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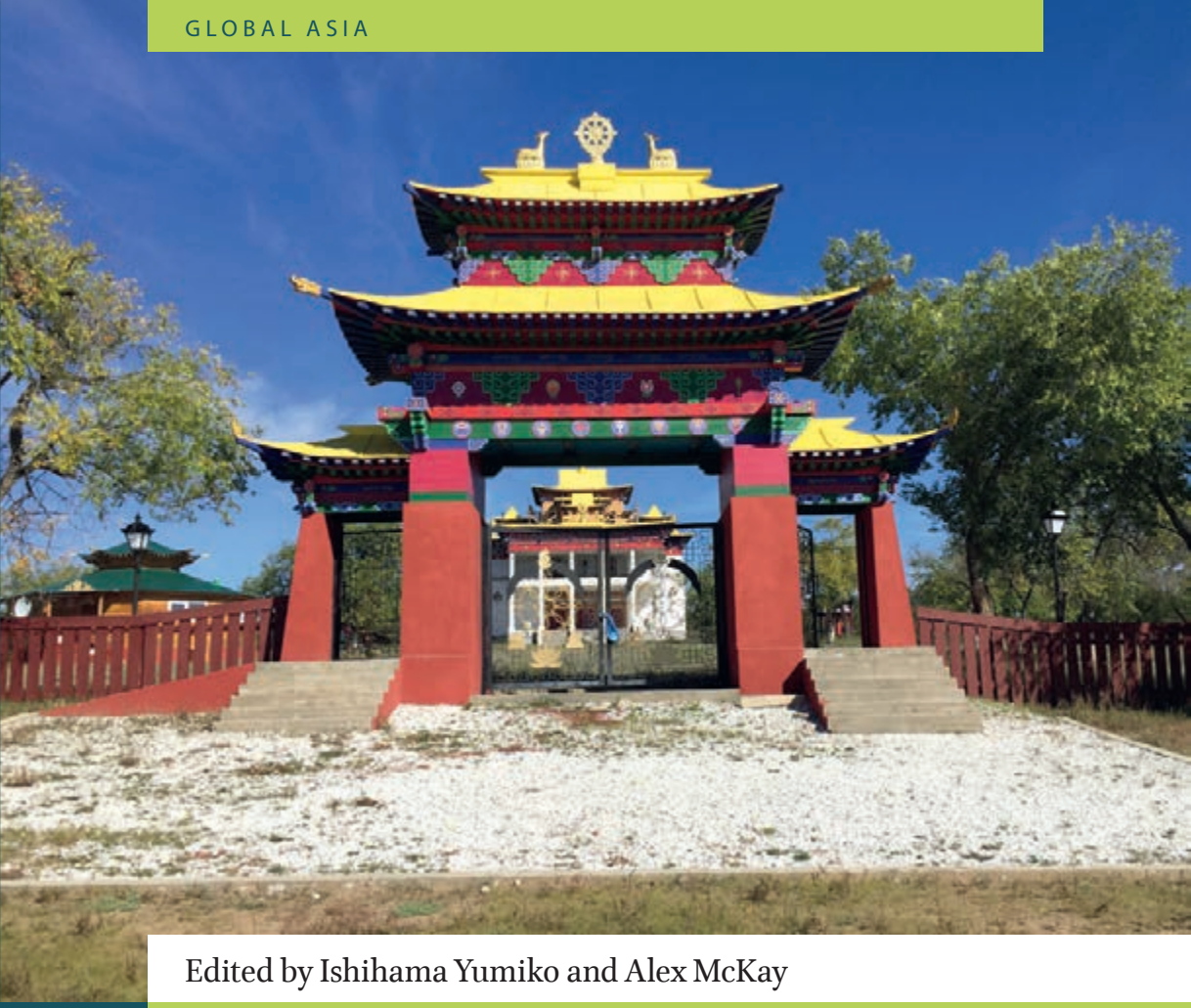

Edited by Ishihama Yumiko and Alex McKay

The Early 20th Century Resurgence of the Tibetan Buddhist World

Studies in Central Asian Buddhism

Amsterdam

Amsterdam University Press

International Institute for Asian Studies

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of the Tibetan Buddhist World

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Publications

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Global Asia 13

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Cover illustration: Tsongolsky Datsan (Tib: dpal ldan 'bras spungs), one of Buryatia's first Buddhist temples, founded as a tent monastery in 1741 by Zayaev, the first Hamba-Lama of the Buryats (© Ishihama Yumiko).

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Preface

The Early 20th Century Resurgence of the Tibetan Buddhist World:[1] *Studies in Central Asian Buddhism* is concerned with events and processes during the late nineteenth and particularly the early twentieth centuries. In a series of articles set primarily in the final days of the Qing Empire when the Russian and British Empires were expanding into Central Asia, this work examines the interplay of religio-social, economic, and political power among peoples who acknowledged the religious authority of Tibet's Dalai Lamas. It focuses on diplomatic initiatives involving the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and other Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs during and after his 1904–1909 exile in Mongolia and China, as well as his relations with Mongols and with Russian Buryat and Kalmyk Buddhists. Particularly notable among the Buryat Buddhists is the Dalai Lama's emissary to Russia, the renowned Agvan Dorzhiev. Deploying many previously unexplored Russian, Mongolian, and Tibetan sources, this work demonstrates how these events and processes shaped the historical trajectory of the region, not least the reformulation of both group identity and political consciousness, and sheds light on the development of national identities and the regional responses of Buddhism to the encounter with colonial forms of Western (in which we include Russian) modernity.

To contextualize the articles that follow, the Introduction outlines their historical background, points out the salient features of the different groups involved, and discusses aspects of the encounter between Buddhism and colonial modernity in Central Asia in the wider context of contemporary Buddhist reform.

We should note that in the face of numerous transcription systems both in the original sources and in the academic world we have not attempted to standardize the English spelling of Asian languages.

This work was arranged by Ishihama Yumiko of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Paris in 2019. We also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Rolf Giebel for translation from Japanese, Nikolay Tsyrempilov and Daichi Wada for their assistance with the Asian-language bibliographies, and Saskia Gieling, Irene van Rossum, Jaap Wagenaar, and Julie Benschop-Plokker at the Amsterdam University Press for their role in bringing this work to publication, as well as the two anonymous reviewers whose comments were a valuable contribution to the final form of this work. We are also

1 The term "Resurgence" is used here with reference to the earlier "Golden Age" of Tibetan Buddhist power and influence during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama (r.1642–1682).

grateful to Professor Tak-Wing Ngo for accepting the manuscript for the Global Asia Series for which he is the Series Editor, and Paul van der Velde and Mary Lynn van Dijk of the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS) for their help in getting the book published.

