CHAPTER 6

RELIGION AND ITS REVIVAL

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

According to the Mongolian scholars, the history of Buddhism in Central Asia begins around the 4th century B.C. During the Kanishka's reign, Buddhist monks from India introduced Buddhism to Central Asia. The spread of Buddhism in Central Asia is closely linked with the silk trade routes and the centres associated with these communication lines as also the settlements and the sylvan retreats nearby for meeting the seclusive requirements of the Buddhist monks. The date of introduction of Buddhism through Kashmir or Afghanistan is uncertain. The spread of Buddhism in Central Asia had certainly influenced its immediate neighbors.

The first tribal people under the Huns, were shamanists. Some of the tribes after the Huns, believed in natural forces such as earth water and so on. During the 8-10th century Uighurs adopted the Buddhism and it was in the same period that Nestorrian Christianity also penetrated into the Uighur state, but majority of the Uighurs remained Buddhist. The powerful rulers of Kitan tribe had a great respect for Buddhism, who donated land, serfs and money for building of the temples and cultivation of the ministerial lands. But in their religious belief the Kitan nomadic population was influenced by Shamanism. The famous scholar of 17th and 18th centuries, Prince Gombojav writes in his work, A History of Buddhist Religion, "Tsul, a Kitan from Mongol origin, had a deep knowledge of Buddhism." So Buddhism was not strange to Ogedei Khaan, son of Chingis Khaan, who built stupas and temples in Karakorum and the five story stupa was completed under the rule of Monkhe Khaan (1251-1258).

William Rubruch, a Maronit monk and an envoy of Louis IX, King of France, who visited Mongolia in 1253-1255 states, "In a big temple there were many lamas sitting in two rows, holding beads in their hands, wearing yellow gowns and whose hair and beards were close cut. They recited Buddhist books, chanting Om mani padme hum".

---

1 Syamdavna O. How Buddhism spread in Mongolia and its Present State pp 14-15
2 Buddhism in Mongolia pp 14-18
3 Narangdorj. Shi. Mavanphushil d banan rym Khalkhun Kharaan Khur unhun tookh
Kubilai Khaan followed the footsteps of his grandfather and asked Marco Polo and others to invite Catholic missionaries and other religious leaders. John of Plano Carpini preached Catholic cause, under the patronage of the Mongol court. Kubilai Khaan did this presumably to promote a Mongol nation culture separate from that of the Chinese. Under Kubilai Khaan, lamaism was made the state religion of Yuan dynasty as it was more closely connected with Shamanism than with other religions as Confucianism, Islam and Christianity. Pagva lama of Sa-Kya sect of Tibet was also invited in 1260 and was given seal of Guush "title of the highest clergy granted to a person. State teacher" it was he who introduced the Square Script (hP'ags-pa) which was made the official script. During this period many monasteries of architectural significance were constructed and many books were translated from Tibetan into Mongolian. Although Buddhism was the state religion but was confined to the higher society only. It had started influencing the common folk of Yuan dynasty, who still believed in Shamanism and worshipped Tenger "sky", Ongod "shamanist spirit inhabiting a material object or inspiration" image and domestic gods. During the 14th century the Mongols of the appanage of Chagatai, ruling both Eastern and Western Turkistan, but centering politically on Western Turkistan, had by then become Muslims in religion and Turkic in language as their lingua franca. He, therefore, transferred the social emphasis from the steppe to the Oases. The decay and fall of the Mongol empire and concurrently the weakening of political power among steppe people thereupon gave Islam an opportunity to dominate the oasis world. 

The third phase of the introduction of Buddhism began when Altai Khaan invited the leader of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism Sodnam Gyanmsho (Sodnomjamts) in 1575 and offered him the title of Dalai Lama. This event led to a mass conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism. A series of monastic rules were adopted and the practice of Shamanistic rituals was discontinued by an actment of law. Animal sacrifice was forbidden. Lamas were forbidden to kill animals, to drink alcohol and even marriage. If they committed any of these sins, their property was confiscated and were thrown out of the monastery. Killing of women, slaves and animals for offerings was prohibited and in general all bloody flesh offerings and able bodied offerings were prohibited. The first Buddhist monastery, Erdene Zuu, was built in the ancient city of Karakorum in north Mongolia by Altai Sam Khaan in 1586. The fourth Dalai Lama.

