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THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO MONGOLIA

Sh. Natsagdorji (Ulan Bator)

/Translator's Note. This is Chapter Two, mongol orond šaryn šašin nevtren delgersen n' (literally, "The Penetration and Spread of the Yellow Faith in Mongolia"), pages 12-19 from the book (cover title) Xalxiin tūūx "History of Khalkha" or (title page) Manjiin erxšeeld baisan üveiin xalxyn xuraanqui tūūx "Collected History of Khalkha of Times under Manchu Domination (1691-1911)", published in Ulan Bator in 1963 (284 pages) by the native Mongolian historian and scholar, Sh. Natsagdorji.

---John R. Krueger⁷

The introduction and spread of the Yellow Faith in Mongolia was the most important happening on the Mongolian scene in the second half of the 16th century.

The history of the first penetration and spread of Buddhism in Mongolia and of its one branch, the Yellow Faith, must be considered in three stages: first, the period of the Great Empire of Mongolia; second, the period of feudal decay; and third, the period of submitting to Manchu authority.

During the period of the Great Empire the Mongolian feudal lords used to defend Buddhism so as to exploit their own political goals. The Mongolian khans adopted Buddhism in the period of the Great Empire, and the nomads abandoned shamanism, but at no one time was everyone Buddhist. Some lama historians try to make Chingis responsible for Buddhism being disseminated within his realm, and although it has often been written that an emissary was sent to the Grand Lama of Tibet, Gungaanyambuu, no facts have as yet been found to confirm this.¹

1. According to George N. Roerich, Gungaanyambuu lived prior to Chingis. See Yu. N. Rerikh, "Mongolo-tibetskie otnošeniya v XIII i XIV vv", in Filologiya i istoriya Mongol'skikh narodov, pp. 335-336. /Translator's note: the dates given for his life are 1098-1158⁷

The lama historians have written that Ögedei Khan (1228-1241), who ruled after Chingis, invited Gungaajantsan, the grand lama of the Sakyas, from Tibet, and supported him. However, some have written that it was not Ögedei but his son Godan who invited Gungaajantsan. Godan was the second son of Ögedei Khan. In some religious works, e.g., the hor-chos-'byuñ of Zawaa Damdin, Godan went to the land of Shara Tala in Koko Nuur in 1234, and became the Khan of that land. After inviting the lama Gungaajantsan in 1247 to the city of Lanchow located at the junction of China, Tibet and Mongolia, the gurus and disciples jointly revered and honored him. It has even been written that Gungaajantsan, who only made some changes in the Mongolian script by order of Godan Khan, became famous as having created a new Mongolian script. Godan would have been connected with Gungaajantsan by nearness of location, and if it is true that Gungaajantsan came to the city of Lanchow in 1246, the statement that Ögedei Khan invited Gungaajantsan and that lamas and disciples worshipped him is false, because Ögedei Khan had already died.

Khubilai Khan (1260-1294) intended to exploit the Buddhist religion during the Mongolian Empire period and make it conform to his own political interests. Khubilai, having subdued Tibet, promoted hP'ags-pa Lama to be the grand national preceptor and had him administer Tibet. Thus it is noteworthy that when Lama Gungaajantsan came to Mongolia by invitation of Godan Khan in 1245, hP'ags-pa Lama accompanied him. At this time, they say, hP'ags-pa Lama was a lad of eight years. Finally, in 1253 Khubilai invited hP'ags-pa Lama, who was then eighteen years old. When one considers these things, it is clear that the post-Gengiside khans, Godan and Khubilai, by bringing the Tibetan lamas over to their side, and by the assistance of them, had established a policy of factually administering Tibet. Although Khubilai had elevated hP'ags-pa Lama to be the national preceptor, he himself had probably not yet adopted Buddhism. According to Marco Polo, Khubilai venerated all religious and not only just Buddhism, he observes. It is clear that Khubilai defended whatever religion was politically useful to support his regime.

The second expansion of Buddhism, or specifically of its one branch the Yellow Faith, coincides with the period in which the Great Empire fell and the decay of Mongolian feudalism began. At this time, Buddhism or namely the Yellow Faith was not only dispersed among the aforementioned ruling classes but entered among the herdsmen-arats and began to take mastery of their minds.

