BOGDIIN KHÜREE: MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES OF THE MONGOLIAN CAPITAL (1651-1938)

TELEKI KRISZTINA

2008
DOKTORI DISSZERTÁCIÓ

TELEKI KRISZTINA

BOGDIIN KHÜREE:
MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES OF THE MONGOLIAN CAPITAL
(1651-1938)

Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola
Vezetője: Prof. Dr. Bańczerowski Janusz, DSc., egyetemi tanár

Mongol Nyelvészeti Program
Vezetője: Dr. Birtalan Ágnes, CSc., habil. egyetemi docens

A bíráló bizottság
elnöke: Prof. Dr. Fodor Sándor, CSc., egyetemi tanár
tagja: Dr. Birtalan Ágnes, habil. egyetemi docens
póttagja: Dr. Balchig Katuu, akadémiai doktor
Dr. Úray-Kőhalmi Katalin
titkára: Dr. Szilágyi Zsolt, PhD

Hivatalosan felkért bírálók:
Dr. Sárközi Alice, kandidátus
Dr. Agócs Tamás, PhD

Témavezető: Prof. Dr. Kara György, MHAS., akadémikus

Budapest, 2008
„Íme a történet.
Sokféle névvel illették már ezt a várost. Hívták régen Nagy Szent Kolostornak, Élőisten Városának, Klastromfővárosnak, Főkolostornak, fűzetlen levelű tibeti könyvekben írták Kuré-csemmónak, kettőslapú kínai füzetekben Tá Kulunnak, nyugati térképeken, földrajzirók munkáiban Urgának. Sok régi névvel együtt azonban levetette régi külsejét is, és aki akkor látha, most bizony alig ismerne rá.
Az öregek emlékezetében például a nagy Keleti Lámakolostor rengeteg szentélye fől van róva egytől egyig, de már az olyan ember, ki mind elő tudja sorolni, hogy melyik hol állott, ritkább, mint a nappali csillag.”

(B. Rinchen, Maga Doogiin etsesin züüd, 1958.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

## INTRODUCTION

**Sources to Study Bogdin Khüree**

- Researchers’ and Travellers’ Books ................................................................. 3
- Tibetan and Mongolian Chronicles .................................................................... 4
- Archives Sources ................................................................................................. 5
- Books and Articles Published in the Socialist Period ......................................... 6
- Lists, Maps, Paintings ...................................................................................... 6
- Reminiscences .................................................................................................... 9
- Data Providers .................................................................................................... 10

**Formation and Development of the City** ...................................................... 12

- Names of the City ............................................................................................ 12
- Manchu Overlordship (1691-1911) .................................................................. 12
- Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, the 1st Bogd: Establishment of Örgöö .................... 13
- Re-Location of the Capital and the Formation of the Aimags Within It ............ 15
- Capital Forming Activities of the Bogds ......................................................... 16
- The Bogd Khan’s Reign: the Autonomous Period (1911-1921) ....................... 20
- The Gradual Suppression of the Church and the Purges (1921-1940) ............. 22

**Religious Organizations and Religious Life** ................................................ 25

- Lama Hierarchy .................................................................................................. 25
- Ranks and Other Duties in the Individual Temples ............................................ 26
- Eminent Lamas .................................................................................................. 27
- Printing Activity ................................................................................................ 29
- Religious Arts and Craft .................................................................................. 30
- Lamas’ Morals .................................................................................................... 32
- Religious Festivals ............................................................................................. 34
- Ceremonies Held in 1937 ................................................................................ 36

**Administrative and Financial Organizations** ................................................ 45

- Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs ..................................................................... 45
- The Financial Units of Monasteries and Temples (JAS) .................................... 50
- Income and Expenditure .................................................................................. 51
- New Measures .................................................................................................. 54

**City Structure, Parts of the City and their Monasteries and Temples** ........... 56

- Zhūn Khüree, the Eastern Monastic District ...................................................... 56
  - The Centre of the Eastern Monastic District .................................................. 59
    - Tsogchin, the main assembly hall .................................................................. 60
    - Shar ordon, the Bogd’s Yellow Palace ........................................................... 64
    - Dechingulaw, the Kālacakra monastic school ............................................... 64
    - Temple of the Three Protectors or Three Bodhisattvas ............................... 68
    - The octagonal Vajra Palace ........................................................................... 69
    - Vajrādhara Temple ....................................................................................... 69
    - Yurt palaces and yurts .................................................................................. 69
  - Other temples and institutions in the centre .................................................. 69
    - Monastic schools ............................................................................................ 69
    - Medical monastic school (Puntsogshaddüwlin ............................................. 70
    - Tantric monastic school ................................................................................ 72
    - Astrological monastic school ........................................................................ 74
  - Other temples .................................................................................................. 76
    - Maitreya Temple ........................................................................................... 76
    - West Side Palace, the Palace of Awtai sain khan ......................................... 78
    - Temple of the Noble Object of Worship Presenting the Medicine Buddha .... 78
    - White Tara Temple ....................................................................................... 79
    - Vaiśravaṇa Assembly .................................................................................... 79
    - Assembly of the Deity of Birth ...................................................................... 79

**Other temples and institutions in the centre** .................................................. 76

**Data Providers** .............................................................................................. 10
Non-stop Assembly or Threefold Assembly ................................................................. 80
Printing House ........................................................................................................... 80
Kenjur Temple ............................................................................................................ 81
Temple of Protective Healing Rituals ........................................................................ 81
Soleg Temple .............................................................................................................. 82
Residence of the main abbot, the khamba noman khan ............................................ 82
Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs ............................................................................. 82

30 AIMAGS AND THEIR TEMPLES ........................................................................... 83
1. Shali-entii aimag ..................................................................................................... 85
2. Dondovlin(gin) aimag .......................................................................................... 87
3. Jadartii/Jiddartii aimag ......................................................................................... 88
4. Toisamlin/Toisamlin/Toisamlin aimag/ Dashtoisamlin aimag ......................... 89
5. Diinkhorkii aimag ................................................................................................. 91
6. Tsseten/setsen toinii aimag ................................................................................ 92
7. Anduu/Andu/orni amag or Anduuqin aimag ...................................................... 93
8. Dashdandan/Fandarkin aimag ........................................................................... 94
9. Mynaa or Makhmayaqii aimag .......................................................................... 96
10. Justin aimag or Punstogtegechenlin aimag .......................................................... 96
11. Nomchiin aimag ................................................................................................ 97
12. Segali(n) aimag .................................................................................................. 98
13. Zogoi(n) aimag .................................................................................................. 99
14. Dugariin aimag .................................................................................................. 102
15. Choinkhorin aimag ........................................................................................... 103
16. Mergen khambii aimag or Khambin aimag ....................................................... 104
17. Biziyaqii aimag .................................................................................................. 106
18. Khiiqkhn noynii aimag or Noyonii aimag ............................................................ 106
19. Darkhan emchiir aimag ...................................................................................... 108
20. Erkhem toinii aimag ........................................................................................... 109
21. Ekh dagiiin aimag ............................................................................................... 111
22. Wangal(n) aimag ............................................................................................... 113
23. Erdehe khwiiqanii aimag/khwiiqanii aimag ....................................................... 116
24. Bargii aimag ....................................................................................................... 116
25. Nandolin or Dashlin aimag ............................................................................... 118
26. Bandudlin/Pandudlin aimag/Bandud lamii aimag ............................................. 121
27. Jamiyaansungii/Jamiyaansungii or Choyiysungii/Choyiysungii aimag or Sungii aimag ........ 121
28. Lam nariin aimag ............................................................................................... 124
29. Mergen nomon khani aimag. Ik Mergen nomon khani aimag, Nomon khani aimag ............................................ 126
30. Orlichii/Orlichii aimag ...................................................................................... 126

GANDAN HILL, THE WESTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT ........................................ 130

Temple buildings in the main courtyard .................................................................. 134
Gandantegchenlin, the main assembly hall ................................................................ 134
Relics temple of the 5th Bogd ................................................................................... 135
Relics temple of the 7th Bogd ................................................................................... 136
Didipovran, Palace of the Blissful Eunpees ............................................................... 136
Relics temple of the 8th Bogd .................................................................................. 137

Monastic schools ...................................................................................................... 137
Dashchoimbel monastic school................................................................................ 138
Ginsoachinlin monastic school................................................................................ 141
Idgoaachinlin monastic school ............................................................................... 146
Larmun monastic school ......................................................................................... 150
Badma yogmo monastic school, called Sanduvestegchenlin ..................................... 151

AvalokiteQura temple .............................................................................................. 153

Jaranqeshkar, the White Stupa Assembly ................................................................ 154

PALACES OF THE BOGD IN THE BANK OF TUUL RIVER .................................. 156
Sharawpeljeelin, the Green Palace and the Winter Palace of the Bogd .................. 156
Norowlin, the Bogd’s Zoo ....................................................................................... 159
Khaisai lawran, the Bogd’s Summer Residence ...................................................... 159
Ginsoaadejelin, the Bogd’s White Palace ................................................................ 161
Pandelin or Narkhajid Temple ................................................................................. 163

THE TEMPLE COMPLEX OF CHOIJIN LAMA AND THE ASSEMBLIES SITUATED AROUND IT ........................................ 165
Temple of Choijin Lama, the state oracle ................................................................ 165
(Rels) Temple of Yonzon khamba, the tutor abbot ............................................... 169
Agwa datsan, tantric college ................................................................................... 170
Oidow’s Assembly ................................................................................................. 171
INTRODUCTION
Before the purges of 1937-1938 Buddhism had been flourishing in Mongolia for centuries. The moving camp originally founded in 1651 by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723), the 1st Bogd (M. 

boγda) or Jewtsündamba khutagt (or jawzandamba khutagt, M. 

jebcundamba qutuytu, T. rje-btsun dam-pa) that became later the capital city called Ikh Khüree (M. yeke küriyen, ‘Great monastic city’) or Bogdiin Khüree (‘the monastic city of the Bogd’), was the center of Mongolian Buddhist culture, where the reincarnated Bogds or jewtsündamba khutags resided. After several re-locations the monastic city finally settled in its permanent place in 1855, though it can be said that, since 1778, it has been situated in the present Ulaanbaatar basin. Besides being the religious center with a detailed lama hierarchy, high level monastic education, numerous temples and special religious events, Bogdiin Khüree was also a center of Manchu administration and Chinese and Russian commerce. After the collapse of the Manchu empire in 1911 the 8th Bogd became the head of all religious and political power which resulted in a golden age of the Buddhist Church. However, in 1921 the Russian-supported new generation started the revolution that ended in the purges of 1937-1938, which totally terminated Buddhism.

Although the political events of the era have already been studied thoroughly, the religious life of the monastic city has never been in the focus of interest. From the end of the 19th century plenty of books composed by A. M. Pozdneev provided detailed descriptions covering all aspects of Mongolian Buddhism and the everyday life of the capital city, but their state under the reign of the 8th Bogd and right before the purges has not been surveyed yet. As almost all the monastic sites of the city were totally destroyed in 1938 only a few imposing buildings at present mainly functioning as museums exhibiting old artifacts show the unique art of the Mongolian Buddhist past. The area of the old capital city has been completely built in, thus, today in the modern Ulaanbaatar almost nothing reflects the old way of life and the destroyed temples except for a few dozens photos that have remained. Only a couple of old lamas still alive could give an account of their memories about the vivid religious life of the city, and, unfortunately, not much remained on it in written sources either.

The overall goal of composing the present work was to show in details the beauty of the once flourishing monastic capital city and the vivid life of its monasteries and temples, monastic schools, monastic districts and layquarters, with emphasis laid on giving as much information as possible on the individual temples and religious institutions that were situated there before the monastery demolition. After the introductory chapters covering the formation and development of the city and giving some data on its administrative organization and religious life, the description of individual monasteries and temples follows in a way that the temples are described grouped according to the old city

1 A table is attached (see Appendices) showing the transcription system used for Mongolian written in Cyrillic. Classical Mongolian equivalents (M.) are given where relevant. The Wylie system was used for transcribing Tibetan terms (T.). Sanskrit terms are also given where applicable. Chinese terms occur in a very few cases, and without intonation marks. The deities’ names and other Buddhist terms (names of monastery types, ranks, monastic vows etc.) are given in their present-day Mongolian forms, which means a distorted form deriving from the Tibetan and sometimes from the Sanskrit equivalent. Alternative spelling variations are also given where needed. At the first occurrence of the given term the Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents are given in parentheses for easier understanding. An enclosed glossary contains the special Mongolian Buddhist vocabulary occurring in the present work. Being well-known figures of Buddhism, names of the Buddha (Sanjaa or Burkhan bagsh, T. sangs-rgyas), Padmasambhava (Lowon or Lowon Badamjunai, T. slob-dpon pad-ma ‘byung-gnas) and Tsongkhapa (Zonkhow, T. tsong-kha-pa) are used in the text not in their Mongolian forms but in the way widely known from English sources (i.e. Buddha, Padmasambhava and Tsongkapa).
parts or districts where they were situated, thus enabling the reader to get a more complex picture of what the old capital city was like in the first part of the 20th century.

Sources used to identify the monastic sites and discover their history were old maps, paintings and photos, books and articles, Tibetan and Mongolian chronicles, and also interviews with data providers, especially old lamas who lived in Bogdiin Khüree before the purges. As the National Central Archives in Ulaanbaatar inherited all the documents related to the operation of the temples existing once in the monastic city, an overview about its unique collection will be given here. This enormous material, or its catalogues have not been published yet. Among its numerous texts the registers of annual ceremonies that were performed until 1937 will be analyzed as these sources describe the religious practice of the latest years.² The Appendices include maps, lists, old photos, and other useful charts, such as a list of names of the 279 financial units, and a glossary containing 904 terms mentioned in the present study.

Simultaneously with composing the present PhD thesis a survey was carried out together with Zsuzsa Majer at the request of the Arts Council of Mongolia (ACM) with the aim of recording all the monasteries that were closed before the purges, and the temples which were revived or newly established after the democratic change in 1990.³

² Hereby I would like to thank for the support of the Hungarian State Eötvös Scholarship which made it possible for me in 2005 to survey the enormous material kept in the archives.
³ The survey was carried out between September 2005 and March 2006. Its results are used in the theses of both researchers, and were offered to the ACM to be used and loaded to its webside (www.mongoliantemples.net) within the framework of the 'Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries' project aimed at documenting all the once existed as well as all present-day monastic sites in the territory of the present Mongolia. The descriptions bearing the titles Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree, Ikh Khüree or Urga, the Old Capital City of Mongolia in the First Part of the Twentieth Century and Survey of Active Buddhist Temples in Ulaanbaatar in 2003 – 2006 with some annotations in 2007, and a glossary containing 890 terms relevant to the survey are available at the webside. The full English text of the survey material was corrected by Sue Byrne, the ex-programme manager of Tibet Foundation’s Buddhism in Mongolia programme. For details of Mongolian religious practice see Majer, Zs. A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries (PhD thesis).
SOURCES TO STUDY BOGDIIN KHÜREE

Among the numerous nomadic yurts scattered throughout the country monastic sites (monasteries and smaller assemblies) had been the only places of culture and education for centuries. Although in the beginning the camp of the 1st Bogd consisted of only some yurts later it became the biggest and most significant monastic site in Mongolia. At the beginning of the 20th century the city was famous for its 10 datsans (T. grwa-tshang. M. dačang), and 30 aimags (M. ayimay) where the lama population coming from different countryside territories lived. The city had more than 10 000 lamas while the population of the largest countryside monastic cities (khüree, M. küriyen) was beyond 2-3000 who settled in on an average 4-5 aimags with 3-4 datsans. Due to the distinguished role of the city a wide variety of sources are at the researchers’ disposal when studying its history and monastic life.

Researchers’ and Travellers’ Books

One of the most significant description of the religious life in the capital city is available in a book entitled Mongolia and the Mongols written in Russian by A. M. Pozdneev (referred below as Mongols). Pozdneev who later became a professor at the University of St. Petersburg, made two longer journeys (1876-1879, 1892-1893) to Mongolia and wrote several books in Russian about the country and its religious life at the time. G. J. Ramstedt made three journeys to Mongolia (1898, 1909, 1912). His memoirs (Journeys) have great value containing laconic views about what a Western intellectual could experience in the city.

The excellent Mongolian book of Ö. Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, Gandan) is the result of his research in the State Archives. His book contains brief but very useful information about the divisions, temples and palaces of the city. The most significant sources about the old buildings and history of the capital are two books by professor O. Pürew (Uls töriin töw, Töriin golomt) serving information regarding the history of individual temples.

In English three great classical pieces of work detail the stormy events of the 20th century namely that of R. A. Rupen, Ch. R. Bawden (Modern History), and L. Moses.

---


5 Ramstedt, G. J., Seven Journeys Eastward 1898-1912. Among the Cheremis, Kalmyks, Mongols and in Turkestan and to Afganistan. With 52 Photographs by the Author. Translated from the Swedish & Edited by John R. Krueger. The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, Indiana 1978 (Referred as Journeys.)

6 For instance ‘Countless unowned dogs and their barking lent a special flavor to the city’, Journeys, p. 38. Furthermore, he provides special personal data about the events of the beginning of the Bogd khaan’s reign. Other researchers, travellers, pilgrims, or missionaries (such as Maiskij, Zlatkin, Prževalskij, Cybikov, Ossendowski, etc.) had to mention valuable information about the city but their reports were not surveyed by the author.

7 Sereeter, Ö., Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khildin tüükhin büütsiin tovch. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999 (Referred as Ikh Khüree. Photos available in the book are referred as Sereeter.)

8 Pürew, O., Mongoliin uls töriin töw. Ulaanbaatar 1994 (Referred as Uls töriin töw.), and Pürew, O., Mongol töriin golomt. Ulaanbaatar 2004 (Referred as Töriin golomt.)

9 As the only complete description about the foundation and development of a given monastery or monastery, a well-structured book about Erdene zuu has been recently published based on archives sources (Khatanbaatar N., Naigal., Yo., Erdene zuuqii tüükh (XVI-XX zuun). Ulaanbaatar 2005).

Tibetan and Mongolian Chronicles

As Tibetan was the ceremonial language of Buddhism in Inner and Outer Mongolia, numerous scholars composed Tibetan language works dealing with religious history and eminent masters’ activity. The chronicle called Hor chos-byung of Gu-shri dka’-bcu tshi-phel contains only a brief description about the 1st Bogd (p. 104.). The Rosery of White Lotus written by Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-ntshos mentions episodes from the lives of the jewtsündamba khutagts and Bogdīn Khūrčë then, summarizes the temple-building activity of the jewtsündamba khutagts. The Golden Annals composed by Zawa lam Damdīn includes detailed data about the development of the city using various sources about the work and life of the jewtsündamba khutagts (79r-153r) An account of monasteries of the capital city can also be found in this book.

Mongolian sources also contain data about the history of the capital, for instance the biographies of the jewtsündamba khutagts. One of these sources was published and translated to English by Ch. R. Bawden. Reading this work the milieu which surrounded Öndör gegaan Zanabazar and his residence can be experienced. However, the capital-forming activity of his further incarnations is not discussed in details.

One of the most important sources relevant to the city is the Jewel Rosary or Erdeni-yin erike composed by Galdan and published and translated to Russian by Pozdneev. Although the majority of the text deals with the wars between the Khalkhas
and the Oirads, the formation of the camp is also described, as well as Öndör gegeen’s life story, and the re-locations of his camp in his life time.