---

1 Owen Lattimore. Inner Asian Frontiers of China, p 81.
2 Walther Hersing. The Religions of Mongolia, p 7.
who was the only Mongolian by birth, conferred the title of Momyn Een Sani Novm «master of Dharma» upon Tumen Zasagt Khaan. Under the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82) ascendancy in Tibet passed from the Southern Mongols to Western Mongols, and a little later the Javatsandamba incarnation was established among the Khalkha tribes. Since then Lamaist Buddhism began to spread into other parts of Mongolia.

Lamaism reached its apogee under Zanabazar Ondor Gegeen, prince of Khalkha Mongolia. It was under him that Soyombo Script was introduced in Mongolia. Under him Mongolian art and culture flourished in a new form of character without the influence of India and Tibet. Buddhism was declared state religion by a law of Mongol Oirad code.

RELIGION IN MANCHU PERIOD

Manchu rulers who dominated Mongolia from 1691, used Lamaism as a tool to divide and rule as well as to soften their martial character. Clergy was given special privileges like the feudal nobles and their pay was equalized with that of feudal khaans. Church was given full powers in order to keep general masses busy with religion, they were exempted from military services and taxes. Children were send to these monasteries at the age of 7 or 8 for religious and mostly for economic reasons. Manchu rulers donated land and property to the monasteries which multiplied considerably. Within the sphere of economic management came Jas «monastery treasury» which in theory belonged to all the monks but in practice, the lamas had no difficulty in seeing that their nominees were elected as managers so as to get more share. Jas «monastery treasury» was a property designated to meet the financial demands of the monastery and expenditure on religious services. In early 18th century, monasteries began to cultivate land besides the cattle breeding. Monastery treasury of Ikh Khuree and other towns began to do business and lend money, began to issue This activity was intensified from 19th century, and some large monasterial treasuries began to issue paper notes called pin'. Many of these were engaged in craven transportation and hiring horde postal services. Such activities of monasterial treasury led to the increase of their property. Lamas guaranteed taxes evasion, so common people joined monasteries in large numbers, as they enjoyed special status under this category. The interest in the Lamaism was primarily because of economic considerations, and not as love of religion.

---

1 Owen. Lattimore. Ibid. P.88
2 Ibid. p.96

Buddhism in Mongolia Ulaanbaatar 1979 p.48
Under the Manchu rule the Lamaist church became the weapon not only for the feudal exploitation of the area population but also for the oppressions of the Mongol people. Utilizing the close relation between the lay population and the monasteries through the ordinary lamas who were family relatives and also through the teacher lamas, the church maintained control over every Mongol family and interfered in their everyday life. It kept close check on every individual from his birth right up to his death, constantly poisoning his mind with the narcotic of religion.

According to Howorth, "The Manchus indeed probably had a great deal to do with widespreading of this new faith in Mongolia, and had excellent political reasons for encouraging it. It was the only organization which was not limited by tribal division, that its whole teaching was peace, that the weight of its influence must lean to peace, that the celibacy and monkish life of so large a proportion of the young and strong part of the male population must increase the pressure for a existence and make for peace, since the working population would be diminished. They moulded their policy accordingly. The lamaist church has been recognized supported and when neccessary controlled with a soliciude quite foreign to the methods in China proper, and the result of this has been a curious equilibrium of the social forces and a change of the natural disposition which seems to have removed the Mongols from the list of aggressive nation".

Religion in Socialist Period

During the 19th century the conscientious lamas started writing against the church and its head. "It is indeed pitifull says Pender, how the monasteries and nobles go shamelessly after profits, lechery and drink like dogs which have tested blood. These ostensible Lamas sit on the heads of the people, torturing them with the spurs on their feet. They pay no heed either to the scriptures or the law, pursuing their evil ways at their own sweet will. These men who bear the name of lamas, wearing the yellow dress of the church and boast to the skies of their empty fame, these deceitful robbers of other men's goods in their dress and appearance they are lke clerks, but can we call them clerks in fact? It is hard to rank them as clergy and impossible to count them Laymen".

