

## The red protector “Тэр мину” by Danzanravjaa (1803–1856)

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*Abstract.* Danzanravjaa (1803–1856), the 5<sup>th</sup> Noyon Khutuktu was a well-known khalkha monk, poet, and the founder of the Mongolian theatre. He wrote more than 300 works in Mongolian and Tibetan. His museum contains those poems, songs, and plays including a philosophical volume. He dedicated the eulogy “Тэр мину” to his “patron deity and friend Jamsran”. This article introduces for the first time the poem “Тэр мину” of Danzanravjaa, examines the connection of this deity to the Noyon Khutuktu lineage and pays a special attention to the Choinling and Galba Monastery relationship of Danzanravjaa. The article is based on ethnographic fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with monks from Khamar monastery conducted in 2019, outlining the current state of research including recent Mongolian literature.

*Keywords:* Mongolia, revival of Mongolian Buddhism, deity, Jamsran, Danzanravjaa

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## Красный защитник «Тэр мину» Данзанравжи (1803–1856)

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*Аннотация.* Данзанравджаа (1803–1856), 5-й нойон Хутукту, был известным халхаским монахом, поэтом и основателем монгольского театра. Он написал более 300 работ на монгольском и тибетском языках. В его музее хранятся эти стихи, песни и пьесы, в том числе и философский

том. Он посвятил панегирик «Тэр Мину» своему «божеству-покровителю и другу Джамсрану». В статье впервые представлена поэма Данзанравджи «Тэр мину», рассматривается связь этого божества с родословной нойона Хутукту и уделяется особое внимание отношениям Данзанравджи с монастырями Чойлогийн и Галбын. Статья основана на этнографических полевых исследованиях и полуструктурированных интервью с монахами из монастыря Хамар, проведенных в 2019 г. В статье изложено текущее состояние исследований с привлечением новейшей монгольской литературы.

*Ключевые слова:* Монголия, возрождение монгольского буддизма, божество, Джамсран, Данзанравджаа, Равджа

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## *Introduction<sup>1</sup>*

In 2013, Mongolia celebrated Danzanravjaa's<sup>2</sup> 210<sup>th</sup> birthday (1803–1856). As part of this celebration, the fifth academic symposium on Danzanravjaa research took place on May 18, 2013. Forty scientists took part in this symposium and gave lectures on Ravjaa research, after which their work was published. Before that, in 1991, the Danzanravjaa Museum was established at his birthplace in the Dorno Gobi province, where his ashes were buried under a golden stupa. His manuscripts, over 400 poems, 100 long and short folk songs and his theatre notes are well-known. He became interested in the Tsam dance in his youth and developed the first Mongolian musical from The Story of the Moon Cuckoo, for which he wrote the music and text himself. In 1832 it premiered as the first nomad theatre, among others in his monastery, in today's Gobi. The Tsam costumes and masks used during his lifetime, as well as his literary work, have become part of the collective memory

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<sup>1</sup> This article is a continuation of the presentation “Danzanravjaa and the Red Protector ‘Ter Minu’”, given at the second international multidisciplinary conference “Mongols: Traditions and Modernity 2019” held at the Russian State University of Humanities (RSUH), Moscow, 11–13 September 2019. I would like to thank DDr. Alevtina Solovyeva for the invitation.

<sup>2</sup> Transcription of Modern Mongolian to Ines Stolpe, see modern Mongolian. The Appendix, and Ch.R. Bawden transliterate. However, common spellings of well-known names and terms have been retained. This applies particularly to the key word Jamsran and Danzanravjaa which was translated in the transliteration by Ch.R. Bawden (1997) is written as Jamsrang and Danzanravjaa.

of Mongolia. Nowadays, the important monasteries of Danzanravjaa are being rebuilt due to the efforts of Z. Altangerel (1960–2019), the 7<sup>th</sup> Takhilch<sup>3</sup> and are well visited by people from many countries. However, we know little about Danzanravjaa’s study time in Doloon Nuur and other temples of him and his patron deities, which also played an important role for him.

Therefore my following contribution is focused on two issues. First, I will try to shed some light on the research of Danzanravjaa’s study, in particular his early years and very briefly, his monasteries. Secondly, I will explore the relationship between Danzanravjaa and his deity Jamsran and why Danzanravjaa especially dedicated his poem “Ter minu”, to Jamsran. The cult of Jamsran in the Gobi, in post socialist Mongolia, has experienced a massive revival of Buddhism in the last twenty years. This paper draws on one hand on recent Mongolian sources, biographies and ritual texts written by Mongolian and other authors in the last decade. On the other hand, it is based on fieldwork carried out in the summer (August) of 2019 in the monastery of Danzanravjaa in Dorno-Gobi and Ömnö-Gobi.