Composed in modern and written Mongolian, the book of Ch. Banzragch (Khüree khiid)\(^\text{18}\) also discusses briefly the formation of the city, and the establishment of some of its temples, and the area occupied by the districts (pp. 11-18.). Other published and unpublished sources written in Mongolian, Manchu, Chinese, Russian, etc. must contain sporadic data on the development of the city and its temples,\(^\text{19}\) but these sources were not included in the present paper.

**Archives Sources**

While the religious materials composed by eminent lamas today enrich the collections (san khömrög) of the Mongolian State Library and the present-day Gandan monastery, written Mongolian manuscripts about the administration and polical life of the city are mostly housed in the state archives.

All the 230 catalogues and several manuscripts of the unique collection of the National Central Archives (Ündesnii Töw Arkhiw) relevant to Bogdii Khüree was thoroughly surveyed by the author in 2005. Due to the fact that this archives is the inheritor of the whole collection of Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam (called also Erdene Shanzawii yaam or Shawii yaam), the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs which was responsible for the operation and financial affairs of the Bogd, his capital city, and his subordinated monasteries and people called Ikh shaw’ (M. yeke sabi) more thousands Mongolian manuscripts serve authentic information about the operation of monasteries existing once in Bogdii Khüree, together with their properties, livestock, agricultural fields, incomes and expenses, and other administratively important issues. (Shaw’ or shaw’ nar means ‘bondsmen of a monastery’, literaly: ‘disciples’ or the areas where they lived. The shaw’ nar who were directly subordinated to the Bogd was called Ikh shaw’ (‘great shaw’’). The monasteries which located in the Ikh shaw’ area were called Ikh shaw’ monasteries which operation was directly subordinated to the Bogd. The subordinated families formed otoqs (M. otot) as administrative units. The materials, covering more than two centuries, are arranged into three collections according to their date of origin reflecting on the three periods of Mongolian history, namely the period of the Manchu administration (Manjiin zakhrigaanii üye, documents being at disposal were composed between 1730s-1911), the Bogd khaan’s reign (Bogd khaant üye, 1911-1921), and the so called Present or Modern Period (Orchin üye, 1921-1939), i. e. the soviet era. Related to Bogdii Khüree all these periods have their own Cyrillic catalogues (jagsalt), which list the titles, number of pages, and date of each text in chronologic order. Within a catalogue the documents are arranged according to their forms into two: dans (M. dangsa)\(^\text{20}\) and nugalbar (M. nyulburi).\(^\text{21}\) Considering their content there are several types of texts such as commands (lünden).

---

\(^{18}\) Banzragch, Ch., Sainkhüü, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin tüükh (emkhtgel).* Ulaanbaatar 2004 (Referred as Khüree khiid.)

\(^{19}\) For example Szilágyi Zs., *Manchu-Mongol Diplomatic Correspondance 1635-1896.* Treasures of Mongolian Culture and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. Volume 1, ed. Bethlenfalvy G., State Central Library of Mongolia, Research Group of Altaic Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 2004, p. 13b, 17a, 19b, 21b, 22a, 38a, 45b, 48b, 57b, 64a, 111a, 111b)

\(^{20}\) Dans (M. dangsa, dangsan, Ch. tang-tü, Lessing, p. 230.) means account book, office diary, register, annals, records, list, roll, or catalogue. (Consider also word-formations: danslakh, danslulakh, danslai.) These books are not printed books but manuscripts written in black ink on thin Chinese paper (muutuu, Chinese mao tou), and are joined on their left side.

\(^{21}\) Nugalbar (M. nyulburi, Lessing, p. 595.) meaning a fold, crease, folded paper or letter, or leporello, is a one-page document. It seems that nugalbars were more in use in the Manchu period, and later dans documents became more widespread.
lung-bstan, M. lüngdün), registers (bürtgel, M. börüdkel), applications (örgödöl, M. ergüdel), drafts (noorog, M. nooraγ), announcements (zarlaakh bichig, M. jarulaqu bičığ), documentations (barimtuud, M. barimta-nurud), etc. As the amount of archives material is too enormous to include all of it, and they mostly deal with administrative and financial questions, only the content of the catalogues will be summarized here, in the descriptions of individual temples. Only one text type will be analyzed, which is a register of ceremonies having held regularly in certain temples before 1937.

As for the socialist period (from 1921) party decisions, commands and other documents, mainly typescripts in written Mongolian, are available in the Archives of the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (Mongol Ardiin Khuwsgaalt Namiin Arkhiw), in the archives of the State Intelligence Agency (Tagnualiin Yerönkhii Gazar), and that of the Military Affairs (shortly Tsérgiin Arkhiw).22

Books and Articles Published in the Socialist Period
Words as suppression (darlal), exploitation (möjlilt), and liberation from suffering (zowlongoos angırakh) caused by feudal lords and clericals are frequently used in publications discussing the period of the pre-revolutionist era. Although several data are available in these sources, one should distinguish their authenticity. Pürewjaw’s book23 presenting the life of Bogdiin Khüree before the revolution seems to be the most valuable one, as it is based on archive data and personal interviews which were conducted with about 10 people who were lamas before the purges.24 Another useful source is Tserendorj’s25 book that describes the commercial life and methods of payment used in the city.26

Lists, Maps, Paintings
The 31st map in B. Rinchen’s atlas,27 called Khüree khiid Ulaanbaatar khot [Monasteries and temples of Ulaanbaatar], was compiled by D. Maidar and O. Pürew, under instruction from Rinchen. The map and its list mark 31 sites (See Appendices) including palaces, temples and religious assemblies in the capital in the early part of the 20th century. Despite being deficient, it is still the most complete record of the monastic complexes of the city.

As it will be clear from the present thesis, about 100 temples existed once in the capital. For temples Rinchen marked the number Rinchen gave (R-910-941) is given, and other temples not marked by him are numbered here from 942 (with the distinction NOT in

22 Even though the researcher had access to the Party Archives, its catalogue cards will not be discussed within the frame of the present work. The Archives of the State Intelligence Agency and that of the Military Affairs can be visited only exclusively, thus foreigners are not allowed to enter.
23 Pürewjaw, S. Khuw’sgalin ömönkh Ikh Khüree, Ulaanbaatar 1961 (Referred as Khuw’sgal.)
24 Dügersüren’s book was based on it, too (Dügersüren, L., Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükhees. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999) (Referred as Khotiin tüükh.)
25 Tserendorj, G., Niislel khüreenni mongol khudaldaanii toim. Ulaanbaatar 1961 (Referred as Khudaldaanii toim.).
26 Some other sources about the city are: Chimed, Ö., Ikh Khüreenni süm khiidiin möngön khüülliin tukhai (1810-1918). Shinjlekh Ukhaan, Deed Bololsworii Khüreelegii khwel. Ulaanbaatar 1958 (Referred as Mongöön khüülliin tukhai’); Tsedew, D., Ikh shaw’. Ulaanbaatar 1964; Byambaa, D., Ulaanbaatar khotiin namiin baiguallaga (1921-1940), Ulaanbaatar 1972; Minis, A., MAKhN-aas süm khiid, lam narin edin zasgiin khüülini chadlig ewedj ustgakhin tölöö yawuulsan temtsel. Ulaanbaatar 1972
27 Rinchen map No. 31. was published in a collection under the name Rinchen, B., - Maidar D., (ed.), Mongol ard ulsii ugsaatnii sudlal, khelii shingillei atlas. Ulaanbaatar 1979. (Referred as Rinchen Atlas). A part of the atlas contains lists of the monasteries and temples that existed in the past (941 in number) by aimags, and separate maps of the aimags and the Ulaanbaatar area with all these temples marked. It is the fruit of cooperation by many Mongolian scholars, the Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Geography of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, and the National Institution of Geodesy.
Rinchen’s map contains serious inconsistency in marking the big monastic complexes and their temples. For example, on Rinchen’s map, the extensive monastic complex, Züün Khüree, is only marked by its central building or central complex, Ribogejai Gandanshaddüwlin (Nomiin Ikh Khüree, Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin, R-910). In addition Rinchen marked one of the temples of this central part of Züün Khüree, Dechingalawiin khural (R-925) as well as one of the 30 aimag temples (Ekh daginiin aimgin khural, R-926) on his map, not marking all the others. In the same way, the map cites the collective name Gandan and does not list all its temples and institutions separately though it does mark one of them, Migjid Janraisegiin süm (R-912) as a separate entry. Some shrines are marked in the outskirts but actually there were even more. Rinchen lists seven temples in the area of the Chinese district but in fact there were 14.

Analyzing this map one can state that among its 31 sites, there is a Christian Orthodox Church (828), and seven Chinese temples (914, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934), mostly Buddhist, among them a Chinese Muslim temple (934) and one for the worship of Konfucius (933). In the case of the Mongolian temples the Gelukpa (Yellow Sect, Shariin shashin or Shariin yos) dominates, although some temples combine Gelukpa and Nyingmapa features as well. Rinchen marked only two small Nyingmapa (Red Sect, Ulaan shashin or Ulaan yos) assemblies (919, 920), although there were more in the layquarters.

Rinchen used special terms to indicate different kinds of temples, like monastic city (khüree), monastery (khiid), shrine (süm) or temple (dugan, T. ‘du-khang, which has the same meaning as süm ‘temple’) and assembly (khural), but he is not consistent in their use. This inconsistence indicates that even Mongols used these terms inconsistently. Old lamas living in the countryside claims that the term ‘süm’ (M. sîme) should be used for a shrine while ‘dugan’ (M. dwi.ang) was a bigger temple. Someone’s palace was called mainly as Lawran (T. bla-brang, ‘residence’) in the countryside, while the palaces, founded by the Bogds are marked on Rinchen’s map as süm (911, 921, 922). Furthermore, the term ‘datsan’, which indicates monastic schools in Tibet, got a different meaning in Mongolia. It was used not only for monastic schools but temples with priviledged rights as well. Many of the temples marked in the map had different names, for example Dechingalawiin khural (‘Dechingalaw assembly’), Dechingalawiin süm (‘Dechingalaw temple’), or Dechingalaw datsan (‘Dechingalaw monastic school’ or ‘Dechingalaw temple with priviledged rights’), though in most cases, Rinchen gives only one name.

D. Maidar, one of the main contributors to Rinchen’s atlas, also published a list of temples existing in Mongolia before 1937 in two books nearly a decade before the Rinchen atlas. In these, he listed 735 temples.28 In case of temples in the Ulaanbaatar area, Maidar lists fewer temples than Rinchen does: names of 18 temples in Ulaanbaatar are given and another two additional temples in the north (Dambadarjaalin, R-939, and Dashchoinkhorlin (R-936). In a few cases he gives information about the place name, founder’s name, or year of foundation, which are mostly incorrect.

O. Pürew is intends to publish his map of Mongolia at the beginning of the 20th century (XX zuunii ekhen üyein ar mongol (1900-1930 oni)) showing all the territorial units and monasteries. It will have a smaller map of Ikh Khüree with its component parts (See Appendices). In his publication he marked the arrangement of several temples, too (Töriin golomt, pp. 18-19.).

Jügder painted the detailed painting of Ikh Khüree in 1913 having been commissioned by the 8th Bogd. According to Dendew (pp. 10-11), Jügder was a disciple of the famous sculptor, Gendendamba agramba (T. sngags-rams-pa) who lived in Zoogoin

28 Maidar, D., Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag. Ulaanbaatar 1970, pp. 56-91. (See the Appendices) (Referred as Gurwan zurag.); Maidar, D., Mongoliin arkhitektur ba khot baiguulalt. Ulaanbaatar 1972, pp. 95-107. (Referred as Khot baiguulalt.)
aimag (see below). Jügder climbed the surrounding mountains of the city to paint the map of Ikh Khüree. This marvellous painting shows the structure of the capital city (Niislel Khüree) naming its main parts with Classical Mongolian inscriptions and presenting not only the hills, valleys, rivers, and streets but the monasteries and temples active at the time (naturally, it does not mark the few temples founded after 1913.). Less intention was paid on the presentation of the Chinese quarter, and the layquarters, thus their temples and shrines cannot be distinguished in details. Numerous particulars are visible, as stone-heaps (owitz, M. oboy-a) on peaks, the litter heaps surrounding the Khüree, stūpas (suwraga, M. suburbano) around Gandan, people, ox-carts, yurts, and million other minute details. This picture hangs now in the Bogd khaan Museum but prints of it are also available in tourist shops (See Appendices).

There is a picture painted by Manibadar, hanging on the wall of the Ulaanbaatar City Museum. This painting is based on Jügder’s painting and shows the extent and details of the city. It is a large painting so the temples can be seen in detail.

An atlas of the city published in 1990 represents a map based on the picture painted by Jügder (1913), and two other maps named Örgöö (1639) and XIX zuunii Ikh Khüree [Ikh Khüree in the 19th century] which also show roughly the arrangement of the old city. The picture Örgöö (‘residence’) is a coloured one presenting the original camp of Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar. His Yellow Palace yurt inside the yellow fence, lamas, nobles and laymen walking thorough the camp who lived in yurts or tents can be seen in the picture together with the main assembly hall which was situated behind the yellow-fenced area. Although the original painting is not known by the author we can state that this painting could not be painted and cannot be present Örgöö in 1639 as it is indicated on it as that is the year when Öndör gegeen Zanabazar was ‘throned’ by the first time but as it is obvious from written sources the main assembly hall was initiated only in 1654. However, the picture is a nice attemptation to show the main characteristic of the original camp. The other picture, called Ikh Khüree in the 19th century, is a draft that marks the most important Buddhist complexes (Züün Khüree, Gandan, et c.) by drawn temple building, but gives details about the Chinese commercial districts, military barracks, commercial routes, and agricultural fields. (See Appendices)

There is an important map drawn by an unknown painter, in the Ulaanbaatar city museum. It marks 129 places of the city with their names in Modern Mongolian. It is a very valuable source as temples, even districts, residences of nobles, and other institutions are marked on. (See Appendices)

Another significant painting by an unknown painter was published by Tsültem. This painting gives Tibetan inscriptions of the names of temples and the aimags existing once in the two main monastic quarters of the city. Due to the facts that the temples which were built after 1913 are not presented on it, and only 27 aimags are indicated west of Gandan one can suppose that it was painted between 1839-1855, when the city was located in the nearby Tolgoit.

There is also an old map drawn on linen in the National Library (341/96, 19742) showing the two main parts of the old capital in detail.

Two paintings of D. Damdinsüren (1909-1984), entitled Khüree Tsam (painted in 1966) and Naadam, show the central part of the capital, making visible the arrangement of its buildings. These paintings can be seen in the Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts and are also available in reprint as illustrations in several well-known books on Mongolian arts.

30 Tsültem, N., Mongolian architecture. Ulaanbaatar 1988, picture No. 45 which is a detail of the picture.
31 Damdinsüren became a lama when he was 11. He lived in Choinkholin aimag studying under prominent painters. He witnessed many religious events until he was forced to disrobe in 1937.
Old Photos
Photos taken in the time of Bogdiin Khüree prior to 1939 have also had great importance in researching the temples of the old capital. Descriptions from the aspect of architecture and some old photographs appeared in print, such as in the books on Mongolian architecture by Shepetilnikov, Maidar, and Tsültem. Photographic references can also be found in researchers’ and travellers’ books, such as the photographs taken by Sakari Pälsi (a Finnish explorer, writer and anthropological filmmaker) or Geleta József. Some other old photographs are shown in Sereeter’s book (*Ikh Khüree*). Photographs of the present appearance of surviving temples appear in several publications for example in the book on the cultural heritage sites of Mongolia by Dashnyam, or at www.mongoliantemples.net.

The unpublished collection of the Film Archives (*Kino Arkhiw*) in Ulaanbaatar houses a unique collection of old photographs containing numerous pictures of temples, monastic schools, and religious events of Bogdiin Khüree. Relevant photos in religious topics or city structure are available in six boxes: 92, 93, 95, 96, 21, 163. Material related to religion (*Shashnii kholbogdoltoi materiyal*) is arranged to two boxes: Box 92 (K23612-K23920) contains photos of Ikh Khüree (called Daa Khüree, K23677-K23712), and Dambadarjaalin khiid (K23777-K23791), while Box 93 (K23921-24246) shows photos of Choijin lamiin süm (K23921-K23967), the Chinese temples (K23971-K23987), Shar ord / Züün Khüree (K23997-K24101), and Gandantegchenlin khiid (K24226-K24240). The cards of Box 95 (24639-24897) shows mainly religious events, like Tsam dance or Maitreya circumambulation, while Box 96 contains mostly photos of religious dignitaries. Box 163 (44662-45030) includes photos that were taken after the democratic change showing revival of some monasteries. Box 21 (2432-2882) has only a few relevant photos as its head title is Architecture, Ulaanbaatar 1930-1950.

Several photos in the archives has a short description, but they are not precise at all. Especially in the case of the Chinese temples there are confusions. Some of these photos are referenced at the descriptions of individual temples where relevant.

Reminiscences
Other useful sources were the books based on the reminiscences of two old ex-lamas. Both books were based on interviews with the ex-lamas recorded by the editor. Being detailed accounts given by first-hand witnesses of the religious life of the old Khüree, they contain especially useful data on the religious life of the time, the individual temples, places of worship and their belongings. They are unique records of a vanished world.

33 Tsültem, N., *Mongolian architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988 (Photos available in the book are referred as Tsültem.)
37 Availability of some old photographs are indicated in the separate descriptions, basically the Film Archives photographs and those pictures that appeared in one of the above books that are more easily available for the readers. It is said that the National Central Archives contains photos, too, but these two archives has close connections, so most supposedly there is no separate connection.
One of them was published by Ts. Damdinsüren and Ch. R. Bawden, called Reminiscence of Old Jambal, and contains material from Damdinsüren’s 1950’s interviews with an old lama, B. Jambal (born 1882), who had been a lama of Bogdiin Khüree. He lived in Khüükhen noyonii aimag, belonging to Badma yogo college (see below). Later he fulfilled different religious duties. Due to the positions he held, he had been very close to the religious authorities, but later became sympathetic to the formentors of the Mongolian revolution even becoming a covert agent of the revolutionaries. The description gives a colourful picture about the political changes and the way of life in the city.

Another eyewitness of the events was N. Dendew (born 1891), who moved to Bogdiin Khüree when he was 9 and became a lama. Later he was a clerk (bicheech, M. bičigebči) in the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Shashnii törд tuslakh Saidiin Yaam). His memories were collected by D. Nawaan, and published under the title Reminiscence of Old Dendew.

Data Providers
At the time of the survey conducted with Zsuzsa Majer, several people were contacted who have precise data about the old capital pre 1939. One of these is O. Pürew, who has done extensive research for many years on the history of Bogdiin Khüree using the state archives and libraries. B. Daajaw, an architect, is another researcher who has knowledge about Bogdiin Khüree.

Nowadays there are a very few old lamas still alive who were lamas in the old capital, before the purges. Among them who contributed the most to the survey was Dashtseren lama (born 1921) who was interviewed several times. He is now in the present-

38 Damdinsüren, Ts., Öwgön Jambaliin yaria, Ulaanbaatar 1959, also in: Damdinsüren, Ts., Tüüwer zokhiol [Collected Works], Ulaanbaatar 1969, published in English as Tales of an Old Lama, translated with notes by Bawden, C. R., The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997. References to this source are given with the pages of the English version published by Bawden, but the relevant pages of the Mongolian version (included in Bawden’s edition, taken from Damdinsüren’s collected works (Tüüwer zokhiol) are also given for reference.

39 Nawaan, D., Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal, Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961. (Referred as Öwgön.)

