

Politics and Religion in Inner Mongolia: Japan's Plans for the 9th Jebtsundamba "Living Buddha"

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Chinggis Khan is the single most important icon or historical figure of Mongolia but the next most important icon, for many generations was the Jebtsundamba khutukhtu (hubilgan, incarnation or "Living Buddha") of Urga.¹ The 8th Jebtsundamba, as a symbol of both religious and secular power or unity in Mongolia, weathered the storm of China's 1911 Revolution, and Russia's 1917 Revolution. Then during the early period of the Communist Revolution in Mongolia (1921), northern Mongolia became the first satellite of the Soviet Union and because the Jebtsundamba wielded enormous traditional influence among the people he was retained by communist leaders during a transition in the revolution in Mongolia.

When the last Jebtsundamba died in 1924, the Communist leaders strictly forbade establishing a new 9th incarnation as a successor. Interestingly, a document has belatedly come forth from the Mongolian archives confirming that in spite of the revolutionary policy of some leaders, emissaries of a separate faction secretly went to Tibet to negotiate the incarnation of a 9th Jebtsundamba. The diplomat-scholar Tsedendamba Batbayar explained to this writer that the Mongolian representatives went to Tibet on the pretext of establishing diplomatic relations between Mongolia and Tibet.² There was earlier precedence for such action. Mongolia and Tibet traditionally had close relations and at the time of China's 1911 revolution Mongolia and Tibet colluded in declaring independence from China (December 16th 1911). Ravdan Bold, former ambassador of Mongolia to the United States, adds that those involved in the plot for a 9th Jebtsundamba were executed in accordance with a strict policy of the communist revolutionaries.³ There followed a hiatus in the important role of the dominant Buddhist incarnation in Mongolia until the Japanese occupation of the Asian mainland when they attempted to revive the Jebtsundamba institution, but in Inner Mongolia. This

Japanese plan or policy is the subject of this report.

During the Japanese occupation of Inner Mongolia they developed rather unique policies regarding Chinggis Khan and the Jebtsundamba to advance their policies among the Mongolian people. In Eastern Mongolia the Japanese built a shrine memorializing Chinggis Khan at Wang-yeh-miao (Ulaanhot) to rally Mongolian support after Japan's defeat in the crucial battle of Nomonkhan (Khalkingol) on the border of Manchukuo and Khalkha Mongolia (1939). Even earlier Japan pursued plans to restore a 9th incarnation of the Jebtsundamba in Inner Mongolia known traditionally as the Grand Lama of Urga (now Ulaanbaatar), also as the Bogdo (saint) Khan.

This report will comment on three different Japanese plans or "operations" (kosaku) to restore a new 9th Jebtsundamba in Inner Mongolia. First, I simply note that the purpose of Japan's plans or operations was: 1) To use Mongolia's traditional, Lamaist Buddhism to gain support among the Mongolian people to support the Japanese occupation and their policies in Mongolia; 2) To gain support for a pan-Mongolian movement to extend Japanese occupation north into Khalka Mongolia – dominated at the time by the Soviet Union.

I found first mention of the Jebtsundamba plan in the files of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. A report by the official Furkawasono Shigeoshi entitled: "The issue of the reincarnation of the Jebtsundamba khutukhtu," states a basic premise of Japan's policy for Mongolia: "The most important factor for winning the support of the Mongolian people is in the control or manipulation (soju) of the lamas as seen in the Ch'ing dynasty policy for Mongolia." The brief report also mentions the building of a chief monastery in Inner Mongolia for the purpose of creating a focal point to draw the devotion of the Mongols of both Inner and Outer Mongolia and installing there the new incarnation of the Jebtsundamba khutukhtu.⁴

The information in this article is based mainly on inter-views with key Japanese civilian officials and military intelligence personnel who were involved in Japan's occupation of Mongolia. Also, information was gained from important Mongolian former officials including Sechin Jagchid, Gombojab Hangin and especially the Dilowa geegen.⁵ The Dilowa was informed regarding the Japanese plans discussed here and later was directly involved. The absence of detailed documentation regarding the various Japanese operations makes it difficult to confirm particular details and to make an in depth analysis of the various operations.