### *Current State of Research*

The standard works on Danzanravjaa are Ts. Damdinsuren’s (1908–1986) essays<sup>4</sup> and the article The Story of the Moon Cuckoo, which appeared in 1961 in [Scientific information]<sup>5</sup> of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Damdinsuren’s student, D. Tsagaan (1927–1998) published<sup>6</sup> in modern Mongolian, including 172 poems (1962). His

<sup>3</sup> Takhilch can be best translated from Mongolian as “caretaker”, see [Kollmar-Paulenz 2019], or “curator”, see [Altangerel, Khatanbaatar 2013, p. 105].

<sup>4</sup> See: *Дамдинсүрэн Ц. Их найрагчийн тухай тэмдэглэл* [Notes about the great poet] // Соёл утга зохиол. 1960. № 28/3. Цит. по: *Enkhee Б. Хэлбичгийн ухааны дэд эрдэмтэн, доцент Дуламсүрэнгийн Цагааны (1927–1988), Ноён хутагт Данзанравжаа судлалд оруулсан хувь нэмэр* [Contributions to the study of Mr. khutagt Danzanravjaa (1927–1988), associate scientist and Associate Professor Dulamsuren Tsagaan] // // Dornogobi sudlal. Vol. 4 “Research of 5-р khural Dornogobi Ravjaa sudlal olon ulsiin V khural Research of Ravjaa international fifth conference”. Ulaanbaatar; Дамдинсүрэн Ц. Ноён Хутагт Равжаа [Mr. Prince Ravjaa] // Соёл утга зохиол. 1961. № 8/22.

<sup>5</sup> Noyan qutuqtu Rabjai Saran kökügen – ü namtar. Ts. Damdinsuren beledkebe ШУАХ Улаанбаатар, 1961. P. 85–108.

<sup>6</sup> See: *Цагаан Д. Равжаагийн яруу найргийн* [The poems of D. Ravjaa]. Ulaanbaatar, 1961.

dissertation<sup>7</sup> (1965) was published in Scientific Letter VII: Regarding the Poet Dultuitiin Ravjaa<sup>8</sup>. His “State of Research of Danzanravjaa’s Works” was published in “Language, Literature IV”<sup>9</sup>. His paper “D. Ravjaa” was published in “Mongolian literature review”<sup>10</sup>. His “The collection of D. Ravjaa Poems”<sup>11</sup> was published again as a book in 1992.

It was a remarkable achievement for these two scholars to publish their research despite the restrictions and censorship imposed on academic publishing by the socialist government at that time. Around the same time Walther Heissig published<sup>12</sup>, which contained the first study of The Story of the Moon Cuckoo in German. In his books [Heissig 1972] “History of Mongolian Literature I-II” (1972), he devoted a larger section to Danzanravjaa and his poetry and for the first time translated them into German. In 1979 the American scholar N. Poppe published a scripture called “Noyan Khutagt (Khutuktu) Rabjai (Ravjaa) and Mongolian Folklore”. This is the first original study about Danzanravjaa published in English. Furthermore, he compares two songs<sup>13</sup> of Danzanravjaa with the different Mongolian ethnicities. Later, the Russian scientist A. Fedotov wrote a short article called “Ravjaa’s Role in Tibeto-Mongolian Literature” for the “Tibet Journal”<sup>14</sup>. After the demise of Soviet socialism, the Mongolian tibetologist L. Khürelbaatar devoted several pages to Danzanravjaa in his monograph “The White Garuda of Heaven” [Khürelbaatar 1996, pp. 126–198] and also published “The wish-fulfilling jewel on

<sup>7</sup> See: Цагаан Д. 19 р зууны яруу найрагч Д. Равжаагийн яруу найргийн [The poetic literature by 19<sup>th</sup> century’ poet D. Ravjaas]. Ulaanbaatar, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> See: Цагаан Д. УБДС Эрдэм шинжилгээний бичиг, Их зохиолч Равжаа [Scientific Letter VII: Regarding the Poet Dultuitiin Ravjaa]. Ulaanbaatar, 1962.