40 He is a historian and researcher on the history of the revolution, the life and activities of Sükhbaatar, the history and formation of Ulaanbaatar, as well as being a well-known specialist of Mongolian Shamanism. He was one of the compilers of the Ulaanbaatar map in the Rinchen atlas together with D. Maidar. His two principal books on Ulaanbaatar, and the map he would like to publish are mentioned above. However Pürew did not work on the whole of Ulaanbaatar at the time of the Rinchen survey, so there were parts of the capital about which he could not give us any information. In fact, most of these concerned the small assemblies of the south-west quarter, as these were included in the map from Rinchen’s personal information.

41 He has been involved in research projects on the old buildings of Mongolia, especially temples and monasteries. Unfortunately, his publication on the topic (MUIS 1967 onii “Khuuchnii dursgalt barilga sudlalin ekspeditiiin tailan” [The results of the research expedition on the old historic buildings] /unpublished/ in: MUIS-iin erdem shinjilgeenii bichig [Bulletin of the National University of Mongolia], UB 1975. No 4 /54/.) was not available. However, he published in 2006 three volumes on the history of Mongolian architecture (Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh. Ulaanbaatar 2006). Some monasteries of the Ikh Khüree area, those situated on the outskirts, are described in the second volume. In the near future he is going to publish another book on the architecture of old Ikh Khüree (entitled Ikh Khüree), describing all its monasteries and temples. Although this book has not yet been published, we had a brief opportunity to examine its contents and use information from it for some temple descriptions. Daajaw also provided useful answers to our questions.

42 There is the issue of their advanced age, which makes conversation difficult: those who have real knowledge of Buddhist life at that time had to have been at least teenagers in 1937, so they are now between 80-100 years old and many have health problems including being hard of hearing or articulation and other communication problems. There is also the issue of whether or not they want to share their experiences being unsure about the benefit of it.
day Züün Khüree Dashchoiilin monastery and witnessed events in the old capital having been a lama from 1926 until 1937. He became the lama of one of the three philosophical monastic schools, Idgaachoinzinlin datsan in 1926 where he studied for ten years after which he took the domii damjaa exam (which can be taken after finishing the courses of Pramāṇavārttika and Prajñāpāramitā). He lived in Choinkhorlin aimag of the Eastern monastic district (Züün Khüree). During this time, he often visited the Red Sect temples in the laymen district of Khüree as well. In 1938 he was forced to become a layman, and, after graduating in a financial school, he worked in a bank for several years. In 1982 he retired and in 1990, when the revival started, he became a lama in Züün Khüree Dashchoiilin monastery.

Other old lamas who provided data on their aimag temples and the religious life of Bogdiin Khüree, were: Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (ikh gesgüi, T. dge-bkyos) of Dashoimbel datsan, belonged once to Dashchoimbel datsan and Shüteenii aimag; Ts. Dorj (1901-2007), lama of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery, Zuunmod, belonged once to Jüd datsan and lived in Shüteenii aimag; Ts. Tserenpuntsog (born 1914 in the year of tiger) also lama of the above Zuunmod monastery, belonged once to Güngaachoilin datsan and lived in Amdo nariin aimag; Choisüren lama (born 1916 in the year of dragon) also a lama of Zuunmod monastery, belonged once to Dashchoimbel datsan and lived in Süngiin aimag; S. Dagwa (born 1910) teaching master (gergen, T. dge-rgan) of Manba datsan, belonged once to Dashchoimbel datsan and lived in Toisamlin aimag; P. Luwsandanzan (born 1921) lama of Dashchoilin monastery belonged once to Idgaachoinzinlin datsan and Erkhem toinii aimag; L. Dashdorj (born 1918 in the year of dog) who lives near Altanbulag sum centre, Töw aimag, belonged once to Manba datsan and lived in Bargiin aimag. Apart from them, doubtless there are other old lamas still alive who could provide first-hand information on the old Bogdiin Khüree, but they either now live in the countryside, or did not became lamas again after 1990, which makes finding them more difficult. In the case of some individual temples, others also contributed to the survey with their data. Their names are given at the separate temple descriptions.

Although about the life of the old city several literatury works (romans, novels, poems, songs)43 have been arosen they were not involved in the present study either newspapers containing political propaganda of the 1920s-1930s.44 Their research can result in a more complex picture about the political and social changes of the country.

---

44 Old newspapers are available in the Mongolian State Library and in the National Central Archives (see the Appendices), too. Due to their extent they are not cited in the present work. However, the most interesting one among them is the Lam nariin sedgüül (‘Magazine for lamas’, T. bla-ma-nar-’ing sid-khül, lam-a-nar-un sedkül) which was a Mongolian language monthly newspaper written paralell in Tibetan script and Mongolian script. Only the first one of this seria, published originally in June 1936, was published by Stéphane Grivelet (The Journal of the Lamas: A Mongolian Publication in Tibetan Script. Preface by Stéphane Grivelet. 2001. Published by Indiana Universi ty.) who claims (p. ii.) that it was issued in 3000 copies aiming at the dissemination of governmental propaganda among the lamas. According to Bawden it was published for one or two years (Bawden, Modern History, p. 248.). This publication confirms the fact that several Mongol lamas were more familiar with Tibetan script than Mongolian.
FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY

The settlement, that later became the capital city of Mongolia was, in the beginning, a simple residence or camp established by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. The camp moved 28 times. Although other cities, such as Khowd, Uliastai and Khyagt were more important Manchu administrative centers in the beginning, the development of Öndör gegeen’s camp over time to becoming the most important settlement in the country, the ‘capital city’, is due to the importance of the successive jewsündamba khutagts or simply khutagts, gegeens (M. gegen, gegegen), Bogds, Bogd lamas, the Buddhist religious holy leaders or “Living Buddhas” of Mongolia, who resided there. In addition, Khüree itself became a Manchu administrative and Chinese commercial centre in the 18th century, which further increased its significant role among other monastic cities. Changes in its growth and development also have to be understood within the context of historical events, principally the Manchu domination, which lasted for centuries and the Chinese and Russian influences at the beginning of the 20th century.

Mongolia did not become independent until 1911 when the Manchu Empire collapsed. At this time Khüree was called the 'capital city' (Niislel Khüree) for the first time. However, as it was the residence of the highest religious authority from its inception, it should be considered as the capital city or main center from the time of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar on.

Names of the City

The capital was known under various names in different periods of Mongolian history, such as Örgöö (M. örgüge, ‘residence’, ‘dwelling palace’), Khüree (‘monastic city’, khüree means circle, ring, district or fenced-off territory, monastery or, in this case, a monastic city with its buildings situated in a circle opening to the south), Ikh Khüree (‘great monastic city’, T. khu-re chen-mo, hu-re chen-mo, sometimes khu-ral chen-mo ‘great assembly’), Nomiin Ikh Khüree (M. nom-un yeke kūriye(n), ‘great monastic city of the Teaching’), Da(a) Khüree (M. da kūriyen, ‘great monastic city’), Bogdiin Khüree (‘monastic city of the Bogd’), Khutagtiin Khüree (‘monastic city of the khutagt’), Riwogejai Gandanshaddüwlin (T. ri-bo dge-rgyas dga’-ldan bshad-sgrub gling, ‘Monastery of full beauty and joy in theory and practice’), Ariin Khüree (‘monastic city in the north’), Niislel Khüree (‘monastic capital’), then Ulaanbaatar, niislel khot (‘Red Hero capital city’) from 1924. According to Dendew (p. 10.), the city of the Bogd was called Khaanii örgöö (‘palace of the khaan’) between 1639-1706, Bogdiin Khüree or Ikh Khüree between 1706-1911 and Niislel Khüree between 1911-24. Local written sources mention it as Ikh Khüree, while western sources refer as Urga. Old lamas talking about the old city say Bogdiin Khüree, thus it was chosen as title for the present work.

Manchu Overlordship (1691-1911)

In 1691, a great part of Mongolia, the Khalkh territories, became a dependency of the dominant power in Asia, the Manchu Quing (Ching) dynasty (1644-1911). The western Kazakh and Oirad territories struggled to retain their independence. In fact, the struggle between the Khalkh Mongols and the western Mongols resulted in the Khalkhs asking the Manchu Quing emperor in 1691 to send troops to fight them. At this time, the Khalkh Mongol territory was divided into three, later four aimags, each led by their khan (Tüsheit khan aimag, Setsen khan aimag, Sain noyon khan aimag and Zasagt khan aimag). Each aimag was subdivided into numerous smaller territorial units (khoshuu, M. qosiyu(n)). Some parts of the territory had a different administration with a distinctive position as they
were subordinated directly to monastic cities or monasteries. These areas and their inhabitants were called shaw' nar (M. šabi nar), who were independent from feudal lords and were entitled to many privileges. The Ikh shaw' had a key role in the life of Bogd in Khüree as these areas and people were subordinated directly to the Bogd himself and his ecclesiastical estate.

The Manchu emperors, especially Kang-xi (1663-1722) and Qianlong (1735-1796) actively supported the spread of Buddhism. As it is clear from the archives materials the emperors were known in Mongolia by their translated names: Enkh amgalan (Kang-xi, 1663-1722); Tenger tetgesen (Qianlong, 1735-1796); Saishaalt yeröölt (Jiaqing, 1796-1820); Tör gerelt (Daoguang, 1821-1850); Tügemeel elbegt (Xianfeng, 1850-1861); Bürent zasagch (Tongzhi, 1861-1874); Badruult tör (Guangxu, 1875-1908) and Khewt yos (Puyi, also known as Xuantong, 1909-1910). These names were also in use to date a document (the x year of the reign of y). The emperors created a nobility layer among the Mongols giving Chinese and Manchu titles such as wan (M. wang), gün (M. güng), beis/bees (M. beyise), beil/beel (M. beyile), zasag (M. jasay) and an ecclesial layer giving ranks for lamas as shireet, nonom khan (or nomin khan, M. nom-un gan, T. chos-rje), etc. to increase their influence in Mongolia. Many nobles and lamas chose Manchu princesses as their wives and reincarnations and saints (khutagt khuwilgaan, M. qutuγ qubilγan) having acknowledged by the Manchus with getting a seal (tamga, M. tamay-a), a sedan chair (juuz, M. iuγa, Chinese jiaozi) and other gifts, became the mostly honoured and most wealthy ones in their local area. Together with the Bogd, the Manchus worked to spread Buddhism in (the present areas of) Inner and Outer-Mongolia. During the Manchu period lamas were exempted from military service, relay stations (örtöö) and other duties. Despite being the religious leader of the country, the Bogd had to refer important questions to the Manchu emperor, which could not be decided without his agreement. Although the Oirads in the western territory of Mongolia resisted the Manchu conquest, by 1732 they were defeated by the Manchus, too. One consequence of the Oirads resistance was conflicts between them and the Khalkhs, which continued for centuries.

Until 1911 the Manchus were present in Mongolia represented by governors, ambans (M. amban) or saids (M. sayid, ‘minister’). Governors (Manchu and Mongol governors as well) were appointed not only in Urga but also in Khowd, Uliastai, Khyagt, where Manchus and Chinese settled in colonies.

Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, the 1st Bogd: Establishment of Örgöö

According to the Golden Annals of Zawa lam Damdin (79r-93r) the 1st Bogd, Luwsandambijaltsan (T. blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan) or Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723) was born in 1635 as a descendant of Chinggis khan. He was a grandson of Awtai khan (1534-1589) who founded Erdene zuu, the first monastery in Mongolia in 1586 near to Öödei Khaan’s capital, Kharakhorum (present Kharkhorin). According to legend, the camp where Öndör Gegeen lived as a child, was established in 1639 in Shireet Tsagaan nuur (present Bürd sum, Öwörkhangai aimag). After studying in the biggest Tibetan monastic universities, he received initiations from the 5th Dalai Lama and the 4th Panchen Lama becoming a prominent Buddhist master and artist. He was recognized by the 5th Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Tibetan master Jonon Darnad (Tāranātha, 1575-1634), who was a famous writer and historian, the last great representative of the Tibetan Jonangpa (T. jo-nang-pa) sect. Öndör gegeen was given the title of jewtsündamba khutagt by the 5th Dalai Lama. He also received a seal, numerous presents, a datsan lama, a shanzodwa, etc. all together 50 Tibetan lamas to help him to organize religious life and to
found monasteries in his homeland, Mongolia.45

The Erdeni-yin erike says the same46 and continues the story as47 he returned to his homeland in 1651 together with a treasurer (shanzodwa, T. phyag-mdzod-pa), a disciplinary master (gewkhüi, gesgüi, T. dge-bskyos, M. gebkıı, gesgüi), a household keeper (sotwon, T. gsol-dpon, M. soyiibon) and other, all together 50 Tangut lamas (here it means Tibetan), and he created the sculptures of Vajradhara, the 5 buddhas, and other deities, and founded several monastic sites. Then, he established seven districs (aimag) in Nomiin Ikh Khüree Ribogejilin, namely Amdununar, Jas, Sangai, Zoogoi, Khüükhen noyon, Darkhan emch, and Örlüüd aimags, following the design by Jamiyaan tsorj48 who had established seven datsans (‘monastic schools’) when he founded Drepung Monastery. Referring to this valuable source, which is the first account of Urga concerning its early history and re-locations, Pozdneev emphasizes the following data (Mongols, pp. 44-45): In 1651 Öndör gegeen, on returning from Tibet, founded Bereiwen gejin (T. ‘bras-spungs dge-rgyas gling) with seven aimags at Nomiin Ikh Khüree. Pozdneev draws the conclusion that the phrase Örgöö refers to this place as the residence of Öndör Gegeen (who before his travels to Tibet had resided in Shireet Tsagaan nuur, although there does not appear to have been a palace for him there. However, one should consider a residence or palace dwelling in Mongolia as a bigger yurt.) Urga, the name cited for Mongolian capital in many western sources derives from the Russian pronunciation of the word, örgöö.49

Ishibaldan’s chronicle mentions that the 1st Bogd founded the new monastery, G.andansdadbardarjayaling (T. dga’-ldan bshad-sgrub dar-rgyas-gling).50

The Golden Annals says (82v-83r) that in 1654 Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar moved to his homeland in 1651 together with a treasurer (shanzodwa, T. phyag-mdzod-pa sogs grwa-pa lnga-bcu phyag g-yog-la gong gnang zhiin ‘rje-bsun dam-pa hotho-gtu’i cho-lo dang ja-sa tham-ka sogs gzings bstod rgya cher gnang/46 (p. 3.) mün kü jil Töbet Botala-yin yajar dalai blam-a Navanglbsangjamcu-a’cha jibündambha qutyetu kemekü čola: sira torjan-ı sükür kereqegülbe: mün bančın erdeni dalai blam-a ekilen olan mergen-e če vačir dar-a erke-yin wang abisij gün nom-ud-i qumpa-yin usun jegülekü adaı biridiken abuqüd/ In that very year he was titled as Bogd by Agwaanluwsamajts (T. Ngag-dban blo-bzang rgya-mtsho), the 5th Dalai Lama, and received also a yellow silken umbrella. Besides, from such eminent masters as the Panchen Lama and others he received in their entirety the empowerment and deep doctrines of the power of Vajradhara, like water being poured out of a vase (see also Bawden, p. 44, footnote 6.).57) bayši sangjodba gebkıı soyiibon-ača uručud (?) terigüten tabiýad tangad guwaray dayaýunun čayarçın tulat jil jalaraaj iregsegger over- двигател gurub-iyar uratyaýsan vačir dar-a tabun ‘jabur-tu (p. 4.) terigüten sütügen keyid oron-i olanta baryllülge: tende’re nom-un yeke kürü-yi ribogejiling-dür erte Jamiyan čorjı-bar Breyibung-dur dolóyan daçang baryllyluan meti: amdaunar: jasa: sängiy: fouaïa: keükken noyan-ı: daqan emić: örlüüd aymyar doloy-a terigüten-i baryllülgi şasın-i delgeregülbèi:48 T. Jam-dbyangs chos-rje, who founded the famous Drepung Monastery (Bereiwen/Bereewen, T. ‘bras-spungs) near Lhasa in 1416.58

50 Öndör gegeen founded Shangk Monastery (later called Baruun Khüree), and also enlarged the nearby Erdene zuu monastery. He also established a retreat in Khangai Mountain, near his first home, called E-Wam dga’-khyl (in Tibetan) or Duuokhán/Töwkhön (T. sgrub-khang). In 2004 this site was included on the list of the World’s Cultural Heritage Sites, together with other sites in the Orkhon valley. For further information see www.mongoliantemples.net.

Heissig, W., Erdeni-yin erike. Mongolische Chronik der lamaistischen Klosterbauten der Mongolei von Ishibaldan (1835), Kopenhagen 1961

45 dgon-pa ’debs-pa’i grogs ram-du/ grwa-tshang bla-ma/ phyag-mdzod-pa sogs grwa-pa lnga-bcu phyag g-yog-la gong gnang zhiin ‘rje-bsun dam-pa hotho-gtu’i cho-lo dang ja-sa tham-ka sogs gzings bstod rgya cher gnang/

46 (p. 3.) mün kü jil Töbet Botala-yin yajar dalai blam-a Navanglbsangjamcu-a’cha jibündambha qutyetu kemekü čola: sira torjan-ı sükür kereqegülbe: mün bančın erdeni dalai blam-a ekilen olan mergen-e če vačir dar-a erke-yin wang abisij gün nom-ud-i qumpa-yin usun jegülekü adaı biridiken abuqüd/ In that very year he was titled as Bogd by Agwaanluwsamajts (T. Ngag-dban blo-bzang rgya-mtsho), the 5th Dalai Lama, and received also a yellow silken umbrella. Besides, from such eminent masters as the Panchen Lama and others he received in their entirety the empowerment and deep doctrines of the power of Vajradhara, like water being poured out of a vase (see also Bawden, p. 44, footnote 6.).


48 T. Jam-dbyangs chos-rje, who founded the famous Drepung Monastery (Bereiwen/Bereewen, T. ‘bras-spungs) near Lhasa in 1416.

49 Öndör gegeen founded Shangk Monastery (later called Baruun Khüree), and also enlarged the nearby Erdene zuu monastery. He also established a retreat in Khangai Mountain, near his first home, called E-Wam dga’-khyl (in Tibetan) or Duuokhán/Töwkhön (T. sgrub-khang). In 2004 this site was included on the list of the World’s Cultural Heritage Sites, together with other sites in the Orkhon valley. For further information see www.mongoliantemples.net.

50 Heissig, W., Erdeni-yin erike. Mongolische Chronik der lamaistischen Klosterbauten der Mongolei von Ishibaldan (1835), Kopenhagen 1961
Baruun Khüree (‘Western Khüree’).

According to the Rosary of White Lotuses by Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-mtsho (English translation, p. 338.) the 1st Bogd returned to his country from Tibet in 1651 (Rabbit Year), and in 1654 (Wood Male Horse Year) he set up a great monastery and named it Riwogejigandanshaddüwlin (ri-bo dge-rgyas dga’-ldan bshad-sgrub gling), in Khentii Mountain (Khen-tha’i han).

According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 17.) the complex of Riwogejigandanshaddüwlin was built with brick and wooden temples between 1654-1680. Due to the Khalkh-Oyirad wars it was destroyed in 1680 and revived again only in 1706 in Tsetserlegiin Erdene Tolgoi. From that time the main assembly hall was called Bat-Tsagaan and Öndör gegeen’s camp became known as Ikh Khüree (M. yeke küriyen). Therefore, some researchers considers 1706 as date of the foundation of the capital city.