Beginning from the second half of the sixteenth century the Mongolian feudal lords actively participated in making the Yellow Faith expand in the territories under their dominion. The fact of the Mongolian feudalists suddenly becoming disposed in mass toward religion was not motivated solely by religious reasons but was chiefly impelled by their aim to exploit the influence of the Yellow Faith. The promulgation of the Yellow Faith was connected with the fact that the feudals were going to accept assistance from religion so as to pacify the discontent of the masses who had lost their perspective by being exhausted with the incessant armed conflicts of the feudals, and moreover to come out bodily ahead of everyone. In this regard, the rulers of Mongolia were not particularly to be distinguished from European rulers who had been striving to find the support and aid of the Pope at Rome for their own political reasons.

The very first of the Mongolian feudal lords to exploit the Yellow Faith after the Yüan dynasty for purposes of reinforcing and advancing his own might and influence was the aforementioned Altan Khan. In 1577 Altan Khan respectfully invited from Tibet the Third Dalai Lama, Sodnamjamtso (1543-1588), and had him come to Mongolia, and had the other Ordos feudal lords submit to religion, beginning with himself. There is no room to doubt the fact that Altan Khan, the most powerful and influential of the Mongolian feudal lords, established a policy to rule, unite and subject Mongolia to himself with the aid of the Yellow Faith. It is clear that Altan Khan and Sodnamjamtso regarded themselves as the future continuers of the joint religion-state developed by Khubilai-ḥP'ags-pa Lama. At the grand ceremony held in connection with the assumption of the new faith and the abandonment of shamanism, Altan Khan elevated Sodnamjamtso to be the head of the entire Yellow Faith, bestowing on him the title of Dalai Lama, and Sodnamjamtso approved and accepted the employ by Altan Khan of all the titles of Khubilai Khan. Sagang Sechen, in his history the Erdeni-yin Tobḡi, describes in detail Altan Khan's acceptance of the Yellow Faith, the inviting of Sodnamjamtso to the Ordos territory, and the great ceremony held. At this ceremony Altan Khan and Sodnamjamtso noted the fact that the joint religion-state development at the time of Khubilai-ḥP'ags-pa Lama had diminished and ceased at the time of Khan Togan Temür, and jointly agreed, according to protocol, to make religion again be powerfully expanded. Altan Khan and the Dalai Lama, so as to produce a special law about this, commissioned Sečen qung taiji (1540-1586) to compose and perfect a religious codex. This Sečen qung taiji, one of the great influential Ordos feudal lords, was the great-grandfather of the famed historian Sagang Sechen, and very actively participated with Altan Khan in establishing the Yellow

Faith in Mongolia. Because Se²cen qung taiji was a learned and cultured man for his times, it must be a foregone conclusion that he would compose such a religious canon.

Se²cen qung taiji, when he composed his religious codex, used the Arban buyantu nom-un cayan teuke composed at the time of Khubilai Khan.² In the religious codex composed by Se²cen qung taiji, such laws were indicated as the following.

- A. When interring the dead, it is prohibited to kill camels and horses by immolation.
- B. Every year and every month, one must hold a fast and refrain from killing livestock.

2. The real source of the Tsagaan Tüüx has not been transmitted to our times. But it is conveyed by Se²cen qung taiji's additions and subtractions, etc., and by his adaptations and adjustments. It seems that the content of the old Tsagaan Tüüx is almost completely retained in the Tsagaan Tüüx adapted by Se²cen qung taiji which is in our possession. Se²cen qung taiji used the two sources of the Tsagaan Tüüx which belonged to him when composing his religious prescriptions. The one source is the Tsagaan tüüx found by Se²cen qung taiji from the city of Sungcu, and the other is the source which kuo-shih Barnashir (Branasiri) had. When Se²cen qung taiji based himself on the source found in the city of Sungcu, because there were deficiencies in it, he (then) based himself on the old source of Barnashir kuo-shih and performed the work of basic revision. If one consider this, there is no doubt that the source which belonged to Barnashir is the very oldest source. When one critically views the names of the many lamas who translated books and sutras from Tibetan in the time of Altan Khan, the name of Barnashir is not encountered.