<sup>9</sup> See: Цагаан Д. Данзанравжаагийн бүтээлийн судалгааны байдал [State of research of Danzanravjaa’s works] // Хэл зохиол – IV [Language and literature – IV]. Ulaanbaatar, 1967. P. 204–213.

<sup>10</sup> See: Цагаан Д. Д. Равжаа [D. Ravjaa] // Монголын уран зохиолын тойм III [Mongolian literature review]. Ulaanbaatar, 1968. P. 5–44.

<sup>11</sup> See: Цагаан Д. Равжаагийн яруу найргийн цоморлиг [The collection of D. Ravjaa Poems]. Ulaanbaatar, 1992.

<sup>12</sup> See: Heissig W. Die Mongolen: Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte. Düsseldorf; Wien: Econ, 1979.

<sup>13</sup> They are called *Галуу хүн хоёр* [The goose and the man] and *Өвгөн шувуу хоёр* [an old man and a bird].

<sup>14</sup> Fedotov A. Ravjaa’s Role in Tibeto-Mongolian Literature // Tibet Journal. 1989. Vol. 14. No. 2. P. 43–48.

the Fontanelle of the Giant Snake”<sup>15</sup>. As a result of the quality of his research on Danzanravjaa, and following his publication in 2006, L. Khürelbaatar can be considered “dean of research” in this field. In 2002, the French scholar I. Charleux published her remarkable article Padmasambhava’s Travel to the North: The Pilgrimage to the Monastery of the Caves and the Old Schools of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia, in which she devotes two pages to the life of Danzanravjaa. Ch. Bawden dedicated a section “Ravjaa” in Mongolian Traditional Literature<sup>16</sup> to Danzanravjaa. That was the renowned scholar’s first work about Danzanravjaa. In 2007 H. Sardar provided a detailed analysis of the spiritual lineage of Danzanravjaa, including Danzanravjaa’s teachers and pointing out new perspectives on this issue. In 2013, the book<sup>17</sup> by G. Tsagaanderem was published. In this book, the archived material about the Choinling Monastery was published for the first time. In 2016, S. Khövsgöl published her book “The Story of Moon Cuckoo”<sup>18</sup>, which analyses for the first time the theatrical origin and nature of The Story of the Moon Cuckoo by Danzanravjaa. In 2017, Kollmar-Paulenz took a closer look in her publication Energy for Tourists and for Pilgrims: Khamaryn [Khamar] Khiid and the Shambhala Energy Centre in Mongolia, which was the first fieldwork in this well-known Khamar Khiid by Danzanravjaa. In 2019, she published “The Shambala Myth in Mongolia and a Tsam/Cham-performance of Danzanravjaa [Kollmar-Paulenz 2019] in which she offers a new perspective of the Shambala myth by exploring the interaction between this myth and the Mongolian origin of the Prague Thangka.

In 2019, O. Naranjargal dedicated her master thesis to Danzanravjaa’s poem, “Dream of the Paper Bird that Explained the Course of the World [The belief in the Three jewels]”<sup>19</sup>, translating it from classical Mongolian into German, thus making a small but important contribution to Mongolian studies, as such translations are

<sup>15</sup> See: *Хүрэлбаатар Л.* Аварга могойн зулайн чандмань [The wish-fulfilling jewel on the Fontanelle of the Giant Snake]. Ulaanbaatar, 2006. I translated the title of this book into English after a consultation with Kollmar-Paulenz. (I held a conversation with her on 25 November 2022).

<sup>16</sup> *Bawden Ch.* “Ravjaa” // Mongolian Traditional Literature. 2003. P. 693–725.

<sup>17</sup> See: *Цагаандэрэм Г.* Монголын суут соён гэгээрүүлэгч халхын догшин ноён хутагт Лувсанданзанравжаа [Mongolian genius educator Khalkh Fierce Noyon Khutagt Danzanravjaa]. Ulaanbaatar, 2013.

<sup>18</sup> *Khövsgöl S.* The Story of Moon Cuckoo. Ulaanbaatar, 2016.

<sup>19</sup> See: *Naranjargal O.* Glauben an die drei Kostbarkeiten von Danzanravjaa Dulduit. Bern, 2019.

unfortunately rare. Interestingly, nobody has dealt with him in view of the aspect of his protective deity Jamsran.