Some scholars view that Buddhism came to Mongolia at the most opportune time, when there was the complete decay of the old system, specially during the Manchu dominance. Buddhism helped to hold the society in balance. Lamaism and its monastic system

---

1 Natsagdorj Sh. Manjerkshild baisan uum Khakhun Kharantkhun mukh p.
2 Howorth. H History of the Mongols. p 31

Walther Hersing The Religions of Mongolia
brought into Mongol nomadic life a series of changes and strengthened cultural values, brought in social mobility, economic diversification and established political linkages. Above all. Buddhism provided Mongols a sophisticated philosophy and culture, which was certainly not inferior to that of the Chinese. It also became a prime source of the common identification and posed a continuous threat to the Manchu rulers. Ultimately it became one of the major factors in the evolution of Mongolian nationalism and independence. In the period of more than 300 years, Buddhism changed the cultural landscape of Mongolia'.

From 1926 onwards the pure Buddhism or renewal movement began to gather momentum under the leadership of Tseveen Jamtsarano who felt that the religion was one of the essential characteristics of an independent state. They wanted to cherish and preserve the ‘precious jewel’ of Buddhist faith and tried their best to minimize conflict between it and Marxism. But the split of Chinese communist party and consolidation of Stalin's position in Russia every thing changed. Stalin became personally involved in Mongolian affairs. For Stalin, Mongolia was important as a vital buffer zone in case the Japanese should attack Siberia and cut the Trans-Siberian Railway. So in order to make Mongolia a stable buffer, Stalin needed first of all the elimination of all class enemies inside Mongolia. In 1935 he urged Mongolian leaders to intensify their anti-religious campaign and eventually destroy the church. He even threatened the MPRP that USSR would not help if Lamas are not killed, against Japanese threat. So under Choulalsan who is also known as Mongolian Stalin fought against Lamas. Encouragement of private initiative and tolerance into a brutal attack against nobility and Buddhist church and forced collectivization of herdsmen.

At the time of revolution the religious establishment controlled most aspects of Mongolian society including education, the judiciary and the health care, and was not in the slightest interested in abdicating this dominant position. Special government representatives were assigned to individual monasteries to control and supervise enforcement of official regulations. The construction of new monasteries was forbidden persons under 18 years of age were not accepted as lamas. it was decided that the first son of a family had to sever in the army, the second could remain in the family to assist the parents with herds and only the third should become a lama. Ritual offerings of Bogd Khaan were stopped shaymars and lamas were

---

1 Sharna, R C Mongolia, pp 76-93
2 Batbayar. B. Modern Mongolia a concise History. pp 50-51
3 Ibid. pp 41 42
4 Rupen. Robert A. The Mongolian People's Republic. p 28
freed the taxes. Live stock holdings of high ranking lamas were reduced and enrollment of the children in the monasteries were prohibited. As late as 1934, the income of the Buddhist establishment was almost as much as that of the state and it has been claimed that in 1935 monks constituted 48% of the adult male population. In the 1930s, in a campaign swinging between persecution and conciliation, the Buddhist establishment was progressively excluded from areas of public life and was ultimately suppressed. Years of religious authority and state ended in 1938, when the fanatically atheistic ideology parallel to Josef Stalin's dealt the final blow to the Buddhism in Mongolia for the sake of modernization. Monasteries were demolished, religious objects smashed and tens of thousands of monks eliminated, where after Mongolian Buddhism was reduced to a museum piece. Of the nearly 600 monasteries and temple complexes of the time only a few remained, mostly as empty shells, if not taken over by public administration, and their property was nationalized. Through the rapid urbanization process along with industrialization religion was reduced strictly in the domestic sphere. The images of Buddha along with the photographs of the family members are decorated in every commoners house. In 1970s and 1980s the Gandan temple in Ulaanbaatar, the only remaining monastery served as a living museum with small community of monks as custodians.

RELIGION IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

1989 was a turning point in the history of Mongol religion as well. It ushered in an era of comeback of old customs and traditions. The impact of the globalization and open market economy started influencing every aspect of the Mongol society. The achievements with regard to the liquidation of religion faded just with a ray of independence and the age old institutions started reviving. In 1989 Batmonkh, who was general secretary of the MPRP from 1984-1990 referred to the destruction of the Mongolian cultural heritages especially the destruction of monasteries in 1930s was a blunder. But it was only after 1990 that monasteries were reopened and religious freedom was proclaimed. While analyzing the sequence of change in the Mongolian society since the communist occupation, it is safer to say that in reality the religion was as effective and alive as before the moment the lid of communist rule was lifted, the religion spread like the perfume contained in a sealed case, when the lid is off.