Soon after the Japanese Manchurian Incident (1931), they began formulating a policy to extend Japanese occupation into Khalka Mongolia. Japanese Colonel, Mitsuji Yano, proposed the restoration of a 9th Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu. However, the plan remained only a paper proposal for seven years.⁶

An actual attempt to carry out a Jebtsundamba restoration plan came in 1938 in Eastern Inner Mongolia in the Cultural Affairs Section of the Hsingan Bureau,

the administrative office for Eastern Inner Mongolia under Japan's Manchukuo government. This 1938 plan was the most ambitious and the most complex of the three plans discussed in this report. A key person in carrying out the plan was Tokushiro Goshima of the above office with Colonel Yano Mitsuji of the army general Staff as an advisor. Goshima had difficulty persuading both military and governmental officials to support what seemed to be a far-fetched plan but he was finally successful. The Military Intelligence Organization of the Kwantung Army sponsored the plan and Japan's South Manchurian Railway Company financed it (20,000 yen was obtained from the manager, Matsuoka Yosuke) -- this apparently without significant involvement of Tokyo.

Regarding the several plans it is important to note that Lhasa, Tibet was important as the fountain-head of Mongolia's Lamaist Buddhism, a Tibetan connection was deemed necessary to gain approval or support for a new 9th Jebtsundamba restoration. For this reason Goshima contacted the Tibetan Ngachen rimpoche in Peking (He is referred to by the Japanese as the An-ch'in Living Buddha (katsubutsu). The hope was to gain through him the cooperation of authorities in Tibet. The Tibetan Ngachen had been the Panchan Lama's chief mediator with the Dalai Lama and with the Chinese. Moreover, since the Panchan Lama's successor had not been determined Ngachen was a key person of an important Tibetan faction. He had come to Peking in 1938, on a religious excursion and apparently to establish relations with the Japanese, the rising power in Asia.

Goshima, according to various reports, spent much time promoting his plan with Japanese military and governmental authorities and traveling between the Mongolian administrative office and Peking working to enlist the support of Japanese administrators and the cooperation of the Tibetan, Ngachen rinpoche. Some Japanese officials had reservations regarding the scheme. The Tibetan's cooperation was obtained but it appears that he was not enthused about the plan. As it developed the operation included smuggling Japanese into the country disguised as Mongolian members of the Tibetan group for the purpose of establishing a Japanese "sleeper cell" in Lhasa. Two young Japanese were selected; Nomoto Jinzo and Yoshitomi Yoshitsugu, who were reported to be superior students in Mongolia. I interviewed Nomoto in Kagoshima, Japan after the war.⁸

Two prospective agents were given some training by the military intelligence organization of the Kwantung Army at Wang-yeh-miao (now Ulaanhot) and later at the military intelligence unit at Beitsemiao in the Shilingol District of western Inner Mongolia. Nomoto reports that he was given training in "spy reporting" and studied Mongolian language to pose as a Mongolian lama. He notes that he was briefed on how to write intelligence reports, and how to gain information regarding various situations in Tibet and its neighbors. In Japan before leaving for Tibet Nomoto met with important governmental and military personnel and with

Tada Tokwan, a Japanese monk who had lived in Tibet for some ten years. But it is not clear what was expected of the endeavor.

The party was successful in reaching Tibet in early 1939 (except for Yoshitsugu who was dropped from the party in India due to illness). Nomoto stayed a month in Lhasa with a prominent family but lived mainly in Shigatse, home base of the Panchan Lama and the Ngachen rimpoche. Here he exerted himself in learning the Tibetan language.

As the scheme developed Ngachen rimpoche did not obtain approval for the proposed reinstatement of a 9th Jebtsundamba. The failure may have been due to Ngachen's role as a leader in the Panchen Lama's faction and under suspicion in Lhasa. There is also a suggestion that the problem was because Ngachen became involved in a coup d'état against the Dalai Lama's regency that ruled Tibet. Another complication was that the identity of Nomoto Jinzo came under suspicion, Ngachen feared for Nomoto's safety and he had to leave the country after about a year. It is impossible to determine whether this first Jebtsundamba restoration operation could have been successful if the various difficulties had been averted.