In a small article called "On the White History" (i.e., the Tsagaan Tüüx) published by me in 1956, I wrote that Barnashir may possibly be the same one mentioned in the Yuan dynasty annals (Sh. Natsagdorji, Tsagaan tüüxiin tuxai, Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ulan Bator, 1956). In 1959 when I went to Köke Khoto, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of the Chinese People's Republic, amidst numerous books shown me unselfishly by colleagues of the Office of Language and History Study, I discovered one source of the Tsagaan Tüüx. This source is rather similar to the source in our State Library. However, the words "composed in the first year of Chih-shun" on its outer cover attracted my attention. It seems from this that

- C. The tsorji is to be of equal rank (before the law) with a qung taiji; the rabjamba and gabju with a taiji; and the gelong, tabunang, qonjintai, monks, nuns, male-novices and female-novices, with the onligüd (minor taijis). If an ordinary arat lays hand on them, curses or insults by word or speech, they are to be punished similarly to (their) having struck a qung taiji or a taiji.
- D. If lamas take wives contrary to doctrine they are to be driven and chased from the temple and cloister. If male-novices and female-novices kill sentiments and break their vows, they are to be unfrocked; if monks and novices drink strong liquors, one is to confiscate all their things; and so on.

Altan Khan and Sodnamjamtso each individually set up agreements, apart from ratifying this religious codex, regarding freeing the lamas from duties of the hunt, of travel and military service, and of exemption from taxes and imposts.

It is indisputable that Altan Khan's having established a religious codex by the above-mentioned conversations with Lama Sodnamjamtso was directed towards fortifying and increasing his might and power above all else. Altan Khan's new tactics, in the second place, were directed against Tümen jasagtu Khan, that is clear. It is well-known that Altan Khan did not accept without protest the fact that Tümen jasagtu Khan had established a centralized government grouped about the Six Tümen and that he administered and socialized Mongolia. Thus Altan Khan revived the basic historical pattern in which mutual liaisons had been established between Khubilai Khan and ᠬᠡᠮᠡᠳᠦᠭᠦᠰᠡᠯᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠢ ags-pa Lama, and through the support of Lama Sodnamjamtso who held Tibetan influence, was himself the continuator of Khubilai Khan's affairs, and set as his goal to make himself be generally accepted and approved as "Khan of All Mongolia."

(Footnote 2 continued)

the Tsagaan Tüüx was first composed at the time of Khubilai, and in Togh-temür's time (1330-1333), namely in 1330, was probably adapted once again. The Uighur kuo-shih Barnashir mentioned in the introductory section of the Tsagaan Tüüx is the Barnashir who was the national preceptor at the time of Togh-temür, and it seems, beyond doubt, that he must be the one who executed this important task when the Tsagaan Tüüx was revised a second time.

The fact that the leader of the Yellow Faith of Tibet, Sodnamjamtso, established relations with Altan Khan was no haphazard affair. After the collapse of the Yüan, when there was a decay of the feudalists who had originated in Tibet, the lamas, who were in the majority in this country, took advantage of the sudden loss of strength of the common feudal lords, and in the second half of the sixteenth century formed two groups, the yellow-hatted or Tsong-khapa religion adherents, or the red-hatted or Garmaa religion adherents. Since it was a time when they were mutually fighting, Sodnamjamtso, head of the Yellow Faith, strove to get the active support of the Mongolian feudal lords in his own struggle against those of the red sect. The fact thus of Sodnamjamtso having established relations with the Mongolian feudalists, what is more, preserved a dual purpose of displacing the attacks of the Mongolian feudalists, specifically the attacks of Altan Khan, who were constantly besieging the Koko Nuur Tibet, the Tanguts and the Yellow Uighurs.

Because Altan Khan passed away in 1582, Sodnamjamtso, who was interested in uninterruptedly maintaining the status quo, came in 1585 to Mongolia for a second time. While Sodnamjamtso was conducting talks and strengthening relations with Senggedüüren, the son who continued Altan Khan's reign, Senggedüüren passed away in the same year. By reason of the Dalai Lama's cohorts, (namely) Altan Khan, Khutuqtu Sečen qung taiji and Senggedüüren having passed away one after the other, it became immensely important to establish relations with the feudal lords who were influential in Mongolia itself. After Altan Khan died, the standing of the Western Tümed gradually deteriorated on account of its sphere of influence having almost vanished, and the Dalai Lama was desirous of establishing relations with the grand feudal lords of the Three Eastern Tümed, specifically, with Tümen jasagtu Khan, who was powerful at that time.