The article by Ishihama Yumiko and Inoue Takehiko entitled "A Study of Three Tibetan Letters Attributed to Dorzhiev held by the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences" was previously published in Japanese in *Inner Asian Studies* 33 (March 2018): 99–177, under the English title "The Historical Significance of the Three Tibetan Letters Attributed to Dorzhiev in СПбФ АРАН." Our thanks are due to the editors of *Inner Asian Studies* for permission to use this article.

Ishihama Yumiko and Alex McKay, 2021

Introduction

Alex McKay

Historical Background

On November 27, 1904, the thirteenth Dalai Lama arrived in the (Outer) Mongolian capital of Urga[1] almost three months after fleeing Lhasa to avoid capture by invading British-Indian forces. He was, at least initially, greeted with tremendous acclaim;[2] the Mongolians were notably devout followers of Tibetan Buddhism, which is the primary institutionalized religion in eastern Central Asia. Like most Tibetans, most Mongols were followers of the Gelukpa (*dge lugs pa*) sect, of which the Dalai Lama is the most prominent spiritual figure.

However, Outer Mongolia—which was broadly equivalent to modern independent Mongolia—already had its own Gelukpa hierarch. This position originated in 1639, when Zanabazar (1635–1723), the son of a Khalkha Mongol leader, became the head of the Gelukpa order in their polity.[3] Ten years later Zanabazar visited Tibet, where he was identified by the Dalai and Panchen Lamas as the reincarnation of the Tibetan scholar Tāranātha and given the title by which he and his successors were known: Jebtsundamba Khutugtu (Tib: *rje btsun dam pa hu thug tu*; "Venerable Excellent Incarnation").

Zanabazar's incarnation Luvsandambiydonmi (1724–1758) was also found among the Mongol elites, but after he was suspected of supporting a rebellion against the Qing Empire in 1757–1758, the Manchu Emperor decreed that all future incarnations must be found in Tibet.[4] A succession of (apparently

1 Known to the Mongols as *Ikh Khuree* ("Great Circle"), the Mongol capital was originally a mobile palace, or *örgöö*, from which term the Russians derived *Urga*.

2 Chuluun & Bulag, *Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, 6. This work contains a valuable collection of primary sources on the Dalai Lama's exile in Mongolia.

3 On Zanabazar, see Bareja-Starzynska, *Biography*.

4 Bawden, *Modern History of Mongolia*, 261–263; Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 26–32; Powers and Templeman, *Historical Dictionary of Tibet*, 745.

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non-elite) Tibetan-born youths were subsequently identified and sent to Urga to inherit the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu throne.

The Qing Empire (1644–1912) was established by Manchu Jurchen clans, who had ancestral links with the Mongols. Like the earlier Mongol Yuan dynasty (c1215-1368), the Manchus patronized—if not adopted[5]—Tibetan Buddhism. Indeed, their authority over the religion became central to their imperial strategies. During the seventeenth century they instituted a series of marital alliances with Mongolian elites that resulted in neutralizing the power of the Chahar and other Mongol clans in the eastern realms, dividing their lands and fracturing their political unity. As the Qing expanded their empire westwards, they divided Mongolian territory into two realms: Inner Mongolia, which was administered by the *Lifanyuan* (Ministry for Outer Regions), and Outer Mongolia, which was indirectly dealt with via Qing-appointed military governors.[6]

These efforts to weaken the Mongols were aided by internal disputes between the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia, the Khoshuts in the region now known as Amdo, and the most powerful of the tribal confederations, the Dzungars. The latter was predominantly composed of the Oirat clans, and their realm was centered around what is now Xinjiang. In 1756–1757 Qing forces wiped out the Dzungars, the last of the great Central Asian Mongol nomadic empires, albeit, in the wider context at the cost of fracturing established trading patterns and bringing economic collapse to Central Asia.[7]

Tibet also came under the indirect authority of the Qing Emperor during the eighteenth century;[8] at the beginning of the twentieth century both Tibet and Outer Mongolia still acknowledged the overlordship of the Qing Empire.[9] But although the Qing were the dominant power in Central Asia

5 See Grupper, "Manchu Patronage."

6 See Oka, "Extension of Control." On the Qing as an imperialist power and their administrative system, see di Cosmo, "Qing Colonial Administration" 134-39.

7 Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, 225–229, 232–240.

8 The standard work on which remains Petech, *China and Tibet*.

9 The precise nature of this relationship cannot be defined with terms deriving from the modern Nation-State model. The British used the term "suzerain" because of its imprecision and the absence of a definition of "suzerain" in international law. However, "suzerain" (or its equivalent) does not appear in contemporary Asian sources. In Japanese scholarship the term is not used; see Takashi Okamoto, ed., *World History of Suzerainty*, particularly the articles by Tachibana Makato, "Somewhere between 'Independence' and 'Autonomy': Translating Concepts in Modern Mongolian": 177–98) and Kobayashi Ryōsuke, "The Political Status of Tibet and the Simla Conference (1913–14): Translated Concepts in Modern Tibet": 199-215). This work is available online from the Toyo Bunko institute at:https://toyo-bunko.repo.nii.ac.jp/index.php?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_snippet&index_id=1303&pn=1&count=20&order=17&lang=japanese&page_id=25&block_id=47

during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, by the early twentieth they were no longer strong enough to protect Tibet and Mongolia from foreign intervention.

While the Qing Dynasty dominated vast swathes of central Asia, their authority did not manifest in the forms and structures of a Nation-state, which developed in the West as the "modern" form of statehood. Instead, both Islamic and Buddhist polities in Central Asia followed a political model of a "ritual" or "mandala" state: polities were defined by their centers; sovereignties merged in their frontier zones rather than being defined by fixed borders; and semi-autonomous polities often acknowledged being subject to more powerful nations or empires. Inter-state relations therefore consisted of dynamic historical formations in time and space—the result, for example, of cosmological understandings such as the *chö-yön* ("patron-priest") relationship between the Qing Emperor and Tibet.[10]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Qing Empire went into a terminal decline, weakened both by internal corruption and stasis and by external threats from the foreign states that increasingly dominated China's port cities and eastern population centres. China's ability to intervene in, or even influence, Central Asian affairs was correspondingly greatly reduced in practice, although ritual acknowledgement of her status continued to act as a stabilizing factor that was generally valued on the principle of *après moi les déluge*. While the Qing declined, the Russian state began to fill the regional power vacuum.