All of his poems have been published in the above works – except for the poem “[Тэр мину] [Ter minu] dedicated to Jamsran. It was first published by Ts. Bandikhuu in his book *Ulemjiin chanar* in 1991<sup>20</sup> “[Тэр мину] [Ter minu] in modern Mongolian. Later, in 2006, L. Khürelbaatar quoted eleven stanzas of “[Тэр мину] [Ter minu] in his publication<sup>21</sup> and Z. Altangerel quoted the whole poem [Altangerel 2013]. Therefore, this paper examines this poem and the relationship of the poet to his protector Jamsran for the first time.

### *The Birthplace of Danzanravjaa: “Shuvuun shand”*

On November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1988, on the initiative of local poets led by Tsagaanderem, a statue was erected for Danzanravjaa, the 5<sup>th</sup> Noyon Khutuktu, at his birthplace. This place is called “Shuvuun shand”<sup>22</sup> [Tsagaanderem 2013, p. 166]. Danzanravjaa was born in 1803 in Dornogovi province, Hovsgol sum (Tusheet Khan principality, within the banner of Prince Mergen) [Heissig 1972, p. 187; Khürelbaatar 1996, p. 128; Sardar 2007, p. 265; Altangerel 2013, p. 7] southwest of Dulaann khar [Heissig 1972, p. 187; Khürelbaatar 1996, p. 128; Sardar 2007, p. 265] near “Shuvuun shand” [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 5; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 311; Tsagaanderem 2013, p. 164]. His mother died when Danzanravjaa was an infant. His father moved with him from settlement to settlement on a horse, begging and singing until a wolf killed the horse [Heissig 1972, p. 187; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 312; Sardar 2007, p. 265]. Then his father decided to give the boy to a monastery to bring him to safety [Heissig 1972, p. 188; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 312; Sardar 2007, p. 266]. There the boy showed his poetic talent and musicality. At the age of six he was accepted by the Lama from the abbot of Ongiin zuu monastery [Heissig 1972, p. 188; Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 5; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 312]. Thus, the beggar boy was given access to higher education through studying. In 1812 he was officially recognized as an incarnation of Noyon Khutuktu. According to H. Sardar:

<sup>20</sup> Bandikhuu Ts. *Ulemjiin chanar*. Ulaanbaatar, 1991. P. 230–231.

<sup>21</sup> According to Khürelbaatar [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 282], there is a sudra named “Sakhiusnii duu orschvoi”, which was unavailable to me at the time of writing this paper. It thematises this poem “Ter minu”, Khürelbaatar himself put the 11 stanzas from classic Mongolian into modern Mongolian in his book.

<sup>22</sup> According to the useful books of [Khürelbaatar 1996, p. 128] “Shuvuun Shand” Bird spring” [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003].

...when he and his father go to Urga to seek an audience with the Fourth Jetsun Dampa, Lobsang Thubten Wangchuk (1775–1813). They travel in the company of a certain ‘Shangzodva’ (Lama Treasurer) who has travelled from the Qing summer capitol of Jehol. Ravjaa and his father offer 250 lang of silver to the Jetsun Dampa, who in return presents them with an offering of a mandala, a statue of Palden Lhamo, a White Tara, and multi-coloured satin cloth. The Jetsun Dampa then calls Ravjaa to the ‘Middle Palace’ and initiates him into the Cakrasamvara Tantra, exclaiming, “Aya! Because you have practiced well the secret mantra in Jehol, the place of the Noyon Khutuktu, you have reincarnated as his mind-aspect”. He then bestows on him the title of ‘Undefeated Chin Zorig’ along with gifts of five sitting cushions, a silver pot and the right to use the special ceremonial silk scarves. He is also given two ceremonial cushions from the Tusheet Khan ... [Sardar 2007, p. 266].

The other sources confirmed this description of H. Sardar about Danzanravjaa’s incarnation of the Gobi Noyon Khutuktu [Heissig 1972, p. 190; Schartolgoi-Sh. Bayanjargal 2003, p. 16; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 312; Altangerel 2013, p. 7]. After his incarnation, he learned basic Buddhism from Monks of the Ongiin monastery and then his teacher sent him to Dolon Nuur where he stayed and studied for a long period of time [Schartolgoi-Sh. Bayanjargal 2003, p. 18; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 314].