A second plan for a Jebtsundamba restoration probably quite distinct and unrelated to the above operation was developed by a group centered around Colonel Kanagawa Kosaku, one of Japan's most famous old "Mongol hands" and military intelligence men in Mongolia. It was Kanagawa who later in the 1940s promoted a shrine to Chinggis Khan at Wang-yeh-miao (Ulaanhot). His ambitious scheme to restore a 9th Jebtsundamba involved two major concerns. First, was to gain the support of Prince De (Demchugdongrob /DeWang), head of the Kalgan Mongolian Government. Next was the old challenge of gaining the sanction of authorities in Tibet. For assistance to carry out the plan Kanagawa had the cooperation of Noguchi Sanzo from Holonbier Mongolia, a man of long experience in Mongolia. Another Tibetan, Lang Tsang, was involved in this plan. The Dilowa describes this person as an opportunist, an ambitious young lama originally from the Labrang Monastery in Gansu. He had close contact with the Japanese in Holonbier and was probably recruited by Inokuchi. They came to Kalgan from Eastern Mongolia to promote the plan.



Prince De (Demchugdongrob / De Wang)

Prince De, a key person in this story, seems to have been of two minds regarding the plan for a new 9th Jebtsundamba in Inner Mongolia. The Dilowa

gegeen told me that there was no significant opposition among the Mongols. The Wachirdara, a ranking Inner Mongolian lama refugee, also confirmed to me



The Dilowa gegeen

later in Taiwan that there was wide support for a new 9th Jebtsundamba among the sizable group of Khalka refugees in Inner Mongolia. However, the group had despaired of pursuing a plan because of its complexity and the money it would require. After the war Wachirdara was in Tibet with the Dilowa but the latter was silent on the matter. Professor Sechin Jagchid says Prince De told him personally that he objected to finding a new Jebtsundamba, "that those matters belonged to the old Manchu times, that now the Mongol people had new knowledge and a new national consciousness." And yet, Jagchid indicates that Prince De understood that a new Jebtsundamba could be a valuable agent in a movement for the unification of all the Mongolian people. 9 This

was an important factor in the thinking of many people at the time. The situation combined a number of moot questions and differing perceptions.

It seems the Japanese were inclined, as usual, to pursue their own course and plans regardless what the Mongolian leaders thought and the Mongols were constrained to go along. My notes say Prince De approved the plan, but with misgivings. He said that a new incarnation would be allowed as long as it was under the proper circumstances. He said that to be acceptable, a new hubilgan or incarnation of a 9th Jebtsundamba must be approved by the Tibetan authorities. The Japanese could not avoid gaining a sanction from Tibet for their plan. However, because both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama had died and because their successors had not yet been installed, only the Grand Lama of the Sa-kya sect remained from whom a sanction could be obtained. The Mongols for centuries had a relationship with leaders of the Sa-kya sect.

Lang Tsang boasted that he could accomplish the task and received a letter from Prince De requesting an oracle from the Sa-kya Grand Lama. I am told that the ranking patriarch of the Sa-kya sect, later as a refugee from Tibet, confirmed that they were contacted regarding the matter of a 9th Jebtsundamba khutugtu. I was in Tibet in 1996 and discussed the issue with the head lama of the Sa-kya sect but he was young and was not informed of the details.

The Dilowa gegeen informed me that Lang Tsang was able to obtain an oracle from the Sa-kya sect leaders and directions in finding the incarnation. But then Lang Tsang reportedly enlisted the aid of Ja-mu-yan (Chinese Chia-mu-yang),

the leading lama of the important Labrang Monastery in Gansu Province. The Sa-kya's oracle was given in very vague terms. The Dilowa quotes him as saying: "The sign shows a new incarnation will be found in the Chinese direction, but it will be difficult to find him." When Lang Tsang returned to Mongolia in the summer of 1939 he brought with him the Sa-kya oracle and also a letter from the head lama of the Labrang monastery stating: "There is a boy of dragon age in Amdo and the calendar indicates the boy must be eleven years of age."

The implication of the head lama of the Labrang monastery interjecting himself into the scheme was obvious. He hoped to influence the selection of a powerful incarnation that would extend his influence and open new sources of wealth. Moreover, Lang Tsang also seemed to be promoting the scheme in order to associate himself with the power and wealth that would flow to the court of an important khutukhtu. Conclusion: Prince De was displeased with the opportunistic arrangements made by Lang Tsang and put an end to the second Jebtsundamba scheme.

At this stage the Dilowa geegen, originally a prominent Outer Mongolian lama, became involved in the plan. When he escaped from Outer Mongolia in 1931, he had hoped the Japanese would serve the interests of the Mongolian nation and, although he preferred Japanese rule to Chinese or Russian domination, he was disillusioned by the actions of some Japanese in Mongolia. The Dilowa had a long-cherished desire to make a pilgrimage to Tibet. He had been successful in secretly negotiating with the British in Peking for a visa to Tibet. However, escaping from Japanese control was not easy and he now saw a possibility of escaping to Tibet.