In the late sixteenth century, after freeing themselves from the rule of the Mongols' Golden Horde, Muscovy had begun to expand into Siberia. In 1647 they established their first settlement on the Pacific coast[11] and, starting with the 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk, began negotiating their border with the Qing. Their eastward expansion also brought the Russians into contact with the Mongol homelands. The 1727 Kiakhta Treaty fixed Russia's border with Outer Mongolia, incorporating into Russia the Buryat (or Buriat) Mongols, whose traditional realm was around Lake Baikal. Russia subsequently encouraged ethnic Russians to settle in this border region, thereby separating the Buryats from their Mongolian kinsmen.[12]

10 For a recent examination of the history and implications of these "traditional" Asian political forms and their understanding in the Chinggisid Mongol, Tibetan Buddhist, and Confucian Sinic worlds, see Timothy Brook et al., *Sacred Mandates*.

11 Beckwith, *Empires*, 224.

12 Forsyth, *Peoples of Siberia*, 169.

After its defeat of Napoleon in the early nineteenth century Russia was recognized as a major European power. While other European nations established African and Asian colonies, Russian imperialism manifested in rapid expansion into Central Asia, where it added 400,000 square miles to its territory between 1855 and 1881. After taking Tashkent in 1865, Russia used it as a base for invading the Islamic Khanates of Samarkand, Bokhara, Khiva, and Merv over the next two decades. They also established a Russian consulate in Kashgar under the terms of the 1860 Treaty of Peking,[13] remaining a powerful force in Xinjiang for the next 60 years.

However, the scope for further Russian expansion was limited by their Foreign Ministry's concern with the opinion of Britain and other nations that profited from a weakened China but feared the instability that would follow any break-up of recognized Chinese territory. This was of particular concern for the British, for whom the security of their Indian colony was of paramount importance. From the 1870s onwards, elements within the British colonial Government constructed a "Russian threat" to India, contending that Russian expansion across Central Asia would culminate in their invasion of north-west India. In the late 1890s that same—largely imagined—threat was re-imagined as aimed at the Indo-Tibetan frontier. Since it was obvious that Russia's forces could not sustain an invasion of India via Tibet, the reimagined "threat" involved the "subversion" of India by small numbers of Russian agents. Thus, while the British were aware that Russia's empire included Buddhists who looked to Lhasa as their highest religious authority, they still became highly suspicious of any indications of Russian presence in Tibet.[14]

Since 1792, Tibet had refused to allow any Europeans—including ethnic Russians—to enter their territory.[15] They saw the Christian nations as threatening their Buddhist faith and, as the British extended their authority over the Himalayan states that abutted Tibet's southern frontier, Tibet became increasingly concerned that this process would culminate in the British attempting to take over Tibet. In response, the Tibetans refused even to accept British diplomatic correspondence. They were supported in this by their Chinese overlords, who similarly feared a British invasion of China from the south-east. While various individual Europeans did cross Tibet's

13 Share, "Russian Civil War," 394.
14 McKay, "19th Century British Expansion," esp., 71–72.
15 Engelhardt, "Closing of the Gates," 229–246.

frontiers during the nineteenth century, the exclusion policy prevented all but three of them from reaching Lhasa.[16]

To counter this prohibition, during the latter part of the nineteenth century British India used so-called *pandits* (or *pundits*) to explore and map much of the Tibetan plateau. These pandits were native to the Indian hill-states and were therefore able to cross the frontiers by posing as pilgrims or traders. Once in Tibet they used clandestine methods to record their journey and map the route.[17] While their journeys were initially confidential, they were subsequently described in official publications and discussed at meetings of learned bodies such as the Royal Geographical Society—meaning that the Russians were aware of them. With their own population, including Asian Buddhists, also accustomed to traveling to Tibet, Russia began to explore the potential of doing the same.

During the nineteenth century, the ninth to twelfth Dalai Lamas all died young or after only a brief period in office. This meant that power in Tibet was contested between the Qing's representatives (*Ambans*) in Lhasa and the Dalai Lamas' Regents and other high-ranking Tibetan prelates such as the Panchen Lama. In 1895 Nawang Lobsang Tubten Gyatso (1876–1933) was installed as the thirteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet, having been confirmed as the reincarnation of his predecessor in 1877 and enthroned in the Potala in 1879. During his traditional monastic education, the Dalai Lama was allocated teachers in various aspects of Buddhist theory and practice, and in 1888 he had come under instruction from a Khenpo ("Abbot") from Gomang college of the great Drepung monastery. That Khenpo, a Buryat lama, was Agvan Dorzhiev (1853/4–1938).[18]

Tibet's policy of isolation became increasingly problematic for British India as it expanded its authority up to the Tibetan border, culminating in 1888–1889 with the takeover of Sikkim, a Himalayan Buddhist state under Tibetan influence. The British officially recognized Tibet as under Chinese "suzerainty," and therefore attempted to deal with Tibetan issues through negotiations with China. However, the terminal decline of the Qing Dynasty had weakened Peking's authority over Tibet to the point where it existed more in theory than in practice and the attempts at negotiation proved futile.

The Government of India saw Tibet's isolation policy and refusal to correspond with them as both insulting and potentially destabilising for

16 The three visitors were the Englishman Charles Manning, in 1811, and two Lazarist priests, Huc and Gabet, in 1846. None of them were politically significant.

17 See Waller, *Pandits*.

18 Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia*, 34–35.

their frontier regions. With the accession of Lord Curzon to the Viceroyalty, British Indian hopes of dealing with Tibet through China were effectively abandoned. Identifying the situation in Tibet as a "Russian threat" to India, Viceroy Curzon began to plan an invasion that would open Tibet to British Indian influence. That invasion, which the British commonly termed the "Younghusband mission" after its leader, Colonel Francis Younghusband (1863–1942), was to culminate in entering Lhasa and establishing British influence there. Both the Dalai Lama and Dorzhiev left for Mongolia before the British entered the Tibetan capital. It soon became clear to the British that, while no European Russians had been in Lhasa, two groups of Russian Buddhists did have access to Tibet: the Kalmyks and the Buryats.

The Kalmyks

The Kalmyks were Oirat Mongols with origins in the Altai region. The Oirat confederation comprised four major tribes (the Dzungar, Torghut, Dörbet, and Khoshut) along with a number of minor groups.[19] In the mid-sixteenth century, the forces of the first Tsar of Russia Ivan IV (r.1538–1584) conquered the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates. Since commerce was the main driver of Russia's eastward expansion, the Oirats—who were then centered in western Mongolia—were permitted by the Russians to trade through Astrakhan to the southeast.[20]

In 1615 the Oirat confederacy accepted Buddhism[21] and became, like most of the Mongols, followers of Gelukpa Tibetan Buddhism and thus of the Dalai Lama—who at that time was himself a Mongol.[22] In 1632, following earlier movements to the southeast, a substantial group of Oirats (largely from the Torghut clan), migrated to their current home on the northwest shores of the Caspian Sea and to the north of Dagestan. It appears they initially retained their ties with Lhasa: Shükür Daichin, the eldest son and heir of the Kalmyk *taiji* ("leader"), is recorded as visiting Lhasa in 1642 and 1650 and as being received there by the Dalai Lama. Later Kalmyk leaders also visited Lhasa, where their *Khan* title was confirmed by the Dalai Lamas.[23] However, strife in the neighboring Oirat Khanate of Dzungaria and Russian

19 Takehiko, "Reigniting Communication," 69–82.

20 Avery, *Tea Road*, 115.

21 Schwieger, *Dalai Lama*, 47.

22 This was the fourth Dalai Lama, Yongten Gyatso (1589–1617), a descendant of the Tumed Mongol leader Altan Khan (1507–1582) and thus of Kubilai and Chinggis Khan.