We can conclude that in the lifetime of Öndör gegeen, his camp consisted of his dwelling palace (örgöö) and some other yurts. With the establishment of the assembly hall it became a place of worship, where ceremonies and services were held. Initially, the aimags were named after monastic functions (originally housing lamas who carried them out), thus they had names with a specific meaning, like Sangiin aimag (M. sang, ‘aimag of the treasury’), Zoogiin aimag (M. jo’yol, ‘aimag of food’), Jasiin aimag (M. jisa, ‘aimag of the administration unit’), Darkhan emchiin aimag (M. darqan emči, ‘aimag of the honoured doctor’), Anduu nariin aimag (M. Amdu-nar, ‘aimag of the Tibetans coming from Amdo’), Örlögüüdiin aimag (a term with controversial meaning, ‘aimag of the nunny (örlög ekh, M. örlüg eke)’ of Öndör gegeen or ‘aimag of the generals (örlög, M. örlüg)’) and Khüükhen noyonii aimag (M. keüken noyan, ‘aimag of the Noble Lady’, i.e. Öndör gegeen’s spouse). Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 9.) that four new aimags were added during Öndör Gegeen’s old age to the original seven: Shüteenii aimag (M. sitügen), Setsen toinii aimag (M. sečen toyin), Bargiin aimag (M. barγu), and Bandidiin aimag (M. bandida) (the meaning of these four are most probably derived from, ‘aimag where the object of worship was held’, ‘aimag of Setsen toin’, ‘aimag of the Barga people’, ‘aimag of the Paōðita lamas’). According to Diwaasambuu, the assemblies created by Öndör gegeen in his old age reviving all the religious traditions (Nyingmapa, Sakyapa and Karmapa) had been ever followed in Mongolia.

Re-location of the Capital and the Formation of the Aimags within it

For over 100 years after its inception, the capital did not settle in one place. Up to 1855 it moved 28 times. Based on the data of the Erdeni-yin erike, Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 19.) lists and Pürew shows a sketch of the re-locations of Bogdiin Khüree over time (Pürew, Ulaanbaatar 360, p. 12., see Appendices). Thus, the residence (i.e. the capital city) of the Bogds was situated in the following places in order: Shireet tsagaan nuur or Örgöö (1639), Khöshöö tsaidam (1640), Sardagiin khiid (1654) Ögöömör (1688), Inner-Mongolia (1690), Tsersetlegiin Erdene Tolgoi (1700), Daagandel (1719), Usan Seer (1720), Tamir (1722), Jargalant (1723), Iween gol, Ugtal Jargalant (1724), Khüjirbulangiin Jargalant (1729), Burgaltai (1730), Sögnögör (1732), Terelj (1733), Uliastai (1734), Khüi Mandal (1736), Khüi Mandal (1736), Khüi Mandal (1736), Khüi Mandal (1736), Khüi Mandal (1736).

51 It is not clear what the three different monastery names refer to (Bereiwen gejilin, G.andanshaddubdarjaalin, Riwogejigandanshaddublin). However, the latest one was used for the main assembly hall of the residence.

52 According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 58.) originally Jasiin aimag was responsible for mending, reparation, and catering (tsaw and manz), whilst Sangiin aimag was the treasury of the khutagt. According to Pozdneev (p. 44.), the aimags of Khüükhen noyon and Darkhan emch received their names from the associates of the gegeen who built these aimag temples at their own expense and sponsored their operation.

53 G. Diwaasambuu, D. Taiwansaikhan, Mongoliin burkhan shashnii tüükhen toim, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 89.
Khuntsal (1740), Üdleg (1742), Ögöömör (1743), Selbe (1747), Uliastai (1756), Selbe (1762), Khüii Mandal (1772), Selbe (1778), Tolgoit (1839), Selbe (1855).

From the reign of the 2nd Bogd (1724-1758) the city was called Khüree. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 9.) during this time eleven new aimags were added to the eleven founded by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, to give a total of 22. These aimags were: Erkhem toinii aimag (M. erkim toyin), Mergen nomon khanii aimag (M. mergen nom-un qayan), Wangiin aimag (M. wang), Nomchiin aimag (M. nomči), Mergen khambiin aimag (M. mergen q.ambu), Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag (M. erdeni qubilγan), Jadariin aimag (T. khye’i rdor), Lam nariin aimag (M. lama-nar), Biziyaagin aimag (Skr. Uåóīavijayā), Dugariin aimag (T. gdugs dkar), and Düinkhoriin aimag (T. dus-’khor). The aimags were residential and economic units, where people originating from the same territories in Mongolia lived together. As Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 12.), the names of the aimags changed several times depending on their residents. In addition to their names, from the 1740’s, initiated by the 2nd Bogd each aimag was marked with a letter of the Tibetan alphabet (ka, kha, ga, nga, etc., See Appendices) in order to their arrangement and date of origin.

The capital settled in the area of present day Ulaanbaatar in 1778. That is in the Tuul valley surrounded by the four holy mountains: Bogd khan uul, Songino uul, Chingeltei uul and Bayanzürkh uul. Since this time the capital has been named as Ikh Khüree khot. It moved west to Tolgoit, near Songino Mountain, in 1839 but than moved back again in 1855 to settle permanently, on its present site, on the bank of Selbe River. The main temple and the residence of the Bogd, which was called Yellow Palace (Shar ord(on), M. sir-a ordu/ordon) or Yellow zone of the Bogd (shar büs, M. sir-a büse) was on the right bank of Selbe River in the Eastern monastic district (Züün Khüree) of the capital, which, according to Banzragch (Khüree khiid, p. 15.), measured 720×720 ald (1 ald=1.6 m). This area became the administrative centre of the capital as well as the main residence of the Bogd. The Western part of the settlement, occupied by Gandan, came into being at the beginning of the 19th century. It became the centre for philosophical Buddhist studies (though it served as dwelling for some years to the 5th jewtsündamba khutagt). Due to the many re-locations of the capital, the original sites of some of the buildings i.e. where they were established for the first time, cannot be determined.

According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, pp. 20-21.) the movings had many reasons such as appearing of scurvy (chiig bam) and other epidemics when residing too long at one place, and superstitions, as the 6th and 7th Bogds died young when the part of the city had moved to the nearby Tolgoit. However, the main reason of re-locations originates in the Mongolian lifestyle.

According to Sereeter, between 1775 and 1903 eight new aimags were added to the 22 making 30 in total: Makhamayaagtiin aimag (Skr. Mahāmāyā), Dondowlingiin aimag (T. thos bsam gling), Namdollingiin aimag (T. rnam grol gling), Jamiyansingiin/Choinsingiin aimag (T. 'jam-dbyangs brsng,chos-dbyings brsung), Choinkhorlingiin aimag (T. chos-'khor gling), Dashdandarlin aimag (T. bkra-shis bstan dar gling), and as the last, Ekh daginiin aimag (M. eke, Skr. Ākinī).

Though in Öndör Gegeen’s time there were aimags named after functions, but later aimags were founded for different criteria: for nobles; high ranking lamas; for the worship of different deities. The distinctive feature of the aimag structure was that young men joining the temples lived in the aimag along with those from the same countryside area.

**Capital Forming Activities of the Bogds**

Bogdīn Khüree, being the religious centre and the residence of the religious leader and, later, a commercial centre, played a significant role among the 61 large monastic
complexes throughout Mongolia (See Rinchen map 43.). The population and the number of lamas in Bogdiin Khüree increased throughout the centuries. Pozdneev gives details about the gradual elevation of the city and its formation into the main administrative center (Mongols, pp. 45-46.) in Mongolia. He claims that at the time of Öndör gegeen’s death, Urga was considered preeminent among the monasteries of Mongolia.

The next incarnation of Öndör gegeen was born in Mongolia, but further incarnations were all born in Tibet and, after being elevated to the throne in Beijing, with the approval of the Manchu emperor, resided in Mongolia as religious leader of the country. According to the Golden Annals (98r-99v) the 2nd Bogd, Luwsandambidondme (T. blo-bzang bstan-pa’i sgron-me, 1724-1758) founded a tantric assembly (jüd, T. rgyud, M. jüd) called Dechensanaglin (T. bde-chen gsang-sngags gling) in 1739, and the first philosophical assembly (tsanid, T. mtshan-nyid, M. čanid) in 1756 based on the philosophical view of the Tibetan Gomang philosophic monastic school (Goman datsan, T. sgo-mang grwa-tshang) of Drepung monastery. Pozdneev claims that the 2nd Bogd was elevated to his throne in 1729, and Urga became his principal residence. According to him, in 1754 the first office was established in Khüree to supervise the subordinated people’s affairs, and their administration was commended to the shanzodwa, the head of the Erdene shanzodwini yaam (Ministry of Administration of Ecclesiastical Estate). The position was first occupied by lama Sündüw Dorj, who was appointed with the title of setsen toin. However, Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 124.) that he occupied the position from 1754 till 1764 as the fourth erdene shanzodwa and that he had the rank of chandman’ setsen toin (Skr. cintamača).

Pozdneev adds that the Bogd founded the first philosophical school in Mongolia in 1756 he had the sole rights to confirm the degree to those lamas who completed the courses and took the exams.

According to the Golden Annals (99a) the 3rd Bogd, Isthindiinyam (ye-shes bstan-pa’i nyi-ma, 1758-1773) founded a medical monastic school (T. sman-pa grwa-tshang) in Khüree, called Erdene emch (M. erdeni emči) in 1760. Pozdneev adds that after the death of the 2nd Bogd in 1758, the Manchu emperor (Tenger tetgesen) issued a command related to the office of shanzodwa: “Although the shanzodwa Sundub Dorje (Sündüw Dorj) is present in the Khüree for the supervision of the teachings and services, one man is not enough for the administration of all the lower shabinar (shaw’ nar). For this reason it is commanded that the Khalkh tusalakchi chia-chi (Khalkh tuslagch janjin, ‘vice general’) Sanji Dorji (Sanzaidorj) be summoned, and let him, in overseeing the Khüree, administer well all the hutukhtu’s shabinar. …” Due to this command a Mongol amban (governor) was appointed in Bogdiin Khüree. In 1761 a second amban was appointed for the same purpose, a Manchu one.

According to the Golden Annals (101v-116v) the 4th Bogd, Luwsantüwdenwanchugjmedjams (blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phug ’jigs-med rgya-mtsho) (1775-1813) after studying in Tibetan monastic universities, founded an astrological monastic school (T. rtsis-pa grwa-tshang), called zurkhai datsan in Mongolian (M. jiruqai) in Khüree in 1789. He was a highly intelligent and well qualified lama, attaining the agramba (T. sngags-rams-pa) degree, the doctor of vajrayāna tantric studies. He founded the Dechingalaw temple (T. bde-chen bskal-pa) for the ceremonies of Kālacakra (Düinkhor, T. dus-’khor) in 1806, and re-named the tantric school, which was founded by the 2nd Bogd, as Badma yogo (T. pad-ma yo-ga). Furthermore, in 1807 he established Shadüwlin (T. bshad-sgrub gling) in a valley on the outskirts of Urga, as a place for meditation. In 1809 he founded the second philosophical monastic school (choir, T. chos-grwa, M. čovyir-a) in Gandan next to the previous one in Khüree, based on the philosophical views of Loselling philosophical monastic school (Losalin datsan, T. blo-
gsal-gling grwa-tshang) of the Tibetan Drepung monastery. In 1786 a decree was issued in Beijing according to Pozdneev (p. 46.), which gave right to the Urga ambans to make final decisions considering the administrative affairs of Tüsheet khan and Setsen khan aimags. Pozdneev concludes that with this final event in the elevation of Urga, besides being a religious center and the center of learning, Urga became the highest civil authority. Furthermore, Urga became a commercial center with Chinese merchants establishing permanent residences in the city and returning home only to bring fresh wares. It seems that the 4th Bogd lived in accordance with the high moral and ethical standards required by Buddhism. According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 38.) agramba degree was firstly obtained during the reign of the 4th Bogd.

According to the Golden Annals (117r-120r) the 5th Bogd, Luwsantsültimjigmeddambiijaltsan (T. blo-bzang tshul-khrims ’jigs-med bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan, 1815-1841) renewed the two philosophical monastic schools (datsan) in 1837 giving them the names Dashchoimbel datsan (T. bkra-shis chos-’phel) for the first one and Güngaachoilin datsan (T. kun-dga’ chos-gl Ling) for the second (Dharmatāla claims the same, English translation, p. 347.). Pozdneev confirms (p. 76.) that in 1809 two large temples were built in Khüree for philosophical studies, with the lama students dwelling in a separate section of the city that later became known by the name of Gandan. The two philosophy temples were situated next to each other. Gandantegchenlin temple (T. dga’-ldan theg-chen gling) and the palace of the 5th Bogd were built in 1838 in front of them. During the 5th Bogd’s reign, the Maitreya temple was erected in 1833 to house the statue of Maitreya, the future Buddha. It stood behind the main assembly hall in Züün Khüree. Furthermore, palaces like Güngaadejidlin and Pandelin were established in the bank of Tuul River. In this time about 10,000 lamas belonged to Bogdiin Khüree. Gandan became the center of the 5th Bogd for a while as Ikh Khüree moved to Tolgoit from 1839 until 1855, when it is finally settled again on the banks of Selbe River.

Both the 6th Bogd, Luwsanbaldanjaltsan or Luwsandambiijaltsan (T. blo-bzang dpal-lidan rgyal-mtshan or blo-bzang bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan, 1843-1848) and the 7th Bogd, Agwaanchoijiwanchugprinleijamts (T. ngag-dbangchos-kyi dbang-phyug ’phrin-las rgya-mtsho, 1849-1868 or 1850-1870) died young.

As for the relics (sharil, M. šaril) of the Bogds, relic temples were built to house their funerary stūpas. Amarbayasgalant monastery (in the present Selenge aimag), with its isolated and calm atmosphere, was built in honour of the 1st Bogd by the Manchu emperor, Tenger tetgesen (Qianlong, 1735-1796), and became a kind of retreat or summer monastery of subsequent Bogds. The wooden relics temple of the 1st and the 4th Bogds still stand there, but the relics disappeared during the purges. The relics temples of the 2nd, 3rd and 6th Bogds were built in the area of Dambadarjaalin monastery (R-939) but these were also destroyed during the purges. The temples which housed the stūpas of the 5th, 7th and 8th khutagt still exist in Gandan though again their stūpas were destroyed.

The Rosery of White Lotuses composed by Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-mtsho54 summerizes the development of the city as the following (Tibetan text, pp. 241-242., English translation, p. 422.): in Khalkha the 1st Bogd, Luwsandambiijaltsan who acted on the orders of the All-Knowing Panchen, built the great monastery of Ribogeji Gandanshaddüwlin, which had its own tantric monastic school (brgyud-pa grwa-tshang). At first, (only) Amdo (narin) aimag was installed, but later the number of aimags increased to 28 (thus, at the time of composing this chronicle there were 28 aimags in

Bogdiin Khüree), which were engaged in teachings and listenings. The 2nd Bogd, Luwsandambiidonme built a great monastery called Dambadarjaalin (R-939). It had three colleges: dialectics (mtshan-nyid), Tantric (brygud-pa), and medical (sman-pa). The dialectics school, named Dashchoimbellin (bkra-shis chos-'phel gling) followed the textbook composed by Günchin Jamiyaa Shadaw together with its teachings and listenings (for details see the description of Dambadarjaalin below). The 4th Bogd, Tüwdenwanchugijmedjams set up three monastic schools, of astrology (skar-rtsis), medicine (sman-pa) and Kālachakra (dus-’khor). The 5th Bogd, Jigmeddambijaltsan built the Düikhor datsan Shaddüwlin, and set up the two temples of Dashchoinkhorlin and Güngachoilin, which were the gathering place for all the lamas of Ribogeji Gandanshaddüwlin. He also set up the pattern of teachings and listenings; it was based on the Gomang textbooks for the lamas of Dashchooilin (correctly Dashchoinbel) and on the Losallin textbooks for the lamas of Güngachoilin. He also set up Badmayyogo. Similarly, the ten thousand lamas and more, who resided in the great and famous Daa Khüree, were also organized in various schools.

Zawa lam Damin summerizing the temple building activity of the Bogds in his Golden Annals (160r) claims that in the middle of the Khalkh territories the monastic centre (T. gdan-sa) of the incarnating (sku-’phreng) Bogd is located called Ribogeji Gandanshaddüwlin or Daa Khural (tā khu-ral chen-po) which has more than ten thousand lamas. Inside the Yellow camp residence (bzhugs sgar ser-po, i.e. Yellow Place, Shar Ordon) His Eminence(s) founded a Kālacakira (dus-’khor) monastic school. Near the main assembly hall (thogs-chen ‘du-khang chen-po) they founded a tantric school (rgyud grwa), a medical school (sman grwa), an astrological school (rtsis grwa), the Maitreya datsan (byams chen grwa-tshang), and other temples. Outside of it, surrounding it there are numerous big, middle, and small quarters (khams-tshan, i.e. aimag) where lamas reside. In the Yellow residence of the monastic centre (bsti-gnas) of Gandantegchenlin the relics of

55 Darmatāla’s account is not precise. This temple was initiates by the 3rd Bogd.
56 Darmatāla’s account is not precise. This temple is not founded by the 4th Bogd as well as Shaddüwlin retreat.
the 5th Bogd are housed, and there is a dormitory called Didinpowran, and the datsan of His Eminence, called Gandantegchenlin. Behind it there are two large philosophical schools (chos grwa) studying the handbooks of Gomang and Loselling philosophical schools (sgo blo'i yig-cha'i chos-grwa chen-po), and Lamrim datsan, and theBadamyogo lama assembly (grwa-khang). Because of this institutions and attending spiritual friends, and teaching and listening of sūtras and mantras, and sciences in a superior level the city became famous everywhere. Zawa lam Damdin also mentions the nearby Dambadarjaalin, Shaddiüwlin, and Manzshir monastery (see its details in the relevant descriptions).59

The Bogd khaan’s Reign: the Autonomous Period (1911-1921)
The 8th Bogd, Agwaanluwsanchoijinyimadanzanwanchug (T. ngag-dbang chos-kyi ngyi-ma bstan-dzin dbang-phyug, 1870-1924) or the Bogd khaan had a very significant role in the Mongolian history. The revolution in China in 1911 resulted in the fall of the Manchu dynasty (Quing, China’s last dynasty). The 8th Bogd declared independence for Mongolia on 28 December 1911 and became the religious and political leader of Mongolia, bearing the title of Bogd khaan, which was the honorific rank of the Manchu emperor until this time. (The Chinese government did not recognize Mongolian independence, but, at the time, it was preoccupied with its own domestic problems. On 25 May 1915 in the Treaty of Khyagt limited authority was granted to Mongolia signed by Mongolia, China and Russia). The Bogd khaan established a monarchy with a government of five ministers in 1911. The ministries were the following: Ministry of the Interior (Dotood khergiig bügd zakhiran shiitgegch yaam), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gadaad khergiig bügd zakhiran shiitgegch yaam), Ministry of Military Affairs (Tsergiin khergiig bügd zarkhiran shiitgegch yaam), Ministry of Finance (Sangiin khergiig bügd zarkhiran shiitgegch yaam), Ministry of Justice (Shüükhiin khergiig bügd zarkhiran shiitgegch yaam). The Bogd and his ministers proclaimed Bogdiin Khüree as the capital of the newly established Mongolia. In 1912 other ministries as the Ministry of Customs (Gaaliin khergiig yerönkhiilön shiitgegch yaam) and that of the Prime Minister (Bügd yerönkhiilön shiitgekh yaam) were established as well as the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Shashin törd tuslagch saidiin yaam). Beside these ministries the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs was responsible for the affairs of the areas directly subordinated to the Bogd. Moreover, from 1911 powerful police (tsagdaa), prisons (shoron gyandan), and post service (shuudan) were formed, too. This period is called ‘the period of Bogd khaan’ (Bogd khaant üye) or ‘the period of autonomy’ (Awtonomit üye). The Oirads in the West also agreed to the independence. However, it can be described as relative independence as Chinese authorities still wished Mongolia to be a subordinate to China and stationed troops in the country. Taking advantage of Russia’s weakness the Gamin, the Chinese Nationalist army of the Kuomin-tang or Chinese Nationalist Party, which was set-up in 1912 an lead by Sun Yat Sen, came to Mongolia in 1919 where it occupied Khüree. Meanwhile in the north, in the revolution in Russia in October 1917 the power of the Tsar Nicholas II. was overthrown and the ‘White’ Russian army defeated. At the end of 1920, a putative White Russian (anti-communist) army, under the leadership of the defeated Baron Ungern von Sternberg, who aspired to restore the monarchy in Russia, came to ‘liberate’ Mongolia by expelling the Chinese Gamin army, which fled northwards. Ungern occupied Bogdiin Khüree in February 1921 and forced the Bogd khaan to move to