### *The study of Danzanravjaa in Dolon Nuur*<sup>23</sup>

His study began around 1814 in Dolon Nuur. Danzanravjaa received instructions in various Buddhist disciplines from various lamas, just like he would in a school. From Arjia Gegeen, Danzanravjaa introduces to the path of the Boddhisattva and to meditation, as well as to the external and internal exercises for the Yidam Padma Wangchen [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 18; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 314]. He was gradually able to perform the Secret Mantra and also received permission for Tantra meditation [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 314]. From the lamas of the school, he learned the monastic rules and how to debate the right view of the true nature of things, the doctrinal interpretation and how to broaden one’s experience through this. From the Dūinhor Gegeen he learned the external and internal practices of Chöd and the making of offerings, from the Tiv Lama [A. Schartolgoi-Sh. Bayanjargal 2003, p. 21; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 315] he learned

<sup>23</sup> The Seven Lakes is a place of in Inner-Mongolia.



the external and internal practices of Amaa<sup>24</sup>, and from the Mergen Tsanid Lama he received many oral traditions and magical practices [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 315]. Other scientists report complementarily on this. Danzanravjaa studied in Dolon Nuur multiple years and received the Great Perfection initiation<sup>25</sup> and many others from the III. Janjya Khutuktu, Yeshe tenpay Gyalsen (1787–1846) [Heissig 1972, p. 191; A. Schartolgoi-Sh. Bayanjargal 2003, p. 23; Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 291; Sardar 2007, p. 278; Altangerel 2013, p. 7]. Before describing the monasteries of Danzanravjaa, the question arises why Danzanravjaa went to Dolon Nuur to study.

Danzanravjaa's student life reflects the Mongol- Qing power politics. It will be useful to mention some connections to the history of Buddhism in Mongolia. After the decline of the Mongolian world empire with the end of the Yuan dynasty in 1368, the Mongols regained strength, mainly through reorganisations under Altan Khan (1507–1582) [Kollmar-Paulenz 2011, p. 79; Charleux 2018, p. 214], such as the establishment of the Tümen, the formation of a state, the founding of the city of Khokhot, anti-Shaman legislation [Kollmar-Paulenz 2007, p. 8] and the promotion of Tibetan-style Buddhism. Subsequently, Tibetan monks travelled extensively to Mongolia, culminating in the visit of Sönam Gyatso (1543–1588), abbot of the Gelugpa monastery Drepung in Tibet, with Altan Khan in 1578. The latter gave the monk the title “Dalai Lama”, the latter the title “Cakravartin Dharmaraja” to the Khan. According to Kollmar-Paulenz [Kollmar-Paulenz 2011, p. 81], the titles given to the khan “illustrate the political implications of the Buddhist missionisation of the Mongols”; above all, Altan Khan's rule was thus religiously legitimised, as he did not directly come from Genghis Khan's line. In addition, there was the socio-religious relationship of the “Yöncmö” between the Mongol princes and the Tibetan monks, as secular gift-givers on the one hand and religious teachers on the other. The Qing emperor tried to weaken this bond. The Qianlong Emperor thus set out to create a second pole of Yellow Hat authority closer to his own capital in Beijing, one that would be less entangled in Tibetan politics and more loyal to him. Between 1755 and 1780, he initiated a massive building project to replicate the Dalai Lama's Potala Palace in his own summer capital at Jehol [Sardar 2007, p. 263; Charleux 2018, p. 212]. In the neighbouring areas of Inner Mongolia and Khokhnuur, he fostered a network of Yellow Hat incarnations, such as the Janjya Khutuktus in Dolon Nuur and the Jamyang Shepas in Labrang, who could muster the loyalty of the Mongols but they themselves were monastic-scholars without

<sup>24</sup> Amaa means the deity *dpal ldan lha mo*.

<sup>25</sup> Tibetan: rdzogs chen, Mongolian: ikh tugsguliin khutulbur abschig.



secular political ambitions – at least in theory [Heissig 1972, p. 191; Sardar 2007, p. 263]. In this climate of political and ecclesiastical manipulation, there was nevertheless a steady proliferation of Mongol incarnate lamas, numbering in the hundreds in the Inner Mongolian banners alone and in the dozens in the Khalkha Mongol areas. The emperor now had to worry not only about rebellious Mongol princes but also about disloyalty among potentially rebellious lamas. To prevent the rise of political Buddhism among the Khalkha Mongols, the Qing had already taken certain measures in the past, such as importing Zanabazar (1635–1723) incarnations from Tibet and carefully training them in the Gelugpa form of the Yellow Cap. But as the number of other lesser Mongol incarnations increased, it became impracticable to import them all from Tibet and personally supervise their training, so the emperor created the office of lama treasurer or “Shangzodva” (T.: phyag mdzod pa), a kind of chief administrator or secretary-general of the administration of a Khutuktu [Sardar 2007, p. 262]. His main duties were to manage the wealth of a monastery and to keep the Mongolian incarnate lamas in meditation retreat and away from political affairs. In the late 18th century, there were some fourteen recognised Mongol incarnational lineages in the Dolon Nuur region alone, one of which – the Noyon Khutuktu’s – is said to have had some contempt for Qing rule. Due to the political circumstances, the spiritual dignitaries of Inner and Outer Mongolia supported each other in the training of the young monks. This led to numerous journeys for the young Danzanravjaa.