23 Bormanshinov, "Kalmyk Pilgrims," 1–3.

reluctance to allow them to pass through Siberia meant that the Kalmyks were increasingly unable to travel to Lhasa. After 1755–1757, direct contact apparently ceased entirely.[24]

While Kalmyk and wider Oirat relations with Russia oscillated throughout this period,[25] the Kalmyks were increasingly drawn into the expanding Russian state, with their lands settled by Russian and Ukrainian immigrants and their religion challenged by Russian Orthodox missionaries. In January 1771 the last Khan, Ubashi, led those dwelling on the eastern side of the Volga back to Dzungaria. Struck by disease and attacked along the way by their Turkic tribal enemies, only around a third of Ubashi's followers survived to reach the western border of the Qing Empire. They had little option but to surrender to the Qing, who destroyed their clan unity by dispersing them to five different locations.

Those who remained in Russian territory were effectively cut off from Tibet and lost their autonomy. While their Buddhist community continued to be led by the Šajin ("Supreme") Lama, whose monastery (*khurul*) was near Astrakhan,[26] he was appointed to this position by the Russians. A number of Kalmyks remained in Astrakhan and Stavropol provinces, while most of the remainder lived around the lower Don River. There they merged with the Cossacks and, particularly after they contributed to defeating Napoleon, the region was increasingly integrated into the Tsarist state.[27]

As Russia expanded across Asia and the Qing Empire went into a terminal decline in the nineteenth century, Russia became increasingly interested in establishing ties with Lhasa, not least as a way to control their growing Buddhist population in the former Mongol realms. For this reason, they stopped the effective ban on Kalmyk pilgrimage to Lhasa. From the 1870s Kalmyks began to visit Ikh Khuree (Urga) to pay homage to the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu. Then in 1891 the Astrakhan Kalmyk Lama Baaza-Bagchi Menkedzhuyev (1846–1903) reached Lhasa, some 135 years after the last known Kalmyk visitor there. The result was the "rediscovery" of their Kalmyk co-religionists by the Tibetans and even the Mongols.[28]

In Lhasa, Menkedzhuev met Agvan Dorzhiev, the Russian Buryat whose closeness to the thirteenth Dalai Lama so concerned the British Government of India. He invited the Buryat to his homeland, and in 1898 and again in

24 Takehiko, "Reigniting Communication," 69–70.

25 For an account of the rise of the Oirat Dzungar (Junghar) Empire, see Beckwith, *Empires*, 226–229.

26 Bormanshinov, "Kalmyk Pilgrims," 4.

27 Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia,* 56; Takehiko, "Reigniting Communication," 72.

28 Takehiko, "Reigniting Communication," 70–73.

1902 Dorzhiev visited the Kalmyk regions. From this time on, a sense of shared Buddhist heritage and wider shared interests can be seen to have increasingly bound the two communities together.

Buryats

The Buryats of southeastern Siberia were among the later Mongol groups to adopt Buddhism. As with other Mongol clans, this was largely—although not entirely—at the expense of shamanism, which influenced the Mongol forms of Buddhism and survives as a separate and even overlapping practice to this day. There is evidence of earlier Buddhism in the Buryats' Baikal homeland,[29] primarily among those who emigrated out of Khalkha Mongolia, but according to traditional histories Buddhism only became firmly established there after 1712, when 150 Tibetan and Mongolian Lamas moved into Buryatia. More reliable is an account of three Lhasa-trained Buryat monks returning to their homeland in the 1720s.[30] The earliest Buryat "temples" were established in yurts, with the first dedicated monasteries (*datsan*) being built in 1730.[31]

The 1727 Kiakhta Treaty made the Mongols to the north of the new border Russian citizens, and is therefore "considered a canonical beginning of the formation of Buryatia as a separate community."[32] In the year following the Treaty, "foreign" (i.e., Mongolian or Tibetan) lamas were banned from entering what was now Russian territory and Buryat Buddhism began to project a distinct local identity. In 1741 the Empress Elizabeth is said to have issued a decree recognizing Buryat Buddhism as independent of Mongol and Tibetan Buddhism, thereby acknowledging it as a legitimate Russian religion.[33]

Soon after, a Buryat lama named Damba Darzha Zaiaev (1710/11–1777) returned to Buryatia after spending around seven years studying in Lhasa. He was the most prominent of those who established the foundations of later Buryat Buddhist structures. In 1764 Zaiaev was appointed the Supreme

29 See for example Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia,* 4, who cites a Mongol missionary who set up a yurt temple there in 1701.

30 Majer and Teleki, "Origin and Spread," 477–497.

31 Bernstein, *Religious Bodies Politic*, 3; Heissig, *Religions of Mongolia*, 38.

32 Bernstein, *Religious Bodies Politic*, 2–3.

33 Nikolay Tsyrempilov has pointed out, however, that there is no known copy of this decree and as Elizabeth had only been in power for a month she is unlikely to have taken up this issue in that time: see Tsyrempilov, "Kogda Rossiia," 96–108.

Lama of Buryatia by the Russian government and took the title of Bandido Khambo ("Learned Prior") Lama.[34]

While they continued to look to Lhasa as the center of their faith, many of the Buryat Buddhist elites received a modern scientific education in Russia. Orthodox Christian missionary activities also had a considerable impact, particularly among Buryats to the west of Lake Baikal. The result was that certain elements of the Buryat Buddhist establishment developed a more cosmopolitan worldview as well as an understanding of the Christian construction of the category of "religion" and what it considered the appropriate manifestations of a religion in both personal and institutional terms.

The Buryats' understanding of both Tibetan Buddhist and Russian imperial worlds made them ideally equipped to act as mediators between the Buddhist and Christian worlds. By the mid-nineteenth century a generation of cosmopolitan Buryat intellectuals had emerged and become embedded in academic (and medical[35]) institutions in Saint Petersburg and Moscow. The most historically prominent of this generation was Agvan Dorzhiev.