59 Although Zawa lam Damdin completed his chronicle in 1931 the sources and the date of origin of this part is not obvious. It seems that it was completed after the death of the 7th Bogd (1870), but before 1913, when new temples (Idgachoinzinlin datsan and Janraiseg datsan) were established. It seems that Zawa lam Damdin copied a previous account here and did not update it.
Manzshir monastery (46 km to the south of Ulaanbaatar in Töw aimag). According to Jambal (English text p. 57., Mongolian text p. 739.) Ungern’s troops occupied Urga and killed several Chinese both Gamin soldiers or merchants. Jambal also recounts how, on the 15th day of the lunar new year in 1921, Ungern went to Manzshir monastery with lamas and nobles and brought the Bogd khaan back to Urga. A Danshig ceremony for longevity (or Bat orshil örgök, T. brtan-bzhugs, ‘strengthening of the feet’, M. batu orosil ergükü) was performed the next day in the main assembly hall to honour the Bogd khaan who once again took his place on the throne. In fact, Ungern ruled Mongolia under the blessing of the Bogd khaan for a short period. However, Ungern’s activity began to be very aggressive as he executed not only the Chinese, but also many Jewish and Russian people, such as the dean of the Orthodox temple. The brutality of these White Russian forces pushed the emerging Mongol revolutionaries to make a personal visit to Lenin and ask for help in ridding the country of these troops. They are said to have visited Lenin personally. The new Russian government agreed and sent its Red army, already advancing in Siberia, to defeat the Ungern troops. The Red army and Mongol army recaptured Khüree in July 1921, chasing out Ungern. After this revolution, on 11 July, the People’s Government of Mongolia was declared. A new government sympathizing with the Communists, was formed by members of the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party led by D. Bodoo (1885-1922), S. Danzan (1885-1924) and D. Sükhbaatar (1893-1923). The Bogd khaan remained the titular leader of the country but without any power or rights.

Thousands of Russian troops poured into Mongolia from Russia, which resulted in the white Russian forces being finally defeated in 1922. Mongolian independence and the People’s Republic were declared in 1924, and the Bogd khaan passed away in the same year.

All in all, the reign of the Bogd khaan (though he was ill-famed for his dissipated way of life and lax morals) was a flourishing period in Mongolian religious history. Numerous monasteries were founded in the countryside and many temples were built in Bogdiiin Khüree, such as the Green Palace, Idgaachoinzinlin datsan, and Migjid Janraisegiin datsan. The Bogd khaan issued several commands to preserve the pure life of lamas, and to keep disciple purer. He forbid lamas to visit lay districts in parade robes, to flirt with women, to do business or act as merchants, to play hazard games, and to fight. During his reign the treasury of the Bogd, the city, and the treasuries of some clericals, and the financial units of temples became much richer than ever before due to donations and extremely high taxes.

---

60 According to the Golden Annals (161r) south of Khüree, in the forehead of (Bogd) Khan uul Mountain a monastic site was situated, founded originally as a retreat place by Donkhor khuwilgaan (T. stong-khor sprul-sku), the tutor of the 2nd Bogd. It was enlarged later, and was called as Manzshir lama monastery.

61 One of the most interesting books about the Bogd khaan was composed by S. Badarchi and N. Dugarsüren (Badarchi, O. S., Dugarsüren, Sh. N., Bogd khaanii amidraliiin on daraaalliiin towchoon. Ulaanbaatar 2000)
The Gradual Suppression of the Church and the Purges (1921-1940)

Besides the great classical books which analyze the stormy events of the 20th century of Mongolia (Rupen, Bawden, Moses), recently, Mongol researchers have started to publish books about this period, called khelmegdüüleltiin üye (‘the era of political persecution’).

Analyzing the various sources we can conclude that after the the revolution of 1921, which brought the communists to power, though more specifically, after the death of the 8th Bogd, the government, the administration of the city and the whole country were totally reformed. After the revolution, a small group of revolutionaries governed the country without broadbased support among the people. Nor did they, at this time, have any plans to annihilate the Buddhist faith: for a while peace was maintained between the monastics and the government. In 1921 one-third of the male population belonged to the approximately 1,000 monasteries; that was more than 100 thousand men who were lamas (including young boys as novices). This could not be changed at once.

In 1924, when the 8th Bogd, the Bogd khaan died, the communist government prevented a successor from being found. A prophecy forecasting that the Bogds would be reborn in Mongolia only eight times gave an apparent justification to the Party’s decision to forbid the search for the 9th incarnation.

On 26 November 1924, the Mongolian People’s Republic was declared. The Mongolian People’s Party was renamed as the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (Mongol Ardiin Khuw’sgalt Nam). The newly formed Republic had close connections to the Soviet Union, but Mongolian communism remained independent of Moscow until Stalin came to power in 1928. Afterwards, the political path of Mongolia, as in all other states within the Soviet Block, was determined by the Stalinist principles as well as ComIntern and its Mongolian representative, the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party. Kh. Choibalsan came to power in 1928. Following Stalin’s order, forced collectivisation began, i.e. the seizure and redistribution of land and herds. It was at this time that religion and the religious community began to be oppressed as the representatives of the “perverted view” were pursued. Under the ComIntern pressure, it was determined that the total extermination of Buddhism was to be undertaken in Mongolia. It began with political and economic sanctions introduced during 1924-1937 and ended with the total confiscation of all monastic property. The suppression was well planned and carefully executed.

From the early 1920’s onwards the authority and power of high-ranking lamas and nobles was restricted and they had to pay taxes. Collections were made from their treasuries and the financial units of monasteries. The Party started to force the lamas to become laymen and tried to hold back a new generation arising. An age limit of becoming a lama was set to more than 18 years of age and young novices were sent to state schools instead of monasteries. According to the documents kept in the National Central Archives, during the 1930s information was recorded on the names and number of monasteries and temples in the countryside with a careful population census being conducted with an emphasis on lamas and their ranks. Lamas in the capital city were also enlisted mainly into military registers according to their names, age, home area, previous ranks, positions and activities, their incomes and literacy. High taxes were levied especially to lamas and also to all inhabitants throughout the country. The lamas of military age were sent to army or had

to pay twice as much tax as others as a way of forcing them to leave their monasteries. According to the Party Archives’ documents the religious activities, festivals, ceremonies and rituals, and all the requests of individuals for Buddhist texts to be recited in temples became supervised and gradually repressed. However, these measures of the Party could not divert people from joining to monasteries and from supporting lamahood.

After 1929 the first wave of repressions started, with more than 700 people, mostly lamas imprisoned or executed, their property seized and collectivized. Many monasteries were forced to close. However, the government was forced to back off for a time because of the rebellions that broke out in different parts of the country. According to Ölziiibaatar, the first revolts against the monastic repression was in 1924-25 in Bayantümen, Namnangiin Khüree (Yaagaad 1937 on?, p. 288.). In the following years there were uprisings in the biggest monastic cities such as Zayaa bandid gegeen, Tögsbuyant, Ulaangom, Bodonch, Lamiin gegeen, Bayanzürkhiin Khüree (p. 291.). By the year of 1932 disapproval of party policy against the monastics spread all over the country. But the revolts were cruelly suppressed.

Measures against the monasteries and clerics continued to be taken: new novices were not allowed to join monasteries; young lamas were made to join the army instead; it was forbidden to build new monasteries.

However, according to Bawden (Modern History, p. 352., p. 358.), ‘The New Turn Policy’ was introduced in 1932, and, for a while, people were once again free to practice religion. The emptying out and destruction of temples were stopped along with the collectivization of livestock. Bawden states that over 300 monasteries and temples were re-activated between 1932 and 1936 and the number of lamas increased again. However, this policy turned out to be only a short break in a long-term plan.

Soon after this period the government began a merciless campaign against religion with the arrest of high-ranking lamas starting again in 1935, and leading to the bloody purges in 1937. The former Prime Minister P. Genden (1895-1937) was executed in Moscow by the KGB in 1937 for refusing Stalin’s orders to carry out the purges. Soon after Genden’s death, Choibalsan consolidated his power launching a reign of terror against the monasteries in which thousands of lamas were arrested and executed.

The mass executions started after a decision was made by the Revolutionary Party’s Central Commission at Party’s 7th congress, which was issued on the 27th of December, 1937. In pursuance of the classless and non-religious ideals of the communist authorities, more than 30,000 people were killed. Throughout the country all the 1000 monastic sites were closed most of them being completely destroyed between 1932 and 1945. In 1937 and 1938 approximately 17,000 lamas were arrested and executed. Several show trials of high ranking lamas were held with the charge of ‘counter-revolutionary activities’ being levelled against them. However, many of the victims were arrested and shot without a trial.

All high ranking lamas, such as heads of monasteries, saints (khutagt) and reincarnations (khuwilgaan) and those having theological degrees were executed. The medium-ranked lamas were jailed for 10 to 15 years or forced to go to labour camps in Siberia or to the army whilst the lowest ranked lamas, mainly young novices, were forced to disrobe and disrobe. Many of the informants together with other who joined to the army had to fight against Japanese near Khalkhiin gol (1939). Communal handicraft co-operatives (artel’) were established where ex-lamas were ordered to do “beneficial work for the society”. Others worked in agricultural co-operatives (negdel) in the countryside. During the period between 1924 and 1938 many other lamas left their monasteries and escaped to the countryside to survive the terror, where they became animal herders, workers and drivers. In this way, all the lamas who escaped execution or imprisonment became ordinary citizens. The monasteries were closed, emptied of their inhabitants and destroyed or burned
to the ground. Countless holy books and manuscripts were burnt and numerous artifacts and objects of worship were destroyed. The most valuable items such as the golden, silver, copper and bronze statues, and precious stones were taken to the Soviet Union with the statues made from less precious materials often being melted down to be re-cast as bullets.

This aggressive campaign against religion and lamas was part of the Communist authorities’ broader campaign to eliminate ‘counter-revolutionaries’, which was aimed not only at lamas but also at intellectuals (politicians, writers, thinkers, scientists, teachers) and others, hundreds of whom lost their lives.

According to Pürew (Uls töriin töw, p. 38.), and the outcomes of the present study, there were about 100 temples and assemblies in the present Ulaanbaatar area. Most of them were destroyed especially those made of wood, which were burnt down. The few remaining temple buildings were nationalized and used for prosaic purposes, such as a prison, hospital, warehouse, circus or museum. The smaller temples on the outskirts of the city were not destroyed as such but were neglected with little remaining of them.

Following the purges, monastic life effectively came to an end in the city, which was developed and reformed as the present day Ulaanbaatar was created. As Bawden says (Modern History, p. 367.) ‘Practically nothing survives in Ulaanbaatar to suggest that it lies on the site of the old Urga, the centre of Mongol Lamaism and once a rival in artistic splendour to Lhasa’. 63

The war with Japan in 1939 and the beginning of the Second World War put an end to the mass purges of the 1930’s. But the revolution and the purges resulted in everything being destroyed and cleared away, such as religion, the old economy based on monasteries, state institutions, and habits of people. The country was completely reorganized by the Soviets. In Ulaanbaatar new city planning was introduced, with Soviet-type concrete housing estates. Soviet schools opened, and the Soviet ideology was introduced to displace Buddhism. Simultaneously Cyrillic script was introduced which served as a foundation in state schools of ‘modern’ education. Medical centres were opened, religious representatives (shashnii töölöögch) were appointed with the response to report to the Party and to participate in religious conferences to Moscow. According to the informants Soviets together with Mongolians destroyed the monasteries and did the purges. Being a very sensitive topic its details were not concerned during the interviews. Supposedly, archives not only in Ulaanbaatar, but also in Moscow contains commands for the purges.

63 It took a long time for peace to come to Mongolia: Choibalsan died in 1952 and was replaced by Tsedenbal, both of whom kept a tight and repressive grip on the country. It was only after Stalin’s death in 1953 that, by the mid 1960’s, Mongolia had relative peace. However, all religious worship and ceremonies remained prohibited until 1990, when the democratic change came at last.
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

Due to the presence of the Bogd, the large number of temples and the vivid religious and commercial life Bogdii Khüree was one of the most attractive monastic sites in Mongolia. The city was well-known from its 10 datsans and 30 aimags. Famous incarnated lamas and nobles of the four aimags and the Ikh shaw’ areas had private residences in the city which was a busy commercial centre with experienced Chinese and Russian merchants and Mongolian retailers. Lots of pilgrims visited the city to ask for audience or only to catch sight of the Bogd, to worship the huge statues of Janraiseg (T. spyan-ras-gzigs, Skr. Avalokiteśvara) and Maidar (T. byams-pa, Skr. Maitreya) and to circumambulate on the pilgrimage route. Many people came just to visit their lama relatives and to give donations to the temple he belonged to. It was usual that a young novice becoming lama in the countryside followed his older brother or other lama relative to the city. These children were usually poor and became pupils of adult lamas, receiving some meal in return for running the kitchen and the household. Copying Tibetan books by hand was also a way to earn some möngö. Poor adults and families also came to the city hoping a better standard of living. They tried to live on from working or from begging. Although not every lama had high moral standards several lamas lived exemplary life. Besides keeping the moral regulations monastic education had great importance. The most educated lamas could bear religious ranks or fulfill administrative positions. This chapter make an attempt to describe the religious organizations and life of the period of the 8th Bogd together with reference to their origin.

Lama hierarchy

The Bogds owned all the supreme rights in religious and administrative questions (and advised to the Manchu emperor). Tibetan tutors were nominated to educate and support them in Mongolia, such the khachin lam (or gachin lam, T. mkhan chen, ‘great abbot’) who was always appointed by the Panchen Lama, and the yonzon lam (T. yongs-‘dzin, tutor, spiritual teacher) who was appointed by the Dalai Lama.

The hierarchy of the lamas is described by Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 55.) and Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 18.). The seven highest-ranking lamas in Khüree, namely the head abbot (khamba nomon khan, M. q.ambu nom-un qaγan), the vice abbot (ded khamba, M. ded q.ambu) and the five tsorj (T. chos-rique, Skr. dharmavānīna, M. čorji, ‘lord of religion’) were appointed by the Bogd himself. The communal name for them was ‘the seven tsorj of Ikh Khüree’ or ‘the seven tsorj of the Bogd’ (Ikh Khüreenii doloon tsorj or Bogdii doloon tsorj) or they were referred to as Ikh Chogchin/Ikh Tsogchin (‘the main assembly hall’, M. yeke čoyčin). They all had to be fully-ordained lamas (gelen, T. dge-slong, M. gelüng) with agramba degree, the highest level tantric exam (Dariimaa, p. 18.). They had special seats in the main assembly hall where they gathered for ceremonies.64 Due to their main role in religious affairs, the last holders of these offices were all sentenced and executed in 1937.

Among them the head abbot was the highest religious office holder, being the most significant cleric person apart from the Bogd. As Sereeter mentions (pp. 96-108.) the 1st khamba nomon khan, Luwsanjambaldanzan (T. blo-bzang jam-dpal bstan-‘dzin), lowon (T. slob-dpon, M. lobon, ‘master’) lama of the Tibetan Namgyal monastic school (Namjira datsan, T. rnam-rgyal grwa-tshang) came to Mongolia at the invitation of Öndör gegeen

---

64 According to Soninbayar (Gandantegchinlen khiid, pp. 64-65.) beside the seven tsorj of the Bogd, the seven main priviledged khutagts with seal (tamgatai khutag) had the right to sit in distinguished places in any ceremony held in Ikh Khüree.
and on the request of the 5th Dalai Lama. He arrived in the early 1650’s and become the abbot (shireet lam, T. khrì-pa, M. srigetü lama, ‘throne-holder, head lama’) of the main assembly hall. He established the system of religious ceremonies, special rituals and rules of reciting while promoting a proper understanding of Buddha’s teaching and the taking of higher monastic vows. Luwanksnkhaimchog lama (T. blo-bzang mkhas mchog), the 21st khamba nomon khan, was the last to fulfill this position from 1920 until his execution in 1937.

As the numbers of datsans and temples increased, a vice abbot or ded khamba (Sereeter, p. 109.) was appointed in 1822 with Luwanksnkhaidaw lama to be the first to hold this post. The last lama to hold this title until his execution in 1937 was Damdin(jaw), who was the 16th ded khamba (Sereeter, p. 112.). The rank of tsorj has a long history but is mentioned in sources only from the 1790’s. The tsorj lamas of the main assembly hall were always appointed from among highly educated lamas holding academic ranks. Their principal roles were in religious activities and training of lamas and novices. Sereeter lists (Ikh Khüree, pp. 113-121.) from the first recorded mention of the tsorj, 44 lamas who held this title with Tsogt-Zandan, Choinzon and Jantsan holding this position in 1937. Soninbayar, who lists the last seven tsorj of Bogdiin Khüree (Gandantegchinlen kihid, p. 73.) claims that the last five tsorj of Bogdiin Khüree besides Yonzon khamba nomon khan Luwanksnkhaimchog and ded khamba Damdin were Tsogt-Zandan tsorj of Dandarlin aimag (executed in 1937), Chogloi tsorj of Jasiin aimag, Jantsan tsorj of Wangain aimag (executed in 1937), Dugarjaa tsorj of Namdollin aimag, and Mangal tsorj of Biziyaagin aimag.

Together with the seven tsorj the four disciplinary masters (gesgüi) and the four chanting masters (umzad/unzad, T. dbu-mdzad, M. umjad) of the main assembly hall ruled on every religious question in the capital. The disciplinary masters were responsible for the proper order of ceremonies and special events, disciplining lamas and novices, handing out punishments as necessary as well as maintaining links with devotees. During the ceremonies, the chanting masters had significant role of leading the recitation of texts.