Tümen jasagtu Khan, when Altan Khan was inviting Sodnamjamtso from Tibet in 1576 and adopting religion, in the same year invited Garmaa, the manifest unifier of Tibet, honored him as guru and disciple, adopted religion and performed the task of disseminating religion among the people subject to him.³ Considering this, it is clear that Altan Khan and Tümen jasagtu Khan were mutually competing with each other to spread religion. That lama whom Tümen jasagtu Khan invited in 1576, the Red Mouse year, was a red-hat lama.

3. Sagang Sečen, folio 133. (Transl. Note. See the Urga manuscript (Haenisch, 1955), page 133, folio 67-b. It is p. 200 in Schmidt's edition.)

In view of this, it is evident that there was acceptance of support and aid from Mongolian feudal lords by red and yellow hat alike. But the fact that Tümen jasagtu Khan considered the might and influence of the yellow hats to be great (shows that) establishing relations with the Dalai Lama must have been considered important. After Altan Khan died, he invited Sodnamjamtso to his country two times, and though managing to accept the last invitation and go, he passed away in 1588 in a place called Jirimtei.

An interesting event occurred at this juncture. The Tümed feudal lords took advantage of the occasion and decreed that Sodnamjamtso's future rebirth had been reborn in the house of Sümer qung taiji, nephew of Altan Khan. Thus the Lord of Tibet, the Dalai Lama and leader of the Yellow Faith, was a grandnephew of Altan Khan. The fact that the Tümed feudal lords caused the leader of Tibet to be reborn within their midst was clearly the result of a careful policy decision on political grounds. It is beyond doubt that the Tümed feudal lords had as their goal the making of their Dalai Lama into a weapon, bringing Tibet under their power and uniting all Mongolia. The Tümed feudal lords and the lamas allied with them lauded in every way the new incarnation of the Dalai Lama, and the Mongols by reason of hearing this publicity did such things as taking food and provisions and coming to have audience, saying that a thousand leagues was not far, and daily filled the portals and gates, and called (him) respectfully "the little khubilgan"--- such are the actions of those times which Hsiao Ta-hsiang described clearly.⁴ But the Tümed feudal lords were unable to maintain their zealous policy for long.

After Altan Khan accepted and promulgated the Yellow Faith, the Mongolian feudal lords began to imitate and follow him. Abutai (1554-1588), one of the feudal lords of Khalkha, hearing that Altan Khan of the Tümed had accepted religion and that his fame had greatly spread, came in 1577 to Köke Khoto, the capital of Altan Khan, in propria persona, and met Sodnamjamtso the Dalai Lama. They agreed mutually together to promulgate the faith in Khalkha and the Dalai Lama gave him the title of Khan.

4. Hsiao Ta-hsiang, folio 47 Mongolyn zan zanšilyn tuxai temdeglel" (Notes on Mongolian customs and manners) appeared in the periodical Mongol tүүх xel (Mongolian History and Language) in Inner Mongolia, issue 2 of 1960, translated by B. Altan-bagana.⁷

When Abutai returned to his territory he strove mightily to disseminate the Yellow Faith. Soon Abutai's fame greatly enlarged and he came to be in a position to administer all Khalkha exclusively. Up to this time there had been no person in Khalkha with the title of Khan. The efforts of the Mongolian feudal lords who intended to exploit the Yellow Faith as a weapon, unify Mongolia and strengthen their own authority, come out very clearly in the times of the very last Khan of all Mongolia, Ligdan. The Oirat feudals, like the Inner Mongolian and Khalkha feudals, were beginning to accept and promulgate the Yellow Faith.

Whereas this Mongolian feudal lord was trying to build up strength politically by the aid of this very Yellow Faith, the Ming dynasty was (also) striving to make this important Yellow Faith a reliable weapon when administering and pacifying their warlike aggressive neighbors of the northern marches. The special nature of the times when religion was spreading in Mongolia is also a factor in it. The Ming dynasty skillfully took advantage of the relations established between Altan Khan and Sodnamjamtso of Tibet, in the first place, by restoring the relations with Tibet which were interrupted after the collapse of the Yüan dynasty, transmitted via Altan Khan, and gradually, so as to bring Tibet in and make it come under their jurisdiction, directly encouraged and supported the fact of the Mongols adopting the new religion, and established a policy of making the powerful warlike nomads soft and keeping them ignorant by the doctrines of religion. Even Sodnamjamtso, who was striving to find aid and support from without, on account of the internal struggles which were gaining strength in Tibet, through such (procedures) as establishing mutual relations with the Mongolian feudalists and working through them, had as his goal establishing mutual relations with the government of the Ming Dynasty. Sodnamjamtso, for all of 1573, rendered tribute to the Ming dynasty Khan, transmitted via Altan Khan, and dispatched a letter, gifts and such materials so desirous of mutual interpenetration, it is said.⁵