Dorzhiev grew up in a traditional Buryat Mongol setting before traveling to Urga in 1868 for religious instruction at the age of 14. Five years later he traveled to Lhasa and entered Drepung's Gomang college. Dorzhiev subsequently studied under a number of renowned teachers, traveled to sacred sites of Tibetan Buddhism such as Wu t'ai shan, and received his Lharampa degree in 1888. He then became an instructor in Buddhist logic and debate and—a sign of the esteem in which he was held—was appointed as a tutor to the young thirteenth Dalai Lama. With far greater knowledge of the outside world than most Tibetan monastic hierarchs, Dorzhiev soon became the Tibetan leader's principal political advisor and, in the face of Qing decline, counseled Tibet to look to Russia for support against the growing threat from the British. Around the turn of the century he traveled to Europe, India, Sri Lanka, and most importantly Russia, where he was received by Tsarist ministers. He appears to have become the main channel for communications between Russia and Tibet—in effect, the Dalai Lama's "emissary to the Tsar."

In Buddhist understanding, Dorzhiev's diplomatic endeavors were inseparable from his religious activities. He continued to give teachings

34 Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia*, 4–6; Andreev, *Soviet Russia and Tibet*, 3. While Bandido Khambo is remembered as a title given by Russia, it is more probable that Zaiaev himself claimed the title and had it approved when he visited Moscow in 1767; Bernstein, *Religious Bodies Politic*, 7.

35 On Pyotr Badmayev, a well-connected Buryat convert to the Russian Orthodox faith and practitioner of "Tibetan medicine" (*sowa rigpa*) in St. Petersburg at this time, see Saxer, "Tibetan medicine."

and perform initiations during his travels and collected offerings to build and support various Buddhist institutions. His mediation between nations and elite factions in the trans-national Buddhist world was entirely in keeping with the traditional role of an advanced Buddhist practitioner. To contemporary British eyes, however, Dorzhiev's religious activities were considered a cover for intelligence activity on behalf of the Russians. News that he was not only close to the Dalai Lama but had also visited and been officially received in St. Petersburg was used to further support the British Indian case for forcing access to Lhasa.

Dorzhiev was one of several turn-of-the-century Buryat and other Russian Buddhists to travel to Lhasa. Other prominent visitors were Gombozhab T. Tsybikov, a Buryat graduate of St. Petersburg University who visited Lhasa twice in 1899–1902, and the Kalmyk lama Ovshe Norzunoff. While each of their journeys were intended as a personal religious matter, they were of wider interest in their geo-political context. Tsybikov's first journey was financed by the Russian Geographical Society and both he and Norzunoff returned with photographs of the Tibetan capital—the first to reach Europe. Thus, despite the ban on European Russians entering Tibet, Russia's Buddhist citizens provided the opportunity for it to obtain far more information on events and personalities at Lhasa than the British could.[36]

Colonial Critiques and Buddhist Reform

The nexus between power and knowledge in an imperial context is well known, with studies demonstrating the process by which information was gathered, collated, and translated into the bodies of knowledge used by colonial governments to maintain their rule. During this process, authority over such knowledge passed from the indigenous "knowers" of culture, geography, language, and so on to the European compilers and collators of that knowledge, and the translated and compiled knowledge often took on an "official" status through its use and dissemination by the government.[37] As Asian elites increasingly received a Western education—as did non-elites,

36 The political implications of Russian citizenship were known to the Buryat and Kalmyk visitors to Lhasa. Andreyev, for example, notes disturbances between groups of Buryats at Drepung, in which one group accusing the other of being Russian. Many claimed to be Mongolian to avoid such issues. See Andreyev, *Tibet in the Earliest Photographs*, 89. On Tsybikov and Norzunoff, see Andreyev, *Tibet in the Earliest Photographs*; Tsybikov, *Buddhist Pilgrim*.

37 Foundational studies of this process include Bayley, *Empire and Information*, and Richards, *Imperial Archive*.

often through missionary schools—their lessons about their own history and culture drew on such European-authorized bodies of knowledge. In this way, colonized subjects imbibed the critiques of their own society that were embedded in the knowledge they studied through the preconceptions and misunderstandings of the authorized compilers.

The international flow of knowledge grew considerably in the nineteenth century, and its dissemination among the European intelligentsia came to be considered a part of imperialism's higher purpose beyond narrow economic and political concerns. Following the formation of the French Geographical Society in 1821, Britain (in 1830) and Russia (in 1845) also established their own such societies. Knowledge of new discoveries passed quite freely between these organizations.

Academic studies had a similar trans-national readership, and the nineteenth century saw archaeological discoveries of historical Buddhist sites and the emergence of textual studies of Buddhism, particularly the study of Pali texts, by European (including Russian) scholars such as Fyodor Shcherbatskoy (Stcherbatsky), Hermann Oldenberg, Eugene Burnouf, and Thomas Rhys-Davids. In what is now a well-known process,[38] the Western understanding of Buddhism was shaped by its own concept of religion as a distinct analytical category and studies came to prioritize the authority of texts above observable practice.

In the Pali texts scholars such as Rhys-Davids (1843–1922) found a sophisticated philosophical exposition attributed to a spiritually-orientated figure whose historical existence seemed to be confirmed by archaeological findings. That textual exposition seemed in stark contrast to the observable practice of Buddhism, with Mahayana and Tantric developments seen by Victorian scholarship as a degeneration of the "pure, original" philosophy of the Buddha. European observers thus concluded that Buddhism was a once-enlightened philosophy that had been adulterated by "primitive superstition" and "Tantric licentiousness," and had consequently degenerated into an empty ritual practice. This apparently authoritative critique convinced many Buddhists of the need to reform various elements of their faith.

In the later nineteenth century, a Buddhist reform movement arose as a response to the European colonial encounter and its associated critique of their faith. The reform movement was not specific to any tradition, although it was frequently associated with specific nationalisms. Many of its most

38 See, for example, Almond, *British Discovery of Buddhism*; Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-La*; McMahan, *Making of Buddhist Modernism*. For a concise examination of the issues that gives due weight to the archaeological developments, see Huber, *The Holy Land*, 251–290.

prominent concerns were actually "traditional" issues such as monastic discipline[39]—the subject of European critiques but also an issue of concern to Buddhism from its earliest phase. In other words, European critiques of monks' behavior were neither original nor external to Buddhism, but rather tended to support a tendency that had long existed within Asian Buddhism. The encounter with Western colonial modernity may therefore be better understood as bringing out and adding weight to certain existing tendencies in Asian societies and creating the conditions for those tendencies to become organized movements, rather than introducing entirely new concepts to Asian thought.[40]

After all, during its long history the Buddhist religion has undergone a series of transformations and redefinitions, not least the Tibetan absorption of Mahayana and Tantric ideas. Indeed, calls for reform are almost characteristic of Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhist history includes great figures such as Atiśa and Tsongkhapa who were celebrated reformers of monastic practice and standards, and there were internal debates and reform movements throughout its history.[41] Thus the religion was never a static body of knowledge as conceived by the Europeans who studied it, instead existing in different times and spaces in forms that were subject to and created by constant negotiation as a result of internal, external, and even personal forces. As Alasdair MacIntyre pointed out, "any historically imbedded tradition must involve internal dissent."[42]

As Asian political formations were transformed ("modernized"), the ideology of religious nationalism, or linking national identity to a "national" religion, became a part of the regional anti-colonial movement towards independent nation-states. However, the importance of this movement in Central Asia should be problematized. While independence movements

39 For an examination of this issue in the context of the reforming bent of the Sikkimese heir Sidkeong Tulku (1879–1914), see Jansen, "Monastic Guidelines," 597–622.