The Dilowa mentioned his desire to go to Tibet to Sainbayar, a trusted confidant of Prince De and head of the Kalgan Bank. Sainbayar, aware of the Jebtsundamba matter, decided to help the Dilowa. He persuaded the Japanese to work through the Dilowa to pursue their plan; he stressed that the Dilowa geegen was the most logical choice to implement the plan. He was an important former official from Outer Mongolia and had been a close associate of the former 8th Jebtsundamba. Unensechin (Pao Kuo-yi), the son of Sainbayar, heard from his father about the issue and remarked to me that "the Japanese plan could have a strong appeal to the Mongolian people; under the flag of the Jebtsundamba, the Mongols could be persuaded to fight for the unification of Mongolia."¹⁰ The Mongolian people were united religiously through Lamaism, but divided politically under China, Russia and Japan. The Pan-Mongolian element was one main reason for the initial Japanese interest in the plan. Both Japanese and Mongol sources agree that this was a key factor. One Russian scholar remarked, "The Chinese emperors disappeared from the stage of political events but the [Mongolian] Living Buddha continues to be a center for the Pan-Asiatic idea."

My perception of the matter is that there was much confusion about the whole Jebtsundamba plan. The issue lacked unity. Prince De, seems to have been of two minds. Jagchid maintains that Prince De hoped the Dilowa would not go to Tibet but that the Dilowa "did not heed Prince De's admonition."⁹ The Dilowa told me that Prince De was neither in favor nor firmly opposed to the plan. The Japanese were the most persistent in pursuing the scheme.

In interviews I learned that there was some discussion among the Japanese that one of the sons of an Inner Mongolian prince should be the new 9th Jebtsundamba. According to my notes some Japanese intelligence sources thought that the youngest son of Prince De would be a good candidate to be the new Jebtsundamba khutugtu. There is no indication on how Prince De would have viewed such a proposition and nothing ever came of it.

Regarding involvement of the Dilowa geegen, he told me, "The Japanese evidently thought they could use me as an agent." I did not ask whether he actually intended to pursue the plan in Tibet or if his involvement was just a ruse to escape from the Japanese. As it happened his journey to Tibet was cut short. When he arrived in Hong Kong instead of boarding a plane to Calcutta, the British put him on a plane to Chungking. There the Dilowa was unsuccessful in persuading the Chinese Government to allow him to complete his pilgrimage to Tibet. Instead, he was placed under detention and remained through World War II mainly at Omei-shan, a temple center in Sichuan. Also, Owen Lattimore persuaded the Chinese to allow the Dilowa to live with him for a time in Chungking. Apparently, there were no further attempts on the part of the Japanese to restore the Grand Lama of Mongolia after the failure of the several plans discussed above.

In conclusion, it may be noted that although we are unable to observe what might have happened had the Japanese been successful in installing a new 9th Jebtsundamba, we can see in this case an example of an age-old problem—the role of religion in the struggle for political power. Religion, in this case Lamaist Buddhism, was seen as a powerful force that could advance or inhibit certain changes in social and political policy. Conservative Mongols maintained that Lamaism had traditionally acted as a conservator of important social values and should be supported, that the status quo should be maintained. Conversely, some Japanese thought a new Jebtsundamba and a Lamaism controlled by them could manipulate public opinion and make it easier to change traditional barriers and give their new order a religious justification.

The Japanese modernized the most rapidly of all Asian countries. At the same time they held tenaciously to such traditional institutions as the emperor system. So also in Asia the Japanese promoted rapid changes while at the same time trying to promote or develop such traditional institutions as the Emperor Pu-Yi (P'u-i) of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the nationalistic cult of Chinggis Khan at Wang-

yeh-miao and the Jebtsundamba Living Buddha of Urga. I conclude with the eminent scholar Sechin Jagchid that in general the Japanese failed in their efforts to use Mongolian religion for their own purposes; perhaps because of their approach; perhaps because times had changed.