Sodnamjamtso, after the death of his ally Altan Khan, continued to strive considerably for a rapprochement with the Ming dynasty. When he went to Mongolia for the second time, after receiving the emissary sent by the Ming dynasty emperor, he was on the point of going at the Khan's invitation when he expired. After Sodnamjamtso died, when the Tümed feudal lords

5. Yanu, Mongolyn orčin üyeiin tūxiin xyanan nyagtlax bičig (freely, "The Book of Detailed Research on Mongolian Contemporary History"), third part, Mongolian State Library. (According to his Bibliography, p. 279, a manuscript in four parts, translated from the Japanese by Altan.)

had the future rebirth of the Dalai Lama reborn in the house of Sumer qung taiji, the nephew of Altan Khan, the Ming emperor was striving to effect a rapprochement by such things as greatly honoring and venerating the newly emerged khubilgan. The Ming dynasty, by pursuing a policy of defending the religion expanding in Mongolia in various ways, was attracting them to themselves by such things as bestowing every year all kinds of favor and rank on the lamas in Mongolia.⁶

Although the Ming Dynasty did not take the initiative in introducing and making the Yellow Faith spread to Mongolia, it is indisputable that they directed special attention thenceforth to spreading and reinforcing this religion which had already begun to spread and penetrate. This is correspondingly proven in the Sheng-wu ki where it says that the nobles of the Middle Kingdom, Jan-Jui Jen and Wang Ching-ku, by skillful manipulation according to circumstances not only broke off the fires of war which had lasted fifty years on the borders, but brought about 200 years of political peace.

Whereas the Ming dynasty had supported and defended the introduction of religion into Mongolia with the aim of tranquilizing the nomads, the Manchu dynasty which succeeded the Ming gave this policy still more encouragement and when fighting, ruling or oppressively administering Mongolia, adroitly exploited the Yellow Faith.

Finally, it is well-known that the Mongolian feudal lords, when they adopted the new Yellow Faith as a policy of political goal, and caused it to expand, hung it on the masses by force.⁷ Thus the lamas, so as to part the masses from the

6. Hsiao Ta-hsiang, folio 47; Yanu, op. cit., 3rd part.

7. Zawaa Damdin, in his composition called "The Melody of Laughter, the Conch of supreme doctrine in Mongolia of the northern marches", has written as follows about how they made (people) worship and render service to the new faith in Inner Mongolia:

"The Khan (=Altan Khan) forbids the Mongol nation: One is not to kill horses and livestock for the punya of deceased beings; lamas are to worship the Rare and Sublime, and to give blessing and salvation; every encampment is to burn its idols in the fire and in their stead to elevate the White Offering in the image of Mahakala; to observe a fast recounting the Refuge of the Jewel. If former practices are not broken off, heads will be taken by law or goods confiscated and banishment effected, etc. Such are the things prohibited. Let there be promulgated to the ten directions the sound of the Imperial decree of the ten white virtues!"

old shamanism and to introduce them to the new religion, employed such ways and means as letting some of the things which they couldn't bear to part with remain as they were, or altering them but little, or making them conform to religious practice.