40 For example, in the mid-nineteenth century—before Rhys-Davids began his study of the Pali manuscripts and founded the Pali Text Society to translate these works into English—the Thai Prince Mongkut (later King Rama IV) had already "insisted on the necessity of a renewed study of the classical *Pali* texts." Wertheim, "Religious Reform Movements," 54.

41 A nineteenth-century example of a dissenting tendency within Tibetan Buddhism that had lasting significance was the ecumenical movement known as the *rimé* (*ris med*: "non sectarian"). While it had earlier progenitors, it appears to be an internal reformation with no obvious external influences. On the *rimé*, see Samuel, *Civilized Shamans*; and see Mathes & Coura, *Nonsectarianism.*

42 Humphrey and Ujeed, *Monastery in Time.* Quotation from 4–5 summarizing MacIntyre's work (the source note is, however, apparently in error); see also the surrounding remarks on tradition, 4–7.

in Sri Lanka and the Theravadin states of Southeast Asia including Burma and the Tibetan independence movement of the later twentieth century explicitly articulated an anti-colonial agenda, the early Russian Buddhist reformers did not. In fact, with Tibet in need of a new patron due to the collapse of the Qing,[43] Dorzhiev sought to bring Tibet under the protection of the Russian Empire. Other Buryat and Kalmyk travelers such as Tsybikov and Norzunoff were also well placed in Russian society and traveled under Russian patronage.

Dorzhiev promoted the reform of Buddhist beliefs and institutions. His concern with standards of behaviour in the monasteries saw him speak out against corruption, the use of alcohol and tobacco, and breaches of the requirement for celibacy; in line with both Gelukpa and Christian orthodoxy, he also condemned the practice of sacrifice.[44] As a Russian Buryat, his reformist views were also shaped by "the specific Russian understanding of what normative Buddhism should look like."[45] His distinctly Russian central Asian Buddhist response certainly owed something to the historical experience of Qing domination and observations of the growing power of the British to the south. It also reflected the distinct historical trajectories of (Muscovite) Russian engagement with Buddhist central Asia. As was the case with Russian foreign policy, this encounter was characterized by a dialogue between diverse aims, tendencies, and constraints rather than a single unified movement or ideology. Those who served on the expanding eastern frontier tended to be far more critical of the society and cultures they encountered than the academic and ideological forces at the imperial center were.[46] Imperial Russian perspectives on central Asian Buddhists were to a large extent shaped by developments in the construction of a Russian identity that embraced the idea of Russia as a "bridge" between Europe and China. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, its Asian realms increasingly came to be seen as an essential part of Russian identity. Scholars at the Oriental Faculty at St. Petersburg University—which was Russia's preeminent Asian studies center during the period with which we are concerned—lent academic credibility to this understanding of Russia's Asian heritage.

While there were a multiplicity of perspectives on Asia and its peoples, the concept of Asia as the European "Other" was less hegemonic in Russian

43 On the thesis that the Tibetan system required a patron, see Klieger, *Tibetan Nationalism*.

44 Inoue, "Reigniting Communication," 75–77; Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia*, 90–93.

45 Tsyrempilov, "From the Faith of Lamas," see paragraph 10.

46 See for example Przhevalsky's statements cited in Rayfield, *Dream of Lhasa*, 65, 69.

intellectual and national discourse compared with other European states. The result was to limit the extent to which late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Russian government activities in Russian central Asia were shaped by an ideological distinction between a colonizing power and colonial subjects; in the early Soviet period, this led to new formulations of ethno-nationalism that contested Tsarist imperial policies.[47]

This specifically Russian encounter with central Asia helps explain why the early Russian Buddhist reformers felt able to negotiate with St. Petersburg rather than immediately engaging in an anti-colonial struggle. The more extreme demonstrations of Russian military force were aimed at Islamic principalities such as Bukhara and Khiva; it was only with the collapse of the Qing and Tsarist Russian empires that modern Buryat or Kalmyk nationalisms became prominent, although an alternative political model in the form of a Pan-Asian Buddhist political confederation had emerged earlier. This model envisaged a Tibetan Buddhist polity politically centered in Mongolia and embracing the Tibetan Buddhist states on both sides of the Himalayas. Conceptualized by a range of prominent individuals in the early twentieth, if not late nineteenth, centuries, this political alternative apparently never progressed beyond imaginings.[48] Dorzhiev's travels in South and Southeast Asia meant he at least heard about the potential of a wider trans-national unity of Buddhists promoted by the Mahabodhi Society. While neither Dorzhiev nor any Tibetan Buddhist leaders joined this society,[49] the Eleventh Buryat Khambo Lama Choindzin Iroltuyev (1843–1918) does appear to have established relations with its founder Dharmapāla during a pilgrimage to South Asia in 1898.[50]

The Buddhist reform movement in Central Asia may also have contained elements that reflect other contemporary social, intellectual, and political debates within Russia. In a recent article examining the transition from Buryat Tibetan to "Global" Buddhism, Nikolay Tsyrempilov (whose work is also represented in this volume), observes that Dorzhiev, as "the leader of the pro-reformist faction in the Buryat sangha," was concerned with the "economic parasitism of the local Buddhist community."[51] This was

47 On the Russian Orientalist experience, see Oye, *Russian Orientalism*, which emphasizes the artistic aspects of the encounter; and Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient*.

48 I have not located a proper study of this concept, but among those who envisaged its possibility were the British Indian Political Officer Charles Bell and the Russian mystic Nicholai Roerich, as well as Dorzhiev.

49 Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-La*, 250.

50 Tsyrempilov, "From the Faith of Lamas," paragraph 38.

51 Tsyrempilov, "From the Faith of Lamas," paragraph 43.

a common accusation by colonial observers, who frequently described the monastic community as "idle," "parasitic," "an economic drain," "non-productive," and so on. But monasticism was prescribed in the earliest Buddhist texts and had remained a defining characteristic of the Buddhist world, so it is difficult to locate an internal critique of this socio-economic system (other than claims of the spiritual superiority of non-monastic "wandering" practices). Even Christian critiques of Buddhist monasticism, coming from a faith in which monasticism was associated with admirable piety, concerned corruptions of the system rather than the system itself. It is possible that this specifically economic critique could reflect the emerging ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels that were soon to become the basis for the Russian Revolution.