He said, "We should bear in mind that Mongolia is situated between Russia and China, both of which represent settled civilization which have their own cultures, religions and ways of life.

In the past few decades alone, by mechanically copying others, Mongolia almost lost its cultural roots, its customs and traditions. 

**Religious Customs, Traditions and Their Revival**

The religious customs and traditions inherited by the Mongols are. *Tsagaan sar* «literally 'white month', the first month of the year (in lunar calendar)». *Tsagaan sar* was celebrated with a great pomp and show. Preparations were made before a month, and people used to visit the monasteries to perform different religious rites. People used to wear white cloths, ride a white horse and eat *Tsagaan idee*, «literally 'white food', milk products» and special dish of the day was *Uuts* «loin of mutton». *Tsagaan sar* is celebrated according to the Lunar calendar, usually in the month of February or March. During the communist period the name was changed as a cattle breeders day but the celebrations were same as were in the past except that in the only one monastery left in Ulaanbaatar, was not allowed to perform religious rites, although the right of religious worship freedom was supposed to be given to all people. In the transition period, *Tsagaan sar* was announced as a public holiday, renovations of the monasteries in different cities and aimags have already started with the help of foreign aid and NGOs especially from Japan. Monasteries were decorated, and *Tsam* «masked dance » practiced. Buddhist religion came to Mongolia from Tibet in the 16th century. During the play, lama actors wearing masks performed ritual dances as they staged episodes from the life of gods. Mongolian rich folk traditions influenced the strangers from Tibet and before long all attributes of this religious dance acquired specific Mongolian features.

The Mongolian *Tsam*, costumes and masks as well as stage sets differ considerably from those used in other Buddhist countries in Asia. the costume and masks were sharply contrasting colours in keeping with the local tastes. Mongolian masks were red, black yellow white and blue without shades, and therefore looked more dynamic than say their Japanese and Tibetan counterparts.

The *Tsam* masks depicted the main Buddhist deities which numbered several dozens. There were both kind and fierce deities. The former brought comfort and joy to common folks and the latter, misfortune and sorrow. The stamps, issued by the Mongol mark company, depict the Mongolian ritual masks and dances showing them different postures of the *Tsam* dances and musical performance were staged.

No Mongol took an important decision, without consulting the priest, whether it was a marriage, birth, death, building a ger, naming or festivals. Cattle epidemic, natural disaster, all were connected with Lama. People still believe in these ceremonies, and

---

1 Mongol Messenger June 27th 1994
traditions. Usually one comes across such conversation like you must not dig into the ground its spirit will be angered. That is why Mongols consider it a sin to move without filling up holes in the ground where they had encamped. By sin they meant not to hurt any animal or human being falling in the hole, if it remains open.

Before the revolution of 1921, rain ceremonies were performed by the lamas if there was no rain. In 1924 when Mongolia was effected with sever drought, ministry of education asked for rain summoning and ministry of finance issued funds in order to invoke rain and again in 90's when Mongolia faced the problem of drought, the Japanese priests from Agon Shu, a Buddhist Organization of Japan visited Mongolia to support the education sector, and they said that a foundation was set up to help young Mongolians to study in the universities. The organization also donated US 120,000 dollars for a printing press in the Gandan Monastery, and the head priest also performed a rain falling rituals.

During the past so does now, naming of the children is done after the consultation with a lama, and according to the lunar calendar, each day of the month bears the name of the heavenly bodies, so the new-born babies were named after them. like Tuvan «one of the names of Buddha», Yanjmaa «goddess of poetry», Dashzegye «double happiness». Tibetan names were given like Davaa «Monday», Myagmar «Tuesday», Nyamaa «Sunday» or sometimes Sanskrit names like Sumiyaa «moon» and Adiyaa «Sun». Interesting names like Khurga «lamb», Ishig «one year old goat» were the signs of love which Mongols have for their domestic animals. Naturally the Mongols also had their original names like Baaatar «hero», Tsetseg «flower» and Chulun «stone». During the communist period people visited lamas for the naming, but this time names were sometimes of Russian origin. This practice is still existing and will also remain in the transition period.