Considering what Hsiao Ta-hsiang has written, it seems that the Mongolian populace came deeply under the sway of the new religion in a very short time. Hsiao Tahsiang wrote:

"The character of the Mongol is wild and fierce, and he continues to be uncultured. Since the rendering of tribute and the establishment of relations, they are worshipping Buddha. The Mongols have iconshelves and offerings in their yurts and are accustomed to worship Buddha images. When eating and drinking they always offer the choicest, and when going in and out, they are accustomed to bow reverently. Every rich man builds a special temple and greatly venerates the objects of worship, invites lamas and clergy and has scripture read, and every day is wont to burn incense, bow and make sacrifices. If silver turns up when conducting trade or commerce, it is always made into a Buddha. From the Khans of Mongolia down to the ordinary commoner, if one meets a lama, they all always kneel and bow nicely. A lama is accustomed to give only the adhistic-blessing with his right hand on the head. Both men and women, old and young alike, are all accustomed to chant mani-prayers with rosary in hand. They also make a frame, two or three yamqu high, from gold and silver and put the sakius (guardian)-deities in it, and hanging it from the left armpit, do not allow it to be parted from their persons, whether sleeping, lying, eating or drinking."⁸

Thus in our opinion it is insufficient to say that the reason the Yellow Faith vanquished shamanism in a short time, dominated popular consciousness, penetrated deeply into the social order and became a powerful category of immensely great influence, was due merely to the employ of pressure and coercion. Further, it seems similarly unsatisfactory to say that the Yellow Faith conquered in this way through its impressive external majesty and ritual ceremony, by being able to draw to itself the masses of faithful who were incomparably more numerous than (those of) shamanism. In my opinion, perhaps it could be said, apart from the above reasons, that the historical circumstances of Mongolia of that period had opened a way for the new religion to find an easy foundation in people's hearts. The Yellow Faith, in contrast with shamanism,

8. Hsiao Ta-hsiang, folio 47.

prohibits the shedding of blood and teaches quiet patience.

The practice of making people believe that by dint of devotion and worship they would eradicate the basis of all suffering, find a good rebirth in a future life and be able to possess worldly happiness in that life, enabled them to deceive the intelligence of the masses who were exhausted from countless wars and fights and wished to live in peace. At that time, the people were desirous of living in peace without war and strife. In this connection we are able to observe and cite the statement of Khutugtai Sečen qung taiji. Altan Khan, when he was trying to have the Dalai Lama, Sodnamjamtso, come to Mongolia, had him decamp at the new temple established at Čabčiyal Pass (Chü-yung-kuan), and conducting great ceremonies, Khutugtai Sečen qungtaiji says, in his speech addressed to the multitude:

"Because, since Uqagatu Sečen Khan (Khubilai) to the present, the Faith and Realm have been somewhat disarrayed, we have been sinful and wicked in our activities, and made use of flesh and blood as our food. Now the Sainted Lama, the Lord Śakyamuni of the present time of strife (i.e., Sodnamjamtso), and the great and mighty Khan, Lord Hurmazda of this earth (i.e., Altan Khan), have met. Beginning on such a fine and auspicious day, when we transform and convert the great stream moving with waves of blood into a transparent sea eddying with milk, if we proceed on that white path of doctrine as traversed by the saints of yore (i.e., Khubilai and hP'ags-pa), this surely will be the result of our having relied on the Khan and Lama."⁹

It seems that these words of Khutugtai Sečen qung taiji expressed to some degree the wish and aspiration of the great majority who abhorred war and disorder and wanted to live in peace. It was no haphazard affair that Khutugtai Sečen qung taiji uttered such a statement. It must be noted that in later times Altan Khan and Khutugtai sečen qung taiji were friendly to the Ming dynasty, and pursued a policy which aspired to peace through founding cities and residences, expanding and developing crops, handicrafts and commercial barter, etc.

9. Sagang Sečen, folios 151-152. ⁷Transl. Note. It corresponds to I. J. Schmidt's 1829 edition, page 232, lines 14-19, and in the Urga manuscript, pages 151-152, or folios 76v28 to 77r8. In other words, the author is citing the Urga manuscript according to the sequential numbering, not the folio pagination.⁷

How should one regard the spread of the Yellow Faith in Mongolia? In our opinion, the Yellow Faith in the 16th century fulfilled something of a cultural and educational role in a definite period for Mongolian society. Along with expelling and transforming the cruel and coarse practices of shamanism, it brought and disseminated some of the attainments of Indian and Tibetan culture to the steppes of Mongolia.

The fact that the scattered and dispersed Mongols acquired a single religion is connected with an intellectual interaction, and in some periods this was an important factor in uniting them politically.

However, the Yellow Faith did support the rights of the oppressing class, and in its dictatorial exploitation of the working masses was a weapon of ideology, and caused very great injury and harm to the further development and progress of Mongolia.