According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, pp. 27-29.) in the Manchu period the khamba nomon khan, the ded khamba, the 5 tsorj, the 4 disciplinary masters and the 4 chanting masters of the main assembly hall were appointed by the Manchu amban advised by the Bogd and the erdene shanzodwa.65 Ranks and other duties in the individual temples

In Bogdiin Khüree lamas lived in one of the 30 aimags. All the countryside area (khoshuus and otogs of the 4 aimags and the Ikh shaw’) had a towkhan66 or an ew ‘(agreement, harmony’) in one of the 30 aimags, so a lama coming from a given area had to live in the correspond aimag in Bogdiin Khüree.67 Lamas could study in one of the monastic schools

65 Moreover, other important duties were also fulfilled such as tsogchin duganii daamal, tsogchin duganii darga, gürmiin unzad (p. 29.) and many other attendants supported the everyday life of the Bogd (see details in Pozdneev’s chapter on the monastic hierarchy, 19th Century, pp. 221-234.). Pozdneev claims (Mongols, p. 56.) that Öndör gegeen when establishing the lama hierarchy told to the disciplinary master that he will have power in the temple among the lamas, except of those sitting in the northeast part of the temple, namely the jewtsündamba khutagt, the khamba and the tsorj. Therefore, in the hierarchy he occupies the fourth place. Two changing masters, bearing the title of erdene chandmaan’, and the senior drummer, bearing the title Tookhain khub’ khengeregch were also in connection with Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (Mongols, p. 56.)
66 Exact meaning unknown. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 13.) towkhan means ‘baishin olokh’, i.e. acquiring a house, T. thob khang (?). Sereeter claims that it was not a real house, but a right to join to an assembly hall.
67 For example the following khoshuus had towkhan in Namdollin aimag: Achat wangiin khoshuu (Zasagt khan aimag); Dalainchoinkhor wangiin khoshuu (Sain noyon khan aimag); Tüsheet wangiin khoshuu (Tüsheit khan aimag), Bishrelt wangiin khoshuu, and Baatar bellin khoshuu (Setsen khan aimag). The
or participate in ceremonies of their own aimag temple. Every aimag temple and datsan had its own ‘director and staff’. Usually the following ranked lamas belonged to the ‘directors and staff’ of the temple: head (tergiiin lam, M. terigiiin lama) or chief lama (ikh lam, M. yeke lama), vice lama (baga lam, M. baya lama), disciplinary master, chanting master, shrinekeeper (duganch, T. ‘du-khang-pa, M. dvy.angci), offering preparer (takhilch, M. takilci, or offering cake preparer balinch, M. balingci), stoker (galch, M. yalci), cook (zam togooch, T. ja-ma, M. toyoaici), water porter (usch, M. usuici), and guard (manaach, M. manayaici). Usually the ikh lam or the lowon was the head in the aimags, whilst in datsans it was the shunlaiv (T. gezhung lugs-pa) who fulfilled this position being always a learnt lama. The number of disciplinary masters, chanting masters, and the staff depended on the size of the temple. 1-2-4 disciplinary masters, 1-2-4 chanting masters, a chief officer (zaisan, M. jayisang), or a manager (daamal, M. dayamal), some bursars (jaskhiiu, nyaraw), and several shrine-keepers belonged to a temple. The chief lama and the vice lama could use ranks, as lowon, etc. The directors (shashnii zakhirgaa) were nominated by the Ikh Chogchin. The discipline was the response of the disciplinary master as separate court did not exist. The authority of disciplinary masters was in many cases the same as the chief lama himself. After taking the vows of new novices (lobnar, T. slob) which was supervised by the tsorj, children became band and had to participate in ceremonies in the main assembly hall. Later, the ‘directors’ of the aimag decided whether the band could became a pupil (shaw’) of lamas. Then, he learnt Tibetan script, prayers and their meaning till the age of 15-20 when the ‘directors’ of the aimag sent the proper ones to join a monastic school. Lamas were settled and registered in their own aimag (ooriin aimagt burtgeltei lam nar) which area was grouped by 10-10 courtyards subordinated to a leader. It was also called dewsger oruulakh, and dewsgerten lam (‘lama with rug to sit’) and engiin lam (‘common lama’) were distinguished. Until 1911 this structure had been operated without change. That lamas who belonged to an aimag, and that lamas who did not reside in aimags (Tus aimgiin dewsgerten ba gадur sundag lam narin burtgel) were counted in the beginning of the 1900s, and mainly in the 1930’s (Tus aimgiin dewsgertei lam narin ners too burtgel). Every aimag had its rules and regulation (deglem juram, T. srig-lam, M. jirim) which had to be followed concerning permanent residence, proper way of participation in ceremonies, studying in monastic schools, etc.

In every temple the offering master (chombon, chowombo, T. mchod-dpon) together with the offering assistants (takhilch), was responsible for the preparation and proper arrangement of the offerings. The chanting masters’ assistants were the chanters (galch, M. yoolci), taking a leading part in the recitation. Disciplinary assistants (geyeg, T. dge-g-yog) helped with the activities of the disciplinary masters, while the shrine keepers (duganch) were responsible for keeping the temples clean and ensuring that the right belongings or accessories were ready when needed. Guards (sakhiul), and tea-servers (manzach, T. mang ja) and water porters were appointed by the disciplinary masters.

Eminent Lamas
The monastic schools were the places in the city where lamas were trained in different fields of Buddhist studies. The philosophical monastic schools (tsanid datsan or choir, T. mtshan-niyid grwa-tshang, chos-grwa) trained thousands of lamas who studied the five following ew belonged to the aimag: Darkhan wanggiin khoshuu, Ilden wanggiin khoshuu, Erkhemseg beisiin khoshuu, Uszen wanggiin khoshuu, Khurts wanggiin khoshuu, Erkh gungiin khoshuu, Mergen gungiin khoshuu, and Daichin beiliin khoshuu (Setsen khan aimag). Furthermore, from the areas which were subordinated directly to the Bogd (Ikh shaw’) Nomch nomon khanii otog, and Órshoolig soyogch khiid (Ninjdolbiin khuuree) also had towkhaps in this aimag. (Sereeter, Ikh Khüree, p. 45.)
principal fields of Buddhist philosophy, namely Pramāṇavārttika (namdel, T. tshad-ma rnam-'grel, commentary on valid cognition, logic), Prājñāpāramita (bīlig baramid, T. shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa, transcendent knowledge), Madhyamaka (töw ızel, T. dbu-ma, middle way), Abhidharma (ilt nom, T. mngon-pa, metaphysics) and Vinaya ((dulwaa, T. ‘dul-ba, monastic discipline). The monks studied in classes (zinda, T. ‘dzin-grwa) where they could obtain different ranks according to the number of classes that they had finished successfully. The lamas who were trained in monastic schools practiced their knowledge in debate (nom khayaltsakh, T. rtso-d-lan). Those who completed their studies of Pramāṇavārttika and Pāramitās could obtain the degree of gewsh (T. dge-bshes, ‘virtuous friend’, high academic degree) taking domiin damjaa (T. sdom-pa’i dam-bca’, ‘to take a vow’). Those who successfully completed their studies of all the five principal fields obtained the highest academic rank, the degree of gawj (T. dka’-bcu, ‘ten hardships’). Talented lamas could also visit monasteries in Tibet (Kumbum, Labrang, Drepung, Tashilhunpo, etc.) where they could study for and obtain the rank doorombo/dooramba (T. rdo-rams-pa), zeerembe (T. rtsis-rims-pa) in astrology, and agramba (T. sngags-rams-pa) in the tantric monastic schools which meant the highest examination, as it was correspond to the doctor of Vajrayāna studies. However, there is contradict information whether maaramba and zeerembe exams could have been taken in the city. Agramba exams were surely held and fulfilling certain positions (for example tsorj) this qualification was required.

Three other monastic schools (medical, astrological, and tantric) also operated in the city training some hundreds of lamas. However, due to the difficulty of their special subject, and the requirement of preliminary philisophical education, only a couple of lamas were able to obtain degrees studying in them. Maaramba (T. sman-rams-pa) degree could have been obtained in the medical monastic school, zeerembe (T. rtsis-rims-pa) in astrology, and agramba (T. sngags-rams-pa) in the tantric monastic schools which meant the highest examination, as it was correspond to the doctor of Vajrayāna studies. However, there is contradict information whether maaramba and zeerembe exams could have been taken in the city. Agramba exams were surely held and fulfilling certain positions (for example tsorj) this qualification was required.

Eminent Tibetan polymath lamas of Mongolia appeared mainly from the highly qualified lamas. As Tibetan was the sacred language in Mongolia, lamas were more familiar with it than Mongolian scripts, thus philisophical essays, and almost all the literature were composed in Tibetan. Names of some of them are referred in some publications of Lokesh Chandra68 and R. Byamba.69 As is well-known the 1st, 4th and 8th Bogds composed numerous volumes covering all religious topics. What follows here is a list about the eminent polymath of Bogdīn Khūrē, compiled in Tibetan by a Mongolian lama, Sh. Ishtawkhai,70 who summerized the 38 most prominent lamas of the city including the eight Bogds. On his list Agwaangalsanjaw tsorj living in Makhamayaagiin aimag in the 18th century, composer of 2 volumes is the first among the most voluminous writers. Several lamas became famous writers in the 18-19th century: Agwaankhaidaw, the khamba nomon khan of Khüree, composer of 5 volumes; Agwaanbaldan tsorj living in Namdollingiin aimag, composer of 5 volumes; Agwaandorj tsorj, also called as clerk lam (bicheech lam), composer of 14 volumes; Agwaantüwden rawjambaa, living in Wangain aimag, composer of 4 volumes; Bragri yonzon Damtsagdorj, tutor of the 5th and 6th Bogds,

69 For further details see Byamba, R., Mongolchoudiin tōwd khelere tuurwisan mongol khelend orchuulsan nom züin bürtgel. Ulaanbaatar 2004, 2005, 2006
70 Ishtawkhai, Sh., Nom zokhiul tuurwisan mongol lam nariin bürtgel. Ulaanbaatar 2006. pp. 49-64. It was translated from Tibetan to Mongolian by S. Dawaabayar. pp. 12-16.
composer of 22 volumes; Luwsanbaljirkhündew, 3rd incarnation of Jalkhanz khutagt, composer of 1 volume; Namjildanzan (or Luwsannamjil) or Tsagaan chowombo, tsorj of Janchüwlin khiid, composer of 4 volumes.

In the 19th century the most famous writers were Luwsanbaldan or Orgiochiin lam, composer of 5 volumes; Jigmeddorj tsorj, composer of 1 volume; Luwsanchoidan or Ölgii lam, composer of 1 volume; Luwsandash, living in Dünkhoriin aimag, composer of 2 volumes; Sodnomdash, living in Bandidin aimag, composer of 1 volume; Jigmeddambijaltsan, the 3rd incarnation of Chin süjigt, composer of 8 volumes; Luwsan or Ölgii lam, composer of 3 volumes; Sheja Agwaandonwod, living in Darkhan emchiin aimag, composer of 1 volume; Sum’yaa lowon, composer of 8 volumes, and Jigmid or Mergen lam of Borjiginin Janjin Baruu Choir, composer of 1 volume.

In the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the most prolific writers were Shadüw Dandar, who was the tutor (vonzon) of the 13th Dalai Lama, and the composer of 4 volumes; Chagdorjaw angi lam, composer of 9 volumes; Luwsandamind or Zawa lam Damdin, composer of 12 volumes; Sodnomwanchüg agramba, composer of 1 volume, Agwaanluwsandondow tsorj, composer of 7 volumes; Damdinsüren, the chief lama (ikh lam) of Biziyaagii aimag, composer of 2 volumes; Luwsanchoinzin tsorj or Khuwilgaanii lam, composer of 5 volumes; Agwaanluwsan, the vice lama (baga lam) of Biziyaagii aimag, composer of 1 volume; Luwsantseren gawj, composer of 4 volumes; Agwaanluwsan, the 6th incarnation of Daraw bandida, composer of 1 volume; Gotow gawj, composer of 2 volumes; Tserendorj living in Shüteenii aimag, composer of 1 volume; Tserendorj living in Jamyaansüngiin aimag, composer of 2 volumes; Gendensenge or Noyon lam, composer of 3 volumes; Agwaanjinba, composer of 1 volume; Öwgönkhüü astrologer (zurkhaich), composer of 2 volumes; Jamts from Borjiginin Janjin Züün Choir, composer of 1 volume.

Thank to the efforts of these lamas of Bogdiin Khüree numerous Mongolian style manuscripts and blockprints enrich the Tibetan collections of the world. Furthermore, several eminent lamas lived in the countryside. Literature of Bogdiin Khüree written in Mongolian is negligible from religious aspect, as Mongolian script was mainly used in administration.

**Printing Activity**

Printing activity was run in printing houses (barkhan, T. par-khang, M. barq.ang) by lamas who used to use carved wooden blocks producing blockprints. In colophons of Tibetan texts the printing activity is indicated with different words such as bskrun (‘multiply, print’), par-du bsgrub (‘completed in printing’) and par-khang-du bzhugs-su gsol-ba lags (‘ask to give it to the printing house’). For example, the collection of Tibetan manuscript and blockprints of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences arranged into catalogue by Gergely Orosz contains a few texts written or/and printed in Ikh Khüree as their colophons say (e.g. volumes of Zawa lam Damdin, Agwaanbaldan tsorj, and Dandar agramba are available). Apart from the main printing house and its huge courtyard which was situated in Züün Khüree, some monastic schools also had small printing units: in Dashchoimbel datsan mainly philosophical works were printed (Hungarian Academy of Sciences: T. 339, 548/5, 566/7, 566/8) or composed (T. 79, 114/1, 114/2, 114/3, 550/19, 560, 641) as well as in Güngaachoilin datsan (T. 212, 628/1), and in Idgaachoinzinlin datsan (T. 223). Medical works were printed in Mamba datsan (T. 344). Composing of many texts in various monastic schools (rgyud-pa grwa-tshang) were encouraged by high-ranking lamas (T. las-sne-rnams) or pupils (T. grwa-pa), and also supported by the khamba nomon khan (T. 547/4) and the erdene shanzodwa (T. 625/4), printed in the main printing house or one of the monastic schools in Ikh Khüree (T. 625/6).
Religious Arts and Craft

Masterpieces of Mongolian art were created mostly in religious topics. A high artistic level can be observed in all aspects of Buddhist art, such as images, icons, painted scrolls (T. thang-ka), sculptures, appliqués, carvings, and buildings. Tsültem thoroughly surveyed the arts and crafts of Mongolian Buddhism and published his findings.71

Mongolian architecture was formed together with the usage of Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese styles. Among the yurts of the Mongol land monasteries, temples and shrines were the only imposant buildings that were built mainly from local materials (wood, stone, mud), though brick-stovings (baayuu) were operated by the Chinese in several places. The wooden temples had carved and nicely painted pillars and beams, while temples made of brick had terracottas with various motives. In the Mongolian capital city, the temple complex of Choijin lama, the buildings of Gandantegchenlin, and the Green Palace show typical Chinese features, as well as some buildings of Dambadarjaalin monastery. Typical Tibetan samples were the main assembly halls of Dambadarjaalin and Dashchoinkhorlin, and the temple of the Yonzon khamba. Janraiseg temple was constructed in mixed Tibetan and Chinese style, while Maitreya temple was built in mixed Tibetan and Mongolian style with its white walls and yurt-shaped top. However, the appearance of some temples have to be considered as typically Mongolian: yurt-shaped temples (Baruun örgöö and many aimag temples), a special square-shaped form covered with canvas in the case of Tsogchin Bat-Tsagaan, the main assembly hall, Dashchoimbel datsan, Güngaachoilin datsan, and the square-shaped wooden Manba datsan, Zurkhan datsan, Jüd datsan, and some aimag temples (for example Dashdandarlin or Toisamlin). The roof and crossbeams of several temples were highly decorated with golden top ornament (ganjir, Tibetan transliteration: gan-ji-ra, Skr. gañjira, top ornament). Chinese masters participated in the majority of the constructions.

Mongolian sculpture was based on Öndör gegeen Zanabazar’s art. His self-made sculptures show the characteristics of a deified human being, with particularly beautiful faces showing deep contemplation, great bliss and peace. Tsültem mentions (Mongoliin uran barimal, introduction part) that Öndör gegeen Zanabazar made a large number of cast gold deities in the 1680s such as that of Ochirdar’ (or Wachirwaan’, T. rdo-rje ‘dzin-pa, Skr. Vajrapāṇī), the five dhyāni buddhas, the 21 Dar’ ekh (T. sgrol-ma, Skr. Tārā), and Tsewegmed (or Tsegmed, Ayuush, T. tshe-dpag-med, Skr. Amitāyus). Some other artifacts made by him, such as Zuu (T. jo-bo, the Lord, Çakyamuni Buddha), Awid (T. ‘od-dpag-med, Skr. Amitābha), Namsrai (T. rnam-(thos)-sras, Skr. Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera), Manla/Manal (T. sman-bla, Skr. Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha), and Baraishir (or Sosorbaram, T. so-sor ‘brang-ma, Skr. Mahāpratisarā) were kept in aimag temples of Ikh Khüree, while another Ochirdar’ is presently kept in Erdene zuu, and Gombo (T. mgon-po, Skr. Mahākāla), in Baruun Khüree. Zanabazar’s masterpieces show the remarkable achievement of Mongolian casting and engraving of the 17th century. Further sculptures were cast in bronze, copper and brass. Moreover, clay or terracotta deities, which were stamped with the help of bronze and brass molds were also frequently used.

Apart from the huge statues, loilons (T. blos bslangs, ‘relief maḏīla for meditation’) and dültsons (T. rdul-tshon, sand maḏīla) had significant artistic value, too.

Mongolian Buddhist painting is based on Tibetan iconography and iconometric. According to Tsültem (Mongoliin zurag, introduction part) a lot of textbooks in Tibetan

supporting the development of special techniques were available in the city, such as the texts composed by Ishbaljir (1704-1788), Agwaankhaidaw (1779-1838), Agwaantseren and other artist lamas. Xylographic handbooks were also in use, as the ‘Collection of the 300 Burkhas’, and the ‘Collection of the 500 Burkhas’. Many of them were compiled by Agwaansharaw, Luwsanjamba, Luwsandash, Choirow, Choinjür and other famous masters, and published in 1811 in Ikh Khüree. These works represent numerous aspects of different deities. Tsultem claims that only in the lifetime of the 5th Bogd, more than 140 paintings, and large-size icons were painted. Names of over thirty artists of the late 19th century are known, such as Baldangombo, Tserendorj, Shirbazar, and Gendendamba, who was a teacher of several artists living in the city. Among the painted scrolls many masterpieces were painted on red (martan, T. dmar thang) and black (nagtan, T. nag thang) silk background.

Tsam masks and robes were also unique products of Mongolian Buddhist art. The masks are highly expressive due to their measure and decoration. They were made by local artists, sculptors, jewellers, tailors, applique-makers, and embroideresses under the supervision of an experienced professional master. Tsam dance was introduced in Ikh Khüree in 1811 since when it was held annually. Tsultem claims (Mongoliin uran barimal, introduction part) that in the 19th century its masks and robes used in Ikh Khüree were renovated or renewed under the guidance of Puntsag Osor lama (T. phun-tshogs ‘od-zer). The papier–mache mask of Jamsran (T. lcam-sring or Begz, T. beg-tse, the Ulaan sakhius, M. ularjan saktiyul(isun, the Red Protector), prepared by Tawkhaibor is one of the most famous masks consisting of corrals. The Za nabazar Museum contains several papier-mache (tsaasan shuumal) masks of Bogdiin Khüree made by Puntsag-Osor as that of Ochirwaan’ (or Wachirwaan’, T. phyag-na rdo-rje / phyag-rdor, Skr. Vajrapāṇī), Jamsran, Namsrai, Choijil (or Choijoo, T.chos-rgyal, Skr. Yama, the Lord of Death), etc, whilst the Tsam collection of the Temple Museum of Choijin Lama is known worldwide. Apart from the lamas, women as Tawkhaibor, Danjin Tsend, Baldangombo, Hasgombo, and others also worked on appliqués and Tsam robes, following the lamas’ instructions. Tsam dance has typical Mongolian characters (Tsagaan Öwgön, Lords of the surrounding mountains), music, masks, and very special movements laying more emphasis on hand gestures with lower and more dignified movements.