As an end-note, I add that actually there has been a 9th Jebtsundamba living on the Tibet-India border for some decades. As a four year old child in Lhasa his status was confirmed by Reting Rinpoche, regent of the Dalai Lama who had died. After China's occupation of Tibet he escaped from Lhasa and was living for a time on the Tibetan border in Darjeeling. I went there to interview him but he had moved. After 1992, with his wife and children, he took up residence at the Dalai Lama's headquarters at Daramsala, India.¹³

Bao Ke, a Mongolian leader who escaped from Inner Mongolia to Taiwan, informed me that in an interview with a leading lama at the Ganden monastery in Ulaanbaatar he was told that they were aware of the Jebtsundamba in India. The identity of 9th Jebtsundama was confirmed by the Dalai Lama in 1990 in India. Nevertheless, his status in Mongolia was controversial and debated both inside and outside of the government -- for a time politics blocked his assuming his historical role in Ulaanbaatar.

More recently the Tibetan authority, Dr. Gene Smith, told me that the India Jebtsundama had arrived in Ulaanbaatar in May, 2010 but was elderly and ill. Smith reports that Soninbayar, head of the famous Ganden monastery in Ulaanbaatar took him in and cared for him. Smith's source of information was the son of Soninbayar.¹² A more recent report notes that this year, 1912, this Jebtsundamba from India has died.

For years the Mongols have been aware of the existence of this Jebtsundamba living in India and there have been intense discussions on what should be Mongolia's response or policy in the matter. Some Mongols have wondered as to the legitimacy of this Jebtsundamba since various other candidates for the position had been considered. Some years ago efforts were made. Some Mongolian sociologists stress that traditional Buddhism and Lamaist priests have been insular and that their monastic institutions have not been helpful in addressing the social problems of modern Mongolia.

On the other hand the Mongolian diplomat and academic, Tsedendamba Batbayar points out to this writer that if this Jebtsundamba dies in Mongolia a possible successor could be determined by the Mongols, not the Tibetans (historically six Jetsundambas were Tibetan; only two were Mongolian). Moreover, if there is a future successor he would not be determined by the Chinese as has been the troubled case of the Tibetan Panchan Lama and is now threatening to be the case of the successor to the present Dalai Lama.

END NOTES

1- Background of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu

According to the Tibetan, rjebtsun means "the revered" and dam-pa "the just one." Khutuktu denotes the Mongolian for reincarnation or so-called "Living Buddha," a term derived from the Chinese. Professor Tucci explains that a "living Buddha is an incarnation of a Bodhisattva who has attained perfection but vows to remain in this life to help people.

It is important to understand the importance of the traditional role of religion in Mongolian politics, particularly the institution of the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, and hence the desire of certain Japanese to make use of the institution for their own purposes. This requires some background of the Jebtsundamba. His role in Mongolian history was analogous to that of the more famous Dalai Lama in Tibetan history. Just as, the Dalai Lamas have been both temporally and religiously powerful among Tibetans, so also the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu's role was important among the Mongols for several centuries. Historically, the Jebtsundamba was revered by Mongols as an incarnation of the Indian saint Taranatha, who first appeared in Tibet in 1537 as a hubilgan or incarnation. He became famous through various cultural accomplishments in Tibet, went to Mongolia in the early 1600's as a part of the process of developing Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. He was reborn there as a Mongolian incarnation. Later, this first Mongolian Jebtsundamba went to Peking, gained the favor and friendship of the Kang Hsi emperor and was recognized as the religious leader of all Mongolia; indeed as the pre-eminent figure in Mongolia during the entire period of the Manchu dynasty (1644-1911) and the early republic. For information on the Jebtsundamba see also Hashimoto Koho, "Moko no ni dai lama" (two great lamas of Mongolia) in Moko no Lama-kyo (Mongolia's Lamaism), chapter 5, (Tokyo, 1942).

The Chinese showed great deference to the Jebtsundamba in following generations, but at the same time imposed certain controls, fearing the possible resurgence of a strong Mongolian nation. One stipulation was that subsequent incarnations must be found in Tibet, and thus it was. Six Jebtsundambas were Tibetans, only two were Mongols. Such manipulations prompted Owen Lattimore's comment that the "reincarnation-doctrine is more political than divine and invented as a justification for the fact that those who controlled the political power found it convenient to select the incumbents of church office."