Any reform movement seeks a divergence from the existing system and thus challenges the authority of those upholding that system. Given that the Central Asian Buddhist elites exercised political power, the Buddhist reform movement represented a wider challenge than simple doctrinal contestation, it challenged the ruling political elites. In practice, however, the political challenge that emerged was primarily that of religious nationalism—the nation as a territory held by those of shared ethnicity and belief. Thus Tibet and Mongolia might be imagined as nations, so too could Buryatia and Kalmykia. Scholars have suggested that the Central Asian elites saw modern political forms—the Nation-State—as their best hope for survival in the face of the seemingly inexorable Chinese expansion, for within a Chinese empire they would become a minority in their own lands.[52]

It is certain that the Buryats' encounter with Russian civilization and its Orthodox faith contributed to their self-identification of their Buddhist faith as a defining characteristic of Buryat identity.[53] As the increasing influx of Russian immigrants into Buryatia stimulated a sense of Buryat nationalism,[54] their belief system became a part of that nationalism, which increasingly took on modern political forms of expression. To some extent the relations and shared aspirations of the Buddhist realms of Central Asia (notably the Mongol–Tibet Treaty of 1913), can be seen in terms of a "collaborative nationalism,"[55] but the mega-events (i.e., the colonial

52 See, following Owen Lattimore, Sneath, "Competing Factions," 90–94.

53 Tsyrempilov points out, however, that in the mid-nineteenth century, only 60 percent of Buryats were Buddhist: the remainder had either adopted Orthodox Christianity or remained shamanists. Tsyrempilov, "From the Faith of Lamas," note 4.

54 Bernstein, *Religious Bodies Politic*, 22.

55 "Collaborative Nationalism" refers to nationalists who depend on outside allies; see Bulag, *Collaborative Nationalism*.

encounter, WWI, etc.), involving the great Asian empires of China, Russia, and Britain prevented any linear progression toward the achievement of the nationalists' aims. It was only after the collapse of the Qing Dynasty that Mongolia and Tibet claimed independence, and only after the Russian Revolution that the Buryats gained acknowledgement of their identity with the 1923 formation of the Buryat–Mongol Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that there were multiple historical trajectories and a complex interplay of tradition and reform that shaped the religious and political formations that emerged in this region during the period with which we are concerned. The articles that follow contribute to our increasing understanding of those many histories.[56]

A Note on Sources

One feature of this volume is that the articles herein are based on primary and secondary sources that are in many, if not most, cases unknown to Western scholars. They include primary source material in a variety of languages from the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, the Russian State Historical Archive, the National Archive of the Republic of Kalmykia, the State Archive of the Republic of Buryatia, the Archives of the National Museum of the Republic of Buryatia, the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, and the Archives of the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Naturally these sources represent perspectives that may not be immediately apparent to readers lacking a wider knowledge of the historical background, political context, inter-departmental imperatives, individual and collective ideologies and ambitions, bureaucratic strategies represented by certain arguments advanced in the documents, and so on. Given the empirical focus of the studies presented here, interrogation of the sources through consideration of these and other related aspects has not been a priority of the authors.

We might note, however, that while policy formation (if not necessarily implementation), was largely—and with improved communications, increasingly—the result of negotiations at the center, the Russian Empire under the Tsars, like the contemporary British and French empires, gave a specific kind of authority to reports of "the man on the spot." Thus the

56 Also see, Yumiko Ishihama et al. *Resurgence of "Buddhist Government."*

Russian consuls, military officials and demi-official explorers and agents such as Pyotr Kozlov (1863–1935) and Nikolai Przhevalsky (1839–1888), as well as Buddhist pilgrims from within the Russian empire, were all considered important sources of information. While the reports of non-European agents were understood within contemporary European historical and political paradigms, comparisons with Mongolian and Tibetan sources that express themselves within traditional worldviews seem to suggest that there was considerable convergence of many basic conclusions. While there is a duplication of documents between different archives, there is also a considerable amount of material that has been effectively hidden for much of the preceding century and, in that sense, this work is exploratory rather than definitive.

Contents

The first five articles in this collection are primarily centred on the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's exile in Mongolia in 1904–1906 after the British invasion of Tibet (the "Younghusband Mission"). The opening paper by co-editor Ishihama Yumiko examines the political and religious activities of the Dalai Lama during his exile in Mongolia. It first describes the Tibetan leader's extensive religious activities as an exemplar of proper Buddhist practice: stimulating temple-building, promulgating monastic codes (*bca' yig*), ordaining monks, and presiding over rituals. It then demonstrates the Dalai Lama's impact on identity formation among the Mongol clans by showing how his sojourn there brought together three major figures of later Mongol nationalism. The three Mongol hierarchs (from the Khalkha, Kokonor, and Buryat Buddhist communities), are prominently mentioned in the thirteenth Dalai Lama's Tibetan biography, and were influenced by the Dalai Lama's invocation of the national consciousness of the local inhabitants to work for Mongol unity after their long separation under Qing and Russian rule. This imprimatur of their supreme religious leader revitalized their national movements. This paper also touches on the problematic relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu that developed when both Gelukpa hierarchs were located in Urga, concluding that disputes over monastic discipline were at the heart of their apparent differences.

In the second paper, Daichi Wada draws on Russian, Chinese, and Japanese sources to analyze the exiled Thirteenth Dalai Lama's diplomatic activities in Khalkha and Qinghai. He discusses how these manifested both

traditional and modern aspects of Tibetan Buddhist diplomacy and how, when his use of "modern diplomacy" was limited by the circumstances, his "traditional diplomacy" became more effective. In demonstrating how the Dalai Lama's worldview was enhanced by his travels, the author particularly focuses on the Dalai Lama's relationship with the Buryat Buddhist community, which in some aspects represented Russian interests but also held traditional ties with the Tibetan Buddhist center. His work also sheds light on the opinions of various Russian officials as they considered their policy options in light of their close observation of the Dalai Lama's activities.

Makoto Tachibana's article concerns the neglected economic aspects of the Dalai Lama's Mongolian exile. The Dalai Lama's presence there created problems in that his stature eclipsed the authority of Mongolia's highest incarnation, the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu. As a result offerings that would have been given to the Mongolian leader were instead gifted to the Tibetan one. At the same time, the Dalai Lama's presence bolstered the political power of the Mongolian incarnation, as became apparent in the 1913 Treaty between Mongolia and Tibet. Tibetans accompanying the Dalai Lama also became an important economic presence in Mongolia, and in the final part of the paper the author discusses the implications of this presence after 1913, when the two states afforded each other mutual diplomatic recognition amidst claims of independence. In Mongolia, Tibetans enjoyed tax-free status and the protection of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu until 1921, when the People's Government gained political power. Tibetan economic interests may have been a factor in their joining of the unsuccessful revolt against the new Government on behalf of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu.

