for Arabic class, weddings, and funerals.”²⁶

“My father-in-law was much concerned about the transmission of Islamic faith to the young generation and initiated the organization of a religious school. In 1990, the community founded Zhen Guang Awen-Xuexiao [The True Light Arabic School] at the two-story building [already used for Arabic class]. In the first year, there were only six or seven students and one teacher surnamed Ming, a graduate of a Muslim religious school in Yunnan. We registered the school as a student dormitory. Every month we have to report to the local government the number of students and pay one hundred kyat for each one. We use the second floor of the building for classes and the first floor for students’ accommodations. The school is only

24. A space separates our different conversations in the excerpts that follow.

25. Another informant said there were ten Yunnanese Hui households in 1972.

26. A ceremonial hall was built in 1994 on the land that Mu Dadie donated to the Yunnanese Muslims’ Association of Mutual Help. Weddings and funerals have been organized there ever since.