### *Monasteries of Danzanravjaa*

Danzanravjaa established three monasteries of Khamar mountain, three of Galba mountain, a temple of Ukhaa Argalant, one temple in Burden [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 298; Altangerel 2013, p. 7] and one Dazan in Choinling of Tulgat mountain<sup>26</sup> [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, pp. 6, 23]. At the age of 18, Danzanravjaa went to Khokhot and visited his teacher Janjya Khutuktu again [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 24]. A year later his father died. When he was 21, he built his first own monastery at Khamar, with the blessings of his teacher Janjya Khutuktu [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 298; Heissig 1972, p. 191;

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<sup>26</sup> This is the name of mountain Tulgat, where the body of the third Noyon Khutuktu was enshrined, see [Altangerel 2013, p. 77] and in this area Danzanravjaa built his three monasteries, therefore called Mongolen, the three monasteries of Tulgat: 1, Khamar monastery complex 2, one temple of Choinling monastery 3, Burden monastery.

Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 25]. In the year 1821, his first temple – the Lamiran – was built, followed by the Lavran, his second one in 1822. In 1827 the Duinkhor temple [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 298] was built. In the year 1828 one temple in Choinling monastery area was erected by him. In 1829 a temple in Burden was built. In 1832 the Datsan of Namtar duulakh was built, where the first professional public theatre performance of the play “The Life of the Moon Cuckoo” took place in 1832 with 300 musicians, actors, and actresses, which had its roots in the ritualistic Tsam Dance [Batmunkh 2010, p. 58]. At that time Khamar monastery became the centre of Buddhist culture in the Gobi.

After that, in 1843, the three monasteries in Galba were built. During my fieldwork in 2019 I visited all these monasteries. I wanted to find out about the patron deity of Danzanravjaa and his relationships to Jamsran. In this context, this Choinling monastery plays an important role.

### *Choinling monastery and Jamsran*

The Choinling<sup>27</sup> Monastery is where Danzanravjaa wore the novice robe for the first time [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 291]. This monastery had played an important role for both Jamsran and this line of Noyon Khutuktu's.

I had the opportunity to visit these monastery ruins with the help of the Lovon Lama in 2019 during my fieldwork. This place is located in a very secret place, hidden in the hills of the Dornogobi. This monastery was built by the first Noyon Khutuktu (Agvaan Gonchig, 1622–1704) on Tulgat mountain [Khürelbaatar 2006, p. 255]. Jamsran has been worshipped there since the founding of this monastery. Even since the second Noyon Khutuktu (Jamyan dambee jantsan, 1703–1743), three different Jamsran were worshipped: one made of wood and leather, another of paper mesh, and the third of stone. Therefore, this monastery played an important role for Danzanravjaa, especially as Jamsran had also been worshipped there by his predecessor.

In 1828 Danzanravjaa built one temple in this Choinling area called Land of Jamsran. He proposed that the local people call this place the «Land of Jamsran», which is evident from Mongolian sources (Altangerel, Tsagaanderem,) and oral traditions. Danzanravjaa brought the wooden and leather statue of Jamsran to Galba-Gobi in 1843. He

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<sup>27</sup> 1718 given the name Choinling by the second Noyon Khutuktu but was built at the time of the first Noyon Khutuktu. The ashes of this second Noyon Khutuktu were buried in this monastery.

built a large monastery complex for Jamsran there and enthroned him as the main guardian deity.

Unfortunately, this monastery was completely destroyed during the communist period in 1937 [Tsagaanderem 2013, p. 136]. Since 1990, Takhilch Altangerel, his grandfather, the elder Takhilch Tudev (1912–1990), and the community have been working to ensure that this place is not forgotten. In May 2009, they erected eight stupas from donations from the ‘Cultural Heritage of Danzanravjaa [Tsagaanderem 2003, p. 136]. On 15.10.2015, the stone carved Jamsran was restored.