The Jebtsundamba, as a symbol of religious power or unity in Mongolia, weathered the storm of China's 1911 Revolution, and Russia's 1917 Revolution with their "liberations" and "counter-liberations". At the time of the Siberian Ex-

petition of Japan and the United States (1918-21), the Jebtsundamba made an official appeal to the Japanese Government for aid because Japan was becoming more active and powerful on the Asian mainland. During the early period of the Communist Revolution in Mongolia (1921), because the Jebtsundamba wielded enormous influence he was retained as a device of the Soviets to cloak the revolution in Outer Mongolia. When the last Jebtsundamba died in 1924, the Communists forbade any institution of a new incarnation. However, a document has belatedly come forth from the Mongolian archives confirming that even after the revolution Mongolian emissaries secretly traveled to Tibet to gain a 9th incarnation of the Jebtsundamba. Those involved in the scheme were executed.

2 Conversation with Tsendendamba Batbayar

3 Conversation with Ravdan Bold

4 Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs S1-6-1-2-13 Manmo seikyo kankei...pp.1416 -18. Dispatch from Vice Consul Tozato at Paotou to Foreign Minister Nomura, Nov.1, 1939, "Report of Furukawasono on Investigation of conditions in Mongolia."

5 The Dilowa geegen (incarnation) held high position in Urga and was a close associate of the Jebtsundamba. He escaped from the Communists in Ulaanbaatar in the early 1930's and fled to Inner Mongolia under the Japanese occupation and was there involved in the matters discussed in this report. I interviewed him in 1957. See also, Owen Lattimore and Fujiko Isono, *The Diluv Khutagt: Memoirs and Autobiography of a Mongol Buddhist Reincarnation in Religion and Revolution (Asiatische Forschungen)*, 1982. Surprisingly, Lattimore seems not to have been aware of the Dilowa's involvement in the events recorded in this report. The Dilowa was a rare person who made the transition from a feudalistic Mongolia of pre-revolution days to America in the atomic age.

6-Colonel Mitsuji Yano, of Kwantung Army Intelligence, was especially helpful in assisting my various interviews in Japan.

7-In my interview with Tokushiro Goshima in Tokyo he was quite communicative. Hugh Richardson, long-time British Political officer in Lhasa, Tibet met Goshima in Tokyo after the war and told me he is "a strange unreliable eccentric."

8- I interviewed Nomoto Jinzo, the Japanese taken into Tibet, in Kagoshima Japan

9- Sechin Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince: the Life and Times of Demchugdonyrob, 1902-1966*. (Western Washington University, 1999, Bellingham, Washington), pg 272

10- Discussion with Unensechin (Pao Kuo-yi).

11- Jagchid, Op cite.

12- Gene Smith – conversation on August 24, 2010.

13- I record here an account of the person recognized by some as the 9th Jebtsundamba. This account is based on the personnel interviews of professor Fabian Sanders with the subject. Known as Jampel Namdo Chokyi Gyaltsen he was born in the Lhasa area in 1932. He was raised from an early age in the Zhol area of Lhasa by an uncle who had been a bodyguard of the 13th Dalai Lama. As a child he was recognized by Tibetan officials as the 9th Jebtsundamba and came under the care of Reting Rimpoche, acting regent in Tibet after the death of the 13th Dalai Lama. As a boy he played with the young 14th Dalai Lama. His identity was kept secret and at the age of seven he was assigned as a novice in the Drepung monastery and was subjected to a severe monastic discipline. At the age of twenty-five he renounced his vows, followed a secular life, married and began a family. In 1959 after the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India our subject also fled to Nepal with his wife and two children and then on to India. He fled in part because rumors as his identity were circulating and his life would be complicated if he remained in Tibet. He settled in Darjeeling on the Tibetan border. For some fourteen years he lived in poverty like many Tibetan refugees. Eventually he and his wife had seven children. For a time he worked as a street vendor and a cow herder. Later, he moved to New Delhi and worked in a Tibetan language radio station. Later again he performed various Tibetan rituals in Madya Pradesh, India. He returned to Tibet after some twenty-five years and became involved in the restoration of his old monastery, Ganden Phuntsoling, which had been devastated by the Chinese occupation. In 1990 he returned to a secular life in India and that same year the Dalai Lama made an official statement recognizing him as the 9th Jebtsundamba. In 1991 a group of Tibetans held an enthronement ritual to confirm his identity. A contingent of Mongols was on hand for the occasion but without explanation the group was ordered to leave and return to Mongolia. Perhaps the incident confirmed the reluctance of Mongolian officials to complicate Mongolia's politics and society by the restoring the old institution of the 9th Jebtsundamba. I have noted in my main discussion that in 2011 our subject, elderly and ill, appeared in Mongolia and has been taken into the major monastery in Ulaanbaatar. The latest report is that this year, 2012, he died.