Sergius Kuzmin's paper draws on Russian and Mongolian archives to discuss the relationship between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu in the context of their joint hopes for future independence. While China sought to continue a policy of using Mongolian Buddhists to influence the Dalai Lama, under Russian protection during his exile he was in contact with elements of the Mongolian movement for independence. This association continued after the two states had broken away from China, with, for example, Tibetan troops (in the forces of Baron von Ungern-Sternberg) assisting with freeing the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu in 1921 after he was taken prisoner by the Chinese. These ties continued into the 1930s, when individual Tibetan hierarchs were involved in local resistance to the Soviet-guided suppression of Buddhism in Mongolia led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. While demonstrating that China

tried to sow dissension between the two incarnations, Kuzmin also argues that the Russo-Mongolian Agreement of November 3, 1912, indicates Russia's recognition of Mongolia as an independent state which enabled Mongolia to conclude an international treaty with Tibet in the following year. This was despite Russian doubts about the validity of the 1913 Mongolia-Tibet Treaty.

The article by Ishihama Yumiko and Inoue Takehiko discusses copies of three letters from the private collection of the Russian Orientalist Fyodor Shcherbatskoy (Stcherbatsky) that were found by Inoue in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The three undated letters, annotated translations of which are included, are attributed to Dorzhiev but, as shown here, two were actually written by the Kalymk leader Tshe ring zla 'od, one to the Dalai Lama and the other to Tsar Nikolai II. Only the third is by Dorzhiev, and is a friendly greeting addressed to the four Tibetan students who studied at Rugby school in England from 1913–1916. In this letter Dorzhiev indicates that he intends to visit England during his European sojourn, although the question of whether he ever did so remains open.

The following three papers center on events and processes among the Buryat and Kalmyk Buddhists within the Russian Empire during the period under consideration. Baatr Kitinov's paper examines the internal and external factors that influenced the late nineteenth century revitalization of Buddhism among the Kalmyk population of Russia. Using Russian archival sources, he demonstrates the process of transregional personal interaction which influenced the development of the *obnovlenchestvo* (Renovation Movement) among the Buddhists of the Russian empire. He also draws attention to the importance of the revival of Tantric practices and demonstrates how the Russian authorities allowed and even encouraged, but also monitored Buddhism in their empire and modified their religious policies as a result of those observations. The trans-national revival of Buddhism (which for the Kalmyks he traces to around 1860, when the Mongols discussed finding the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu incarnation among the Russian Kalmyks) reduced the spatial significance of geographic location while developing in conjunction with the emergence of ethnic identities among Russian Buddhists.

Inoue Takehiko's paper demonstrates how, despite Russian authorities' support for the Orthodox church and early nineteenth-century efforts to assimilate the Kalmyks by reducing the number of Buddhist temples and their attendant monks, the Don Kalmyks (those living around the Don river) still cultivated the support of the Russian authorities. The author gives the example of the opening of a school for Kalmyk children on the

birthday of Tsar Nikolai in 1839. The school was intended to produce Kalmyk Russian-speaking translators and clerks—and using the Russian reports of the event Takehiko illustrates the various perspectives of the participants, including the Russians' efforts to instill loyalty to the Tsar in the Kalmyk community. He also points out that Buddhist monks played a vital role in the co-opting of the Don Kalmyks into the Don Cossack, a special entity that could serve as a bridge between Orthodox and Buddhism. Although the period considered by Inoue is earlier than our title allows, strictly speaking, his article establishes how Kalmyk Buddhist monks played a significant role as intermediaries between the Tsar and the ordinary Kalmyks from an early date, although their deployment as agents of Russian diplomacy was a later phenomenon.

The chapter by Nikolay Tsyrempilov uses a hand-written account of the 1896 coronation of Tsar Nikolai by a member of the Buryat deputation to highlight Buryat Buddhist perceptions and interpretations of the meaning of the enthronement ceremonies. The 1896 coronation was the first major event of its kind at which both secular and religious leaders from the Buryat Buddhist community were granted official representation. Tsyrempilov demonstrates how their presence gave the coronation new meaning within the frames of their religious worldview and Buddhist conceptions of kingship, in which the Russian Tsar had come to be associated with the White Tārā. In describing the Tsar as a "*cakravartin,*" the Buryats transformed their journey into a spiritual practice, a creative interpretation of a sacred geography that allowed Orthodox Christian Moscow to become a Buddhist paradise on earth.

The final paper is the sole contribution that considers Inner Mongolia; in general, our use of "Mongolia" refers to Outer Mongolia (i.e., today's independent Mongolia). Hamugetu's paper is an important indicator of the continuing role of Tibetan Buddhism within Inner Mongolian society and government despite their being under Qing authority. It focuses on the activities in China and Inner Mongolia of one twentieth-century Buddhist hierarch: the Seventh lCang-skya, spiritual head of the Geluk lineage of Tibetan Buddhism in Inner Mongolia. Articulating a modern ideology of the separation of church and state, the lCang-skya sought to protect the interests of Tibetan Buddhist society from both the Chinese government and Inner Mongolian nationalists by accommodating both forces, while simultaneously seeking to reform Tibetan Buddhism in Inner Mongolia on modernist lines. Hamugetu argues that, contrary to previous descriptions of this neglected figure, his attempts to reconcile

tradition and modernity were primarily motivated by religious considerations, and that the modernization process was in itself a religious movement.

Collectively, these articles add to our understanding of the interactions of prominent Central Asian religious and political figures as well as the complex web of ethnic and sectarian interactions with the great empires of the time. They demonstrate how, in a period when forms of Western modernity were impacting regional societies and producing new forms of ethnic and national identity, both traditional and re-imagined forms of political and diplomatic intercourse shaped the immediate future of the region in the years before and immediately after the final collapse of the Qing and Tsarist empires. Traveling throughout Asia and even to Europe in furtherance of their specific and wider interests, trans-regional Buddhist hierarchs were at the center of these events and processes.

As an innovative collection of papers concerning a cohesive subject area presented by scholars using different (and largely previously unknown in the West) sources, this volume's authors naturally reach different opinions and conclusions on various matters discussed here. One obvious example is the question of the alleged tensions between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the Mongolian Jebtsundamba Khutugtu during the Tibetan hierarch's stay in Mongolia. As stated above, the evidence presented here should be taken as preliminary evidence that will eventually contribute to concensus about such topics.

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