Blocks and blockprints, written in Tibetan had unique decoration in several cases. Today, many of them are exhibited in the National State Library. Books, and covers were produced with the usage of the nine kinds of precious jewels, or smiths carved them from golden or silver. Sometimes embroidery decorated them. Although Tibetan language was widespread as the sacred language of Mongolian Buddhism, several other scripts (soyombo, khewtel dörwöljin, etc.) were used as decoration.

Paintings of the “Urga School” were famous in the beginning of the 20th century. Jügder’s painting clearly shows the features of how Mongolians represented a monastic city or a monastery. Marzan Sharaw (1869-1939)72 painted the portrait of Luwsandondow tsorj (nominated in 1907) and Baldan khachin lama, and the pictures of the Bogd’s winter palace (R-911) and that of the Khaistai Lawran (R-921).

Religious music of Bogdiin Khüree originated in Tibet. All the ceremonies have their own melodies (M. yan, T. dbyangs), rhythm, and musical instruments to be used.73 It is said that the texts and the music of the daily chanting were introduced by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar and monks who accompanied him from Tibet. Moreover, special Mongolian features can be observed in the performance of monthly and annual rituals. For instance,

---

72 Marzan Sharaw was a disciple of Gendendamba agramba in the 1920’s.
73 Oyuunbat, R., Khüree duu khögjinin üüsel, khögjiil. Ulaanbaatar 2005
during the consecration ritual (adislaga, T. byin-rlabs) cymbals are played 108 times, and during Sakhius ceremonies held in honour of the wrathful deities (e.g. Khuuchin nom, M. qayučin nom, ‘old books’) texts of given deities are recited with the “old melody” (khuučin yan) introduced by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, whilst other texts are recited with the “new melody” (shine yan), which was introduced at the time of the 5th Bogd. The usage of these melodies depend on the target deity of the given ceremony. The texts of the daily chanting and other ceremonies

At present, the remained magnificent painted scrolls, silk appliqués, and sculptures of the old times are exhibited in the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khan, the Temple Complex of Choijin Lama, the Museum of Fine Arts, or are kept in Gandan monastery. Some artifacts gained from Tibet, China, and India can be seen as well. The main workshops of these artifact were at Kumbum and Doloon nuur (‘Seven Lakes’ in Inner-Mongolia), and mainly Chinese sold objects of worship in the city.

Lamas’ Morals

Morality of Tibetan Buddhism requires proper behaviour, keeping the monastic rules, regulations and restrictions, prescribed by the Vinaya. The Vinaya sūtra compiled by Gunaprabhā is part of the Kanjur and is studied in all of the philosophical schools. Although the morality of the two monastic districts (Züün Khüree and Gandan) of Ikh Khüree should have been kept pure as lamas with inconvenient behaviour were chased from there, it seems that keeping the rules was a great challenge for the majority of lamas. Although the National Central Archives contains several documents about the regulation of lamas (lam khuwragiin dagaj yawakh dürem), according to Pürewjaw (p. 26.) the rules of the majority of the temples were not settled down till 1925. That time the rules were officially confirmed and finally written down. Before 1925 prophecies or commands (liünden) were issued by the Bogds, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the main abbot of Ikh Khüree, or by the Manchu governor (till 1911). Mainly the Bogd tried to make efforts to preserve the morality in the lama community: several commands were issued prohibiting lamas to play shagai (M. siyai, šayai, ‘knucklebone’) and domino (daaluu, M. daluu), cards (khööžör, M. köjör), chess (shatar, M. sitar-a), football (teweg öshiglökh, M. tebeg öškilekü) or other hazard games (mörüitay togloom, M. mörüi-tei toylayam), to drink alcohol, to smoke, to go and spend time in the countryside without permission, to fight, to form groups and brawl, to curse and swear (kharaal khelek, M. qariyal kelekü), to make intercourse with women, to wander, play or flirt in the layquarters. Modell of lama robes (khuvwtsasnti zagwar, M. qubčasun-u jaybur) was also determined, and women were forbidden to wear red or yellow robes (as it is the colour of lamas’ robes), and to enter to the monastic districts. They were allowed to enter Züün Khüree only on special ceremonial occasions or only to worship (mörgöl, M. mörgül). However, these problems arose again and again as it is evident from the quantity of the commands.

As the archives material shows and Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, p. 153.) it was usual that Mongols fought against Chinese and Manchus. For instance, in 1877 in the occasion of the Tsam dance 3-400 lamas participated in a fight. The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs issued documents to save Chinese merchants and officers.74 As rules were not strictly kept by lamas punishments were determined for those who broke them. There were several kinds of punishment, such as notification, 100 bowings, chasing, beating with the disciplinary master’s stick (beree, M. beriye), etc. According to Dashtseren lama and Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 127.) one could leave the Khüree only with

74 According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 157.) in 1907 a cart with two lamas of Gandan was going on the road when a cart with a Chinese came. Any of them had allowed to go the other, thus fight started.
permission. If somebody had left without a permission he was forbidden from the monastic quarters. However, lamas of the monastic districts visited layquarters frequently where they were not under control, anymore.75

The high-ranking lamas used to wear the best quality silks and twill. Referring to Gombodo Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, p. 121.) that after obtaining gawj degree he had a better standard of living. Although several gawj had become rich it did not mean that every gawj was rich and sprawl. Their majority lived in a simple small yurt from the daily tea (manz, tsaw, T. mang ja tsha-ba) which was received in the monastery. Pürewjaw claims (p. 138.) that in the turn of the 18th and 19th century some high-ranking lamas as saints and reincarnations were very promiscuous and wealthy. Other lamas condemned it, for example the famous abbot of Ikh Khüree, Jadariin Agwaankhaidaw (1779-1839), who composed numerous texts about and against it. Following his views (p. 140.) in 1860 Dandar agramba, Sonomdash, Artsed, Shijee gawj composed comments to Agwaankhaidaw’s texts. This view was spreading in several countryside places as well, for example in the monasteries of Dandanrawjaa. The 8th Bogd’s (p. 144.) lifestyle was also criticized by several educated lamas such as Borjignii Jamts, Shagdar, Gonchigrawjaa, Mishig, Samdan, Ishdagwa, Jamiyaan, Ishbaldan, Minjüür, Badamgaraw, and other gawj lamas. It was usual that lamas of the city went to audience to worship the Bogd annually. The gawj and agramba who protested did not participate in this visit. Several high-ranking lamas had great power and abused of their position.76 Several bursars became rich as well.77

Erdenebil (Pürewjaw, Khuw’sgal, pp. 52-53.) mentions several stories on poisoning and miracles. For example the tsorj of Dandarlin aimag performed a fierce fire offering in

---

75 Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, p. 127.) that the 8th Bogd issued a command in 1909 saying that if somebody visited the layquarters at night has to wear stocks in his neck (döngöl) for a month, and then would be whipped for 100 times (zuu torlok). If a lama had ponytails and disrobed had to wear stocks for 45 days and was whipped for 100 times. If somebody played cards had to wear stocks for 40 days and was whipped for 100 times. It was strictly forbidden to insult Russians. If somebody did it he had to get the same punishment as if he had visited the layquarters. Pürewjaw claims that in 1818 (?) the following punishments were introduced: if a lama had escaped from his own will and did not come back, first time he was sentenced for 60, second time for 80, and third time for 100 whipping (tashuur janchikh). The novices (p. 128.) had to honour their masters and bear everything without a single word. They must not have curse and swear their masters or even look ascance at them. Wandering in such public places as the market, playing games, and doing feasts as laymen did were prohibited, too. According to Pürewjaw (p. 130.) in 1922 every night 4 shrinekeepers sentineld in each aimag, a shrinekeeper and a bookkeeper in Khaistai lawran, two shrinekeepers and three guards in the Yellow Palace and in Gandan. Due to poverty theft was not rare in the city. Horses were stolen to sell many times (p. 133.). In 1907 a command was issued (p. 137.) by the khamba nomon khan and the erdene shan zaw against theft and lying, drinking alcohol and flirting with women.

76 Referring to the interview with Erdenebil, Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, pp. 150-151.) that in 1908 the disciplinary master of Sangai aimag, called Tserendorj beat a lama to death. However, he was not to account for his deed and were without any punishment. Many disciplinary masters were dubbed by nicknames as redatory (makhchin) Gungaataaya, hungry wolf (ölön chono) Tsembel, mad yak-cattle (gai zuu khainag) Badamgaraw, unloaded weapon (tseneggüi buo) Sanjid. A lama called Natsagdorj wrote a complaint in 1927 blaming Idgachoinzinlin’s Nawaatshiltem who had beaten him almost to death in naked. In several cases disciplinary masters abused their authorities (p. 119.). Other high-ranking lamas as Zaya Pandida, and Kharaaigii Dar’ ekh lam were accused on alcoholists.

77 Referring to the interview with Gombodo, Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, p. 113.) that about 4000 novices belonged to the capital city in the beginning of the 20th century among them rich lamas and poor lamas. In 1909 about 1027 high-ranking lamas belonged to the monasteries directly subordinated to the Bogd from which 600 lamas lived in the city. Apart from them the Bogd had his own attendants, about 370 people (bearing soiwon, donir, and other ranks). Moreover, according to Pürewjaw (pp. 117-118.) 25 khatagts were subordinated to the Bogd who received a yellow sedan chair, möngö, and other benefits. For example the Bogd decorated the chief lamas of the 30 aimags with reincarnation rank (tsol), while others were given the ranks of jüün wan, or wan. The Choijin lam, Luwsankhaidaw had his own property.
honour of Yamāntaka (Yamandagiin dagwo jinsreg, T. ‘jigs-byed drag-po’i sbyin-sreg) to hinder the murder of 12 nobles.

Though Bogdiin Khüree was a monastic city, one has to be aware of the fact that it did not mean that each lama kept very pure and high morality showing exemplary conduct. The Bogds made efforts to maintain the morals in the city, thus those monks who ignored the regulations were cheated out from the two monastic districts. However, it was usual that lamas visited the layquarters for different purposes.78

Religious Festivals

Religious feasts attracted numerous people from the countryside. One of the most colourful events was the Maitreya procession (Maidar ergekh, M. ergikü), where the statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya was processed on a huge cart thorough the city. Another significant event was the Tsam religious dance which was performed with the participation of about 100 lamas presenting various deities. Danshig ceremony was held for the longevity of the Bogd. Other great annual ceremonies were also held such as the celebration of the Lunar New Year (Tsagaan sar, M. čaγan sara, ’white month’) with the Great Prayer festival (T. smon-lam chen-mo) and the other feast days of Buddha. Taking exams (damjaa barikh, T. dam-bca’, M. bariqu) in the philosophical monastic schools were the greatest events in spiritual life, thus, the great majority of lamas participated as spectators. Another important event of the year was the period of Yar khailen or Khailen / Khailan (T. dbyar khas-len) summer retreat lasting for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month. It was also called as Tümen gelengin khailen due to the high number of its participants having the vows of a gelen or getsel (T. dge-tshul, novice) who gathered from the city and even from the countryside. Although circumambulation of the volumes of the Kanjur (Ganjuur ergekh) was an important event in several countryside monasteries, from the archives materials it seems that these holy volumes were circumambulated once a year around the Chinese quarter, starting from Dashsamanlin datsan (R-935) and there is not similar data about the monastic districts.

Researching the origin of these feasts one can state that almost all of them has Tibetan origin. As Tibetans and Mongols follow the lunar calendar the days 8th, 15th and 30th of the month had great importance in the ceremonial system. Dharmatāla claims (English translation, p. 339.) that adopting the New Year Festival (T. smon-lam chen-mo) and Maitreya procession (T. byams-pa gdan-’dren) summer retreat lasting for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month. It was also called as Tümen gelengin khailen due to the high number of its participants having the vows of a gelen or getsel (T. dge-tshul, novice) who gathered from the city and even from the countryside. Although circumambulation of the volumes of the Kanjur (Ganjuur ergekh) was an important event in several countryside monasteries, from the archives materials it seems that these holy volumes were circumambulated once a year around the Chinese quarter, starting from Dashsamanlin datsan (R-935) and there is not similar data about the monastic districts.

Researching the origin of these feasts one can state that almost all of them has Tibetan origin. As Tibetans and Mongols follow the lunar calendar the days 8th, 15th and 30th of the month had great importance in the ceremonial system. Dharmatāla claims (English translation, p. 339.) that adopting the New Year Festival (T. smon-lam chen-mo) and Maitreya procession (T. byams-pa gdan-’dren) was agreed to held in 1657. The Erdeniyin erike (p. 7.) says that in 1657 Danshig was performed in honour of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, and the Great Prayer Festival was held, and Maitreya circumambulation took place (M. dangšuy ergiiji yeke irügel üileddüged Maidari burgan ergigülbei) in Erdene zuu monastery.

Although Tsam was spreading in Mongolia in the first part of the 18th century, its special type, known as Jakhar tsam (tömör ordon, T. lcags mkhar, ’metal palace’, the castle of Choijoo, the Lord of Death) or Khüree tsam was firstly introduced to Khüree in 1811, in the time of the 4th Bogd. The preparation of its masks and robes were based on the instructions prescribed by the 5th Dalai Lama. According to Gangaa (Khüree tsam, p. 18-19.) It is said that in 1811 a monk called Öndör Khachin (T. mkhan chen) was invited from the Tibetan Tashilhunpo monastery to Mongolia, who taught the tradition of Jakhar tsam to the local lamas, but he did not preach to them about the Dansrujn jamchhin garchim (T. bstan-bsrung rgya-mtsho’i gar-’cham), the book in which the detailed secret teachings of the Tsam are described, or did not give them the handbook. Therefore, Agwaankhaidaw (T. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-’grub, 1779-1838), who was the main abbot that time (also

known as Khaidaw abbot of Jadariin aimag) wrote himself a book in 1836 based on the book entitled Dansrüni jamchiin garchim. His book bears the same title (T. bstan-bstrung rgya-mtsho’i gar-’chams gsal-byed dam-ladan snying-gi me-long) and it is very similar to the source book. Although the dance became held annually Gangaa claims (Khüree tsam, Ulaanbaatar 2003, p. 18.) that the 5th Bogd did not support its spreading, because in his opinion its tradition was not the original practice of Tsongkapa. However, for the repeated request of nobles and high-ranking lamas finally he permitted the performance of the dance. As Tsam dance had a strict preparation period and several meditational and tantric practices originally it was a hidden monastic activity for a while, in which only those monks participated who had taken the vows and had initiations. Later, the believers were also permitted to be present in the event of the dance itself, and to give donations to the monastery. The tradition of Khüree tsam started in 1811 was only broken in 1937 by the Communist regime. Thus, Tsam dance was performed 127 times in the city. According to Gangaa (Khüree tsam, p. 19.) While Ikh Tsam (‘Great Tsam’) and was held on the 9th of the last summer month with 108 dancers, Jakhar tsam was performed on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of 21 lamas. Apart from it the same type of Tsam was performed in the nearby Dashchoinkhorlin monastery (R-936), north of the city, whilst another type of Tsam was performed in Choijin lamiin sim (R-915) for only some years. The preparations and the ceremonies preceeding the Tsam dance are described in Gangaa’s book in details (Khüree tsam, pp. 29-30.) She says that on the 1-10. of the last spring month 16 lamas held the so called Towuumerzewegiin nyamba,79 in the nearby Shaddüwlin retreat monastery (R-937), where they prepared the incense and holy water which is to purify the field of the dance, and where they meditated on the tutelary and protector deities. According to Gangaa, the preparations started at the 1st of the middle summer month, when the monks gathered and started to learn tantric dhāras, and to hold ceremonies to invite the Buddhas and protector deities of the Tsam dance. On the 15th of the middle summer month the five daamals (leaders, ranked lamas responsible for the dance) of the Tsam made decision on the participants. The list of the names was appealed to the khamba nomon khan and to the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall. The final decision was confirmed by the Bogd khaan himself. From that time, the lamas had to participate in a preparational course (deg, T. sgrig, ‘preparation, arrangement’) held twice a day, where they acquired the rules of the dance based on the sūtras. The dress rehearsal was held two days before the dance, without masks but with the special costumes. The ceremonies started some days before the Tsam’s day. After the announcement of the names of participating lamas, a ceremony called Damdin/Damjan Choijoo khural (T. Dam-can chos-rgyal cho-ga) was held every day. The tsorj lama who was the main responsible person for the Tsam dance, and the five daamal lamas held Jigjdiin nyamba (T. ‘jigs-byed bsnyen-pa, ‘meditation on Yamāntaka’) which lasted for a week.

According to Gangaa, the ceremony called Jakhariin adislaga was held in Baruun örgöö. During this ceremony the Sor, the Jakhar, the offering cakes (balin, Skr. bali, T. gtor-ma), and the different offerings were consecrated by the power of the dhāranis. Three days before the Tsam performance the ceremonies called the ‘three days of Jakhar’ (Jakhariin gurwan ödör) started. During this period the protector deities were worshipped, invited, and various types of offerings were offered to them. The accessories and the weapons used for destroying the effigy were consecrated during the ceremony. The vice dance master (ded chambon, ‘chams-dpon) performed the inner Tsam, and danced through the night of 8th and 9th till dawn.80

79 Exact meaning unknown. T. khro-bo? bsnyen-pa?
80 Nyambuu lists the characters who appeared in the dance (Nyambuu, Kh. Mongol khuwtsasnii tüük. Tüük, ugsatnii züin shinjilgee, Ulaanbaatar 2002, pp. 142-144.).
**Ceremonies held in 1937**

Besides the spectacular religious events described above, in the temples of the city various ceremonies (*khural*, *M. qural*, or *khural unshlaga*, *M. qural ungsily-a*) were held for the benefit of all sentient beings even in 1937. The ceremonies could take place with fix date (*tögtmol khural*, *M. töytamal qural*) or for the request of individuals or donators. Plenty of the permanent ceremonies lasted for only some hours, while other ceremonies had longer duration up to 45 days.