Most of the customs relating with hair cuts and hairdo are not celebrated in same way as before. But the date of the haircut of a baby is still fixed by consulting with a lama according to the lunar calendar, which was also done in the socialist period.

Apart from the religious ceremonies, the Mongols celebrate Erin Gurvan Naadam «three manly games» which has wrestling, archery and horse race. All the three in view of Lahinmore, have come down to them from their military and tribal past. To them might be added poetry which also represents an unbroken tradition. As the Naadam celebrations have been given tree reign they have some places been reconnected to their pre Buddhist religious origin according to which large stone piles are constructed for the worship of heavens, while monks perform services and collect donations. Also, sporadic accounts of the actives of shamanism and exorcising
lama suggests that the indigenous religion has not completely died out.

After the transition another major change was the revival of Buddhist wedding ceremonies. During the communist period although the marriage date was fixed after the consent of lama but was performed in marriage halls. But now *Gandan* monastery with the support of the youth and women initiated the restoration of religious weddings. *Gandan* monastery hosted its first wedding according to the lunar calendar, *Midaar Ergeeh* as it is known locally, on this day couples throughout the country exchanged their marital vows, and wedding was ceremonized according to the Buddhist ritual in which lamas threw handful of rice from *Guseutung Mandala* to purify the body, spirit and voice and couples families tied *Khadalag* together and stretched them as a sign of good fortune. The couple walks around the altar clockwise in order to purify the gathering and themselves.

*Zud* is considered a punishment from heavens by nomads Mongolia, as they say angered gods send *Zud* and human beings cannot escape it. Traditionally there are three kinds of *Zud*, one is white, another is icy and the other is black. White *Zud* is when animals cannot dig out grass underneath a thick layer of snow. Icey *Zud* occurs when a sudden drop of temperature after weather covers snow with ice shield and if this ice cover stays, animals die from hunger. The worst one is the black *Zud* which freezes the soil and if this persists for weeks animals weaken and die. So Mongols believe that they should not annoy the Gods.

Recently new Buddhist monasteries have been constructed. The statue of Migjed Janraisig, opener of wisdom eyes, was re-erected as symbol of National independence and revival of historical and cultural traditions. Although the statue was first erected in 1913 as a sign of good deed, but it was destroyed in 1930. In the adornment of the crown of the statue, it has 2,000 precious stones like diamond, emerald, ruby, sapphire and topaz all from Mongolian soil. Along with the statue there are 10,000 smaller deities and two incense burner outside the gate, it took four and a half years to complete it.

In 1996, President of Mongolia issued a decree to restore the old ritual worshipping the spirit of the *Bogd Uul*, *Khentii Uul* and *Otgontenger* mountains by the request of the people. *Bogd Uul* was first recognized as a sacred mountain, where logging and hunting were prohibited, in the 12th century. Monks had begun the process of rebuilding *Manzshiriin khiid* monastery built in 1750. Before its destruction in 1930's it had 350 monks and 20 temples, including school of medicine, astrology and philosophy. The festival *Mantevya* which was banned in 1930's by the communists, was recently again

---

Brunn O and Odgaard Ole Mongolia in Transition pp 23-41
celebrated. Buddhist monks believe that Maitreya will descend from heaven at the end of Sakyamuni in the year 4457.

The district authorities are granting official permissions to new monasteries to carry out their functions. It is said that during the last few years oriental religious teachings especially Buddhism had increased in Mongolia. So for the first time Mongolian Buddhist community published its first magazine and 1,500 copies of the new publication were distributed by the Gandan Tegchinlen Monastery in Ulaanbaatar. A new dictionary of Mongolian religious teaching by professor D. Dagvadorj was published which introduced common words and phrases of Buddhist religion, its philosophy and customs. The dictionary was compiled on the basis of the treatises of Ganjuur, the famous encyclopedia of Mongolian and Tibetan sages.

During the communist era it was impossible to publish anything which was in favor of religion. In 1960s and 1970s it was impossible for many young writers to get their works published, as many chapters were censored by the MPRP if found to be inconsistent with Marxists-Leninist ideology. On the instructions of the MPRP central committee, the Ministry of interior had started to collect material on those young talented writers. Nevertheless, some of them strongly criticized the injustice and inhuman treatment meted out to them during Tsedenbal’s regime and tried to spread their message among Mongolian citizens. This resulted in open conflict and some of them were sent to prison, while others were exiled to remote rural areas for re-education.