### *Danzanravjaa and his Red-Protector*

Looking at the life of Danzanravjaa, the evidence points to a similarity with the protector Jamsran. In his poems, Danzanravjaa was usually preoccupied with secular and philosophical themes, such as love, nature, and environment. In his eulogy for Jamsran, however, Danzanravjaa draws a parallel between his destiny and that of the Red Protector. Danzanravjaa grew up without a mother but women play an important role in his life. Similarly, in the eulogy, Jamsran is accompanied by a “woman with a red fang” and “protects the orphans” in the same way that Danzanravjaa protected his disciples.

Praise to Red Protector “Ter minu” by Danzanravjaa

- Ter minu is always snarling
- Ter minu has big, bulging devil eyes
- The minu has a wide wide nose like a trumpet
- The minu is fat and thick
- Ter minu’s throat is raw meat
- Ter minus drink is lukewarm blood
- Ter minu is quick-witted (шалбалзсан) and angry as a monster
- Ter minu is red, even squealing red
- Ter minu has a nice copper knife
- Ter minu wears red leather shoes
- Ter minu has no horse, he on foot
- Ter minu is wearing his unkempt hair tied together
- Ter minu is responsible for the far northeast
- Ter minu wearing a shaggy, pink cape (shaggy cloak)
- Ter minu wears a thick copper helmet
- Ter minu has a snappy, red dog
- Ter minus woman has a red Fang (Tusk)
- Ter minu kills angry people
- Ter minu to remove thieves

- Ter minu protects the orphans
- How do you always want to go like this!
- Try to be a good, blessed Lama!
- Oh, well, keep a lama in my heart!

Сам аа яа, пра, пра, пра

*The method of field research and expert interviews  
with monks about Jamsran in summer 2019*

In the summer of 2019, I conducted field research on “Jamsran” in several locations in Mongolia. Historically and religiously these locations played an important role in Jamsran’s veneration. I conducted semi-structured interviews with monks who personally worship this patron deity. Here, I would like to limit myself to only those travel routes and people who are connected with Danzanravjaa and briefly introduce them.

*Places and people*

In order to reconstructively research Danzanravjaa’s worship of Jamsran, I visited four places that played an important role in this respect. The Orkhony Lama, who lives outside the capital Ulaanbaatar, recommended that I visit Choinling khiid, which is about 20 km from Dorno-Gobi. There I interviewed the Lovon Lama, who showed me a hidden hill in the desert. Before that I visited Khamar khiid, where Danzanravjaa had built his monastery. Its reconstruction started in 1990 and there are now several temples. There I interviewed the acting Khamba Lama of Khamar khiid. Furthermore, the IX. Noyon Khutuktu, Danzanluvsantudev (b. 1984) lives there, whom I also interviewed. In addition, I visited the place from which Danzanrvajaa had taken the protective deity Jamsran to Galbiin Gurvan Khiid [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 41]. This monastery is located about 650 km from the capital Ulaanbaatar, in the Ömnö Gobi province and Khanbogd sum municipality.

I followed Danzanravjaa’s travel route of 1827–1828 [Heissig 1972, pp. 193, 194; Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 41]. In Galbiin Gurvan Khiid I visited the monastery of Jamsran, respectively the ruins of the monastery dedicated to Danzanravjaa Jamsran [Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 39] and interviewed some Mongols there.

*Qualitative expert interviews*

I conducted expert interviews [Kaiser 2014] in order to use the expert knowledge about the underlying concepts, interpretations and constructions, to obtain initial information on the worship of Jamsran and the connection between this protective deity and Danzanravjaa as part of the revival of Buddhism. A first insight into the worship itself and a perspective on the historical situation and today's revival in Mongolia should be gained.

The expert interviews in Khamar Khiid monastery and the surrounding region were conducted on August 2<sup>nd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>, 2019; and near Ulaanbaatar on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019. The interview process comprised a total of four individual interviews in which four monks were interviewed, the IX. Khutuktu, two Khamba Lamas and a Lovon Lama.

All interviews were recorded on a tape recorder. After that all the minutes of the interviews were transcribed and the answers assigned to the individual question categories [Helfferich 2014]. In the next step, the collected interview material was condensed by arranging the experts' answers to thematically similar or identical text modules from the respective question categories [Almut Sülzle 2017]. The collected material was then transcribed. Each interview lasted from half an hour to two hours.