**EMERGING NEW RELIGIONS**

After the political upheavals of 1990, the country was opened to the outside world and basic human rights including freedom of religion were proclaimed in the new constitution. In 1990, autumn the first Protestant missionaries achieved access to Mongolia. There were only a few Christians who mostly were converted during their studies in Eastern European countries, with strong religious traditions, such as Poland, Hungary and Germany. But now, days there are about 20 Christian churches and cults operating in Mongolia, claiming up to 11,000 members in Ulaanbaatar alone, and small Christian congregation have also sprung up in other big towns and in the rural areas. The majority of newly converted Christians are young under 18 years, attracted by the novelty, the chance of making friends, improve their language skills or simply to pass the time if they are unemployed.

Another reason for all this religious conversion, is psychological pressure caused by economic crisis and social changes and the need for moral support. Some people even benefit financially from such activities receiving money from the missionaries.

Along with Christianity, many other religious cults has come up and people are joining these at random without fully realizing their
meaning and by this bind faith, many deplorable inglorious occurrences of bribery in return of membership has taken place. The trends of newly introduced religions have confused people and most of them do not understand the ins and outs of these religions.

It is said that many of these religious sects have been introduced illegally through various channels, and state is not in a position to control these.

In 1994, when law on religion was discussed many parliamentarians pressed for very strict regulations and control of new religions entering Mongolia. The law said that all the religious groups had to register with local government and had to submit regular reports on their actives and church members. But this does not work as many Donor Western countries supported the cause of Christian missionaries, who demonstrated against new laws. So government had no option but to maintain its stance of keeping religion separate from the state, allowing religious groups to conduct their activities without much restriction.

But there are some churches who contributed towards easing the burden of hardships resulting from difficult economic situation. The Asses outreach charity organization alone brought more than one million dollars worth of medicine and medical equipments. The Catholics run a small canteen feeding up to 30 street children daily, free of charge. Mormon church sponsored five Mongolian young people to study in Hawaii and sent another 25 to American colleges. A number of doctors and experts came to this country facilitated by Christian churches.

Nevertheless these religious groups give priority to propagate their own version and spent many on translating Bible into Mongolian and getting more and more members in their organizations. The TV station was funded by American Christians to propagate Christianity and help them in spreading it in every province and sum of the country.

The city council granted permits to many religious congregation in Ulaanbaatar alone, out of which now there are 14 Christian churches, 16 Buddhist, one Masque and one Baha’i group. For the first time in Mongolia, Kazakhs from all over Mongolia gathered in Ulaanbaatar and recited Quran. It was not possible during the period of socialism, although they were allowed to exercise their religious rights, but not publicly, so all kind of ceremonies were confined to the house.

RELIGION AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

The religious revival in Mongolia has been boosted by foreign spiritual inputs. Since 1979 the Dalai Lama has paid several visits to Mongolia, here as else where accompanied by vehement protests from Chinese government. During his fifth visit in August 1995 Dalai Lama headed the Tantariie Kukuchakra Empowerment
ceremony at the Gandan temple in Ulaanbaatar, turning the ten day meeting and ceremony into one of the greatest public events in modern Mongolian history. The event was a culmination of years of preparation, during which, teams of monks were sent up from India to strengthen monastic discipline and retain Mongolian monks in Buddhist rites. Much of what the Dalai Lama had to say in his pre-initiation speeches before an audience of nearly 40,000 people from all over the country concerned moral rearmament in the face of social upheavals. He told the people of Mongolia, “Freedom is beneficial only if all the individual members of society take active responsibility”.

In the international relations, Mongolian Buddhist revival has been very significant as it has helped Mongolian government to have ties with other Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia. Under the leadership of H. E. ambassador of India Mr. Bakola, Mongolia held a conference on the Asian Buddhist Peace conference and its headquarters is Mongolia.

At the same time, the religious revival is so fast and strong that many young and old people in Mongolia are afraid it might cause some problems like the other religious cults in different countries, i.e. gas poisoning in subway in Tokyo, Wacosiege in Texas or killings in Bosnia.

"Bruun O and O. Odgaard Mongolia in Transition pp56-57"