*Case study: the historical and today's revival  
of the worship of Jamsran and the role  
of V. Noyon Khutuktu/Danzanravjaa:  
insight into the interviews*

I divided these interviewees into two groups: on the one hand, two people who were born between 1946 and 1958 and experienced Buddhism in Mongolia both before and after the breakdown of the socialist regime, and on the other hand, representatives of the young generation, who were born between 1984–1990 and have different experiences than the older ones.

All experts answered my question “How long has this patron deity been known in Mongolia?” They unanimously answered back to the time of V. Noyon Khutuktu/Danzanravjaa.

The 72-year-old Khamba Lama said: “V. Noyon Khutuktu (Danzanravjaa) brought him [Jamsran] from Choinlongiin khiid to the Galbiin Gobi (Govi) Monastery around 1820 or 1830”.

The 60-year-old Khamba Lama replied: “The name ‘Jamsran’ means siblings. This is very well known because V. Noyon-Khutuktu

(Danzanravjaa) also worshipped him and this Jamsran praised ... Certain rituals are secret. You have to be privy to this. Yes, Zanabazar wrote a praise to Jamsran". That was very secret. His successors, including the fourth and eighth Bogd, worshipped him. Some Noyon Khutuktu's played an important role in spreading the worship of Jamsran, including the V. Noyon Khutuktu (Dazanravjaa).

One of the representatives of the young generation answered the question this way: "The origin of Jamsran is India and he came to Tibet. It has spread from India to Mongolia via Tibet. In Mongolia they worshipped him from Zanabazar (1635–1723) to the high-ranking lamas. The spread of worship is connected to Zanabazar".

The other representative, the young IX. Noyon Khutuktu, replied:

What I've heard is said to be the red protector [Jamsran] in every direction. The red protector is responsible for east and west and so Serjim is sacrificed to him ... Any patron deity is always worshipped in a monastery as the main patron deity. Where there is religion <Buddha's teaching> there are monasteries, these monasteries <monks who worship> protective deities.

Although all experts unanimously attribute the worship of Jamsran to V. Noyon Khutuktu/Dazanravjaa, it is limited to the local monastery. A 60-year-old monk and one of the young monks mentioned Zanabazar. These answers are consistent with the written sources. In addition, the monk said that certain rituals are secret. It is accepted that certain rituals of the Tibetan-Mongolian Dharma protector are not publicly available. At the beginning of the book about Jamsran (Beubum) it is said that its reading is only permitted with the authorization of Padmasambhava or Yamantaka [Batsanaa, Samdan 2005, p. 22]. However, while some monks refer the spread of this patron deity in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the knowledge and culture of V. Noyon Khutuktu, the written evidence goes back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, insofar as it can be seen from the little textual material that we have. The protective deities were given preferential calls for different purposes. If the purpose was fulfilled, a praise was dedicated to him, or a ritual was then regularly performed. In this context, a legend says that Zanabazar made a trip to Tibet in 1655 and lost his horses in the process; after that he called Jamsran, and they came back to him [Bayasgalan 2015, p. 470; Wallace 2015, p. 209; Enkhjaral 2016, pp. 6, 8]. So he dedicated a praise to him.

In comparison with these sources of the Zanabazar it is uncertain, when V. Noyon Khutuktu dedicated the poem to his closest patron deity. The sources report that Danzanravjaa brought the protective deity Jamsran from Choinling Khiid to Galbiin Gobi (Galbyn-Govi) around 1840, at which time he dedicated a monastery to him there [Heissig 1972, pp. 193, 194; Schartolgoi, Bayanjargal 2003, p. 41].

The generational differences can be recognized from these special questions. While the two older monks memorized the poem without hesitation, the young monks did not know the name of the poem.

### *Conclusion*

This investigation into the relationship between Jamsran and Danzanravjaa is still the first one. It proved that the patron deity Jamsran was worshipped not only by Danzanravjaa, but also by the first Noyon Khutuktu. The monasteries dedicated to Jamsran by Danzanravjaa at that time have not yet been rebuilt, but only a memorial stone has been erected there. They are points of contact to Danzanravjaa and his protective deity Jamsran. In 21<sup>st</sup> century post-socialist Mongolia, both the protective deity Jamsran and the poet and reformer Danzanravjaa of the 19<sup>th</sup> century continue to contribute to the determination of Mongolian cultural identity. Through the functional overlay of various protective deities from Tibet, a specific Mongolian form emerged in the revival of Buddhism.

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