The National Central Archives contains a questionnaire (*khuşnegt*, *M. küşünügtü*) which lists the names and basic data of fix date ceremonies of a few temples which were held every year until and in 1937. Though it is unknown who filled in these sheets and for whose order and what purpose, their headtitles, date of origin, paper, and the used pencils and the same handwriting indicate that the persons were sometimes the same. Probably some lamas who were familiar with Mongolian writing (i.e. the *nyaraw*) were charged to register all the ceremonies together with the number of their participants. These sources are extremely significant as they show the religious life and activity of the given temples in the last years of their operation and indicates the number of lamas belonging to them. Such documentation have remained related to the annual ceremonies of 20 temples. The headtitles of the questionnaires are the same containing the following:

- Questionnaire to be filled in with the name and other data of fix date ceremonies that were held annually in several monastic schools, monastic districts and temples belonging to the supervision of the religious authorities of Gandan and Khüree (*M. G.angdang körüyen-deki şasin-i jakiryan-u qariyatu baytaju jakiruyaşsan olan dačang ayimay keyid süm-e-üd-yin dooraburi-yin nigen jil-dü töytamal qurday qural-ud-un neres jerge-yi nigejü dutaydayululü ügei-ber ül jokiqü asayulta-yin yolqar todoqrayilal bürIDGEkü küsünüg-tü)
- ordinal number of ceremonies (*M. tas duyar, like 1, 2, 3, 4*)
- name of monastic school/aimag/monastery/temple (*M. yamar dačang aimay ba keyid süm-e bolqu-yin ner-e*)
- names of ceremony/ritual (*M. yamar ner-e-tei töytamal qural ungsily-a gürüm jerge-üd bolqu-yin neres*)
- period of the ceremony with its starting date, duration, and end (*M. edeger qural-ud-yin jil büri kedün sarayin kedün-eče ekilen kedün qono-y-un quyucaş-a-tai bolqu-yi delgerenggüi biçimii*)
- number of lamas who were expected to participate (*M. edeger qural-ud-tu tusburi keçinen lama qurabasu jokiqü*)
- number of lamas who actually participated (*M. (t)evün-dü quraysan lam-nar keçinen bolqu*)
- cancellation of a ceremony and its reason (*M. oyuq quraşu čidal-a ügei tasuraysan qural bui esekü bui ayul-a yamar siltayan učir-ača boluysan-i biçimii*)

The 20 temples are the following: Gandan’s main assembly hall and its three relics temples (all in all 31 ceremonies), *Idgaachoizlin datsan* (35 ceremonies), *Güngaachoilin datsan* (42), Züün Khüree’s medical school (17), and 10 aimag temples, namely *Toisamlin aimag* (23), *Zoogoin aimag* (29), *Dugariin aimag* (14), *Mergen khambiin aimag* (12), *Erkhem toinii aimag* (23), *Wangain aimag* (48), *Bargiin aimag* (7), *Namdollin aimag* (26), *Jamyaansüngiin aimag* (25), *Örlüüdiin aimag* (25), and finally, Dambadarjaa monastery’s main assembly hall, three monastic schools (medical, philosophical, Kālacakra), and six
aimags (total 90 ceremonies). It means that the questionnaires list all in all 438 ceremonies, though some of them are the same, together with their date according to the lunar calendar and the number of the participants. The most, 48 ceremonies were held in Wanggain aimag’s temple.

The documents were compiled in Mongolian script which makes difficult to determine the names of several ceremonies bearing Tibetan names, thus, plenty of them could not be identified in the present paper. Number of lamas of a given temple can be concluded from the expected and appeared lamas. For dates, duration, and participants’ number Mongolian numbers are used in the text. Reasons of cancellation is mentioned only in few cases. It is written that Jasaa Sakhius ceremony honoring the wrathful deities in Namdolin aimag was held by only one lama every day instead of four who were prescribed, because several lamas of the aimag became homeless, and the community had started to break up, thus it was difficult to find lamas who could gather every day (M. oron sayuča ugei boluṣan učir-ača ürgülji sakiq kümün oldaqu ugei boluṣan tula eyin kesegüljii ekeļii ber quraļu bül). The Dörwön tsagiiin nünna (‘seasonal fasting’) of Mergen khambiin aimag was not held because its financial unit could not bear its costs (M. ene sang jisā bala boluṣan tula quraļu ülli čidamii). The everyday ceremony of Jasaa (M. jisiya) which had to be daily held in the Medical monastic school was interrupted as lamas who gathered did not have the required books (?) (M. degūrūgüsen qural nom ugei). What follows here is a description of the most important ceremonies that were held in the city according to the data of the questionnaires.

As for everyday basis Tsogchin recitation was held not only in the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree, but in the main assembly halls of Gandan, and Dambadarjaalin monastery. Nowadays, Tüi örgök (T. khrus gosl, ‘ablution’) and Mandal örgök (T. dkyil-khor) are parts of the Tsogchin ceremony to increase monks’ meritorious and virtuous deeds. Tüi and Mandal were held in the main assembly halls as well as in aimag temples. For example the ceremony, called Four maōqenas of Dar’ ekh (Dar’ ekhiin mandalshiwaa, T. sgrol-ma’i maqala bzhi-ba) was daily performed in the main assembly hall of Gandan. In some monastic schools and aimag temples Jasaa service were held on a daily basis. Jasaa literature means temporary service, family adoration, or regular activity. Today, in Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery Jasaa consists of four lamas who do the readings requested by individuals every day. In several temples in Ikh Khüree Jasaa Sakhius, Jasaa Tsedew or other Jasaa ceremonies related to the cult in the given temple (e.g. Jasaa Arwanii Sendom, Jasaa Dūdwa, Jasaa Gongor Namsrai, Jasaa Pagam, Jasaa jasin unshlagha, Jasaa Lkham Ayush, Jasaa Namjornamjim yadamiin chogo, Jasaa Manalini bumba, etc. were daily performed by a couple of monks (2, 4, 8, etc.). In Gungachoiin datsan they were also called Jasaa Döröwt (‘Jasaa held by 4’, M. dörbetii), or Jasaa Naimat (‘Jasaa held by 8, M. naimatu’). However, other Jasaa ceremonies, mainly in the philosophical monastic schools, required the presence of all the lamas belonging to the temple. These ceremonies were Jasaa Ganjuur, Jasaa Awidiiin donchid, Jasaa Biziyaagiiin donchid, Jasaa Doodbii, Jasaa Magtaal, Jasaa Sanjid, Jasaa Nünnaa, Jasaa Manaliin chogo, Jasaa Manaliin donchid, Jasaa Naidan chogo, Jasaa Jasiiin dallaga, Dünkhor, Jasaa Sarinii khural, Jasaa Khornii khural, Jasaa Tüiin sakhius, and Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural. San (T. bsangs) incense offering, a purification ceremony was performed every day in a few temples, sometimes together with dallaga practice (T. g-yang-gugs, ritual for summoning the forces of prosperity). However, there were rituals bearing the names Namsrai san (T. rnam-sras bsangs), Maidariin san, Eregechen barma san (T. rig-chen ‘bar-ma (?) bsangs), Yandag san, Namdag san (T. rnam-dag bsangs) sometimes together with sacrificial cake offering (dorbü, T. gtor-‘bul) and demberel (T. rten-‘brel) every day.

Apart from the everyday ceremonies, special annual ceremonies were held. Düitsen
yerööl (düütsen, T. dus-chi, ‘great day, festival’) ceremonies took place in each temple. Besides the great days commemorating the special events of the life of Čakryamuni Buddha, the highest religious dignitaries’ (shashniig barigch deedes) such as Tsonkphapa, Öndör gegeen Zańbazar and his reincarnations, and other eminent masters were also worshipped once a year. On these occasions a great day ceremony (Duütsen khural) was held reciting Düütsen yerööl (unshlaga), that consisted of praises and eulogies (yerööl, M. irügel, and magtaal, M. maytayal). Though today four ceremonies are held annually as the great festival days of the Buddha (Burkhan bagshii ikh düütsen ödör) called Tüwiin chogo or Burkhan bagshii chogo bearing also individual names referring to the reasons of commemoration, in the old times almost each commemoration were simply called as Düütsens. The new year starts with a special ceremonial period called Great Prayer Festival (Yerööl chenbo khural, T. smon-lam chen-mo), Tsagaan sarin doodbii/dudba(i) (T. bstod-pa) or shortly Yerööl (T. bstod-pa). This festival was introduced traditionally by Tsonkapa. On its fifteen days which is nowadays known as ‘great festival days of Buddha’s miracle showing’ (Burkhan bagshii (tersüüdiig nomkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan üüzülsen ikh düütsen ödörüüd, T. cho-phrul chen-po’i dus-chi or Choinpürel jonnaa, T. cho-phrul bco-linga, ‘Fifteen miracles’) the monks commemorate Buddha’s defeat of the six masters, holders of heretical doctrines (tersüüd, M. ters-iid, T. log-par lta-ba), by mysterious methods of showing miracles. Over the fifteen days numerous texts, like the 32 eulogies (kharanga magtaal or yerööl maan) and the six prayers (Zurgaan (niit) yerööl, T. smon-lam drug) used to be recited in a very melodious way. Presently, these ceremonies are called as Ikh yerööl or Oorin yerööl (‘great or evening prayers’, T. smon-lam, smon-lam chen-po) or Choinpürel molom yerööl (T. cho-phrul smon-lam, ‘prayers of miracle showing’) and are held in the biggest monasteries every afternoon from 2.00pm. In Bogdi Khüree these ceremonies were held for 15 days only in the datsans, some of the bigger aimags, and in the main assembly halls of Gandan, Dambadarjaa, and Züün Khüree. In Dugarin aimag special new year ablution and consecration (tüi rawnai örgökh) were performed as the final event of the period, whilst in Güngaa choilen datsan a ceremony called Tsagaan sarin Sakhius was held on the 13th day of the new year when the protector of the monastic school was worshipped.

Nowadays, another great festival day of the Buddha in the annual cycle is on the 15th or full moon of the first summer month. It commemorates three events of his life on the same day: his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he passed away (Burkhan bagsh mendelsen khiigeed ilt tuulsan Burkhanii khutgiig olson, nirwaan düüriig üzüülsen ikh düütsen ödör, T. mngon-par byang-chub-pa’i dus-chi). The third festival for the Buddha is held on the 4th of the last summer month. It commemorates the day when Buddha first reached the Dharma, often referred to as ‘the festival of his first turning of the wheel of Dharma’ (Burkhan bagsh nömiin khüurd ergüülsen düütsen or Choinkhor (duütsen), T. chos-khor bskor-ba/ chos-khor dus-chi). Both of these ceremonies should have been held in the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree. Pozdneev mentions Choinkhor düütsen (T. chos-khor dus-chi, ‘great day of the turning of the wheel of Dharma’) (Mongols, pp. 54-55.) that was held on the 4th of the last summer month. In other temples of the Khüree it seems that other types of ceremonies were held on this day typical for given temples (for example in the medical monastic school ceremony was held honouring the Medicine Buddha). The next festival on the 22nd of the last autumn month is called Lkhawawiin düütsen (yerööl) (T. lha-las babs-pa’i dus-chi, Burkhan bagsh tengeriin ornoos buuj irsen ödör, ‘the festival of descending from the gods’). It is the day when Buddha descended from the god realms, where he had spent 90 days teaching and performing the Khailen (T. khas-len, ‘oath-taking’) retreat. In the monastic school Lkhawawiin dom (T. lha-las babs-pa’i ston-mo) was held on that very
day, and this event was also commemorated in some of the aimag temples.

On the 25th of the first winter month the anniversary of Tsongkhapa’s death called Bogd lamiin düitsen yerööl, Bogd Zonkhowiin düitsen yerööl, or Zulii düitsen (M. jula) was held. Today it is called Zonkhowiin düitsen, or Zonkhowiin taalal bolson/töggssön ödör (the day he passed away), Zonkhowiin mendelsen mön taalal bolson/töggssön ödör (the day he was born and passed away) or, as often referred to, as Zulii 25, ‘the 25th day of butter lamps’, reflecting the tradition of lighting countless butter lamps and burning incense sticks in honour of Tsongkhapa. In the list Bogd lamiin donchid chagchid ceremony (T. stong-mchod phyag-mchod, thousand-fold offering and worshipping) is mentioned which is known today as Bogd lamiin chogo (‘ceremony in honour of Tsongkhapa’) when during the day and in the evening butter lamps are lit outside and the Migzem (T. dmigs-brtse-ma), the basic prayer to Tsongkhapa, is recited numerous times.

As for the local dignitaries, on the 14th of the first spring month is the great feast day of Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar (today known as Öndör gegeenii ikh düitsen ödör) when the ceremony called Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl or Öndör gegeenii düitsen yerööl, Tsagaan sarin 14-nii yerööl, or Tsagaan sarin yerööl was held. The monks prayed for him and commemorated his beneficial deeds, and his passing away. Today, this ceremony is known as Dawkhar yerööl, ‘double prayer’ referring to the fact that apart from the usual prayers of the Lunar New Year’s 15 prayers, on this day that of Öndör gegeen is also recited. As for his further incarnations the great feast day commemorating the 2nd Bogd, called as 2-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was performed on the 17th of the last winter month. The great feast day of the 3rd incarnation, called 3-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 21st of the last autumn month, whilst that of the 4th incarnation, called 4-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl took place on the 16th of the middle winter month. The 5th jewtündamba khutagt was celebrated on the 3rd of the first winter month when the 5-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was performed. The 6th incarnation’s ceremony, called 6-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held on 20th of the first winter month and the 7th incarnation was honoured on 12th of the middle winter month holding 7-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl ceremony. It seems that all these ceremonies were held only in Wangain aimag by a couple of appointed monks, whereas the commemoration to the Bogd khaan, called 8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held in several temples on the 17th of the first summer month. As it is clear from the questionnaires these commemorations took place mainly in Wangain aimag, indicating the date of the masters’ passing away. Today, only Öndör gegeen’s prayers are recited on the 14th of the first spring month, the others’ cult have not been revived.

Furthermore, some other dignities’ commemoration was held in few temples, such as that of Khachin lam (T. mkhan chen bla-ma) called Khachin bagshiin düitsen yerööl which was held on the 7th of the middle winter month in Jamiyaaansingiin aimag. The ceremony honouring Jalkhanz khutagt (T. rgyal-khang rtse, one of the main incarnation lineages in Mongolia), called Jalkhanz lamiin düitsen yerööl was recited on the 9th of the middle summer month in Wangain aimag, and the ceremony in honour of Yonzon khamba, called Yonzon khambiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 7th of the middle winter month in Wangain aimag and Erkhem toinii aimag.

Ceremonies in honour of the wrathful protectors were held more times a year. Each

---

81 In the present-day Gandan monastery on this day there is a ceremony called Uuliin lamiin chogo, when the ritual text for the 8th Bogd, written by Luwsan (T. blo-bzang, known as Uuliin lam, ‘the lama from the mountain’), is recited. Luwsan meditated in a cave in Chingeltei Mountain where he is said to have obtained nirvāṇa. This event is shown by the phenomena, that his footprints in the rock are said to have disappeared suddenly indicating that he had entered nirvāṇa (and disappeared from this world). His text, dedicated to the worship of the Bogds, is a specialized version of the Lamiin chodwa/chodow text (T. bla-ma’i mchod-pa, ‘offering to the Master’).
temple had an image or a sculpture representing its own tutelary deity (yadam, T. yi-dam), and protector (sakhius, T. bstan bsrung). Nowadays, on the 29th day of each month the protectors are worshipped within the frame of a ceremony, called Sakhius (M. Sakiyiut-lsung, or Khangal, M. Qangyal, Dogshid, M. doysid). In Ikh Khüree various rituals were held for their worship such as the ceremony dedicated to all the ten wrathful protectors, called 10 khangal. They are namely Gongor (T. mgon dkar, Skr. Sitamahākāla, White Mahākāla), Shalsh (T. zhal-bzhi, four-faced Mahākāla), Jamsran, Namsrai, Lkham (shortly for Baldan Ikham, T. dpal-idan lha-mo, Skr. Çrīdevi), Tsamba (T. tshangs-pa, Skr. Brahма), Gombo. Jigjid (T. ‘jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yāmāntaka), Choijal, Ochirwaan’), aimed to protect every sentient being and the whole lamahood from any obstacle. Ceremonies in honour of the nine protectors (9 khangal), the six protectors (6 khangal) or only one or two of them such as Lkham or Gombo, Gongor Namsrai ceremonies were held in all the temples to gather merits and luck. On some of these occasions, mentioned as Sakhius danragt or Khangaliin danragt thanksgiving offering (danrag, T. gtang-rag) was also offered for the deities, sometimes together with dūgjüü or shatag dūgjüü (T. sha-khrag (?) drug-bcu, that is a sacrificial offering cake consisting of 60 pieces made from flesh and blood). Among them Choijal dūgjüü or Choijoo dūgjüü was the most famous one dedicated to Choijal, the Lord of Death. An important ceremony honouring the wrathful deities was called Danshig(iin) khangal (T. brtan-bzhugs) having held for 3-4 days in the middle winter month in several aimags of the Khüree. Furthermore, Dergediin khangal (additional (?) protector, M. dergedü) ceremony was held presumably in only a few aimags (it was surely held in Zoogoin aimag), whilst Tümet khangal or Tümet sakhius was another type of these ceremonies (?). Probably M. tümetü. The meaning of Tümet is doubtful for the author (maybe the ceremony held by 10 000 lamas), however according to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 34.) this was a ceremony held from 24th-29th of the middle autumn month by all the aimags and monastic schools of the city when thangkas and ganzais of the 12 wrathful deities were presented in the main assembly hall. As it is clear from the archives material this ceremony was surely held in Gümgaachoiin datsan. Ikh sakhius (‘Great Protector’) ceremony was held in almost every temple but on different days related to their protectors.

Moreover, the protector deities have significant role in the events of the last days of the Lunar New Year. Today, the farewell to the old year starts on the 26th of the last winter month with the consecration (Adislaga) of the new ritual offering cakes (balin, M. baling, Skr. bali). During the ceremony cymbals are played 108 times, which is a feature introduced by Öndör Geegen Zanabazar. This consecration was most supposedly held in each main assembly hall. In present day large monasteries the following three days of the old year (from 27th to 29th), three Sakhius ceremonies called the ‘old ceremonies’ (Khüuchin nom, Khüuchin nomii khural) are held to honour the wrathful deities to clear away every obstacle of the coming year. In the old times Khüuchin nom ceremony was held on the 29th of the last winter month for one day in the monastic schools and aimag temples honouring the main wrathful protector of the temple. However, in Bargiin aimag this period lasted for 7 days from the 23rd of the last winter month. In the main assembly hall of Dambadarjaa monastery (and most probably in the main assembly halls of Züün Khüree and Gandan) and in Wangain aimag (and probably in some other big aimags) this ceremony lasted for three days from the 27th of the last winter month. On the night of the 29th the ceremony called sor zalakh (T. zor ‘phen, M. jalaqu), the burning of the Sor (T. zor, pyramid shaped wooden construction with a huge sacrificial cake), that aims to

---

82 These ceremonies differ from the other Sakhius ceremonies as their texts are recited in a slower and more melodious way (ikh yan, T. dbyangs chen) than usual.
remove of all bad effects and relieve natural disasters such as droughts, harsh winter cold, or contagious diseases and other negative phenomena, was performed which practice has been revived in the present-day Gandan, Züün Khüree Dashchoilin and Dambadarjaa monasteries. This ceremonial period finished in each temple with the recitation and invitation of Tsedor Lkhām beginning on the Lunar New Year’s Eve and finished at dawn on the 1st day of the New Year. The lamas worshipped and requested Lkhām to remove away the obstacles of the new year.  

As all the temples had their own protectors, apart from the 10 wrathful protectors other deities could have been worshipped, too. For example in the medical monastic school Damjin/Damjan (T. dam-can, being a shortened name for Damjan/Damjin garwanagwuu, T. dam-can mgar-ba nag-po, ’the black coloured smith’, emanation of Damjan Dorlig, T. dam-can rdor-legs, Skr. Vajrasādhū, the oath-bound protector) and Shanlan (T. zhang-blon) were the main protectors, but in other temples (Dorj)Shügden (T. rdo-rje shugs-ladan), Dalkhaa (T. dgra lha, deity of war, war god), the Tawan khaan (M. tabun qayan, T. sku lnga rgyal-po, Five Kings) and others were honoured, too.

Furthermore, various practices were widespread related to the wrathful deities and other deities such as sakhius dallaga (T. g-yang-’gugs), sakhiusnii ũndes (M. indiśūn, T. rgyud, ’tantra’), takhilga (T. mchod-’bul, ’offering’), sakhiusnii dordow/dordūw (T. gtorgsgrub, sacrificial cake offering), sakhiusnii nyamba (T. bsnyen-pa, approaching tantric practice), and sakhiusnii tugdam/tügdem/tügdüng (T. thugs-dam, spiritual practice). These practices were also relevant to other deities (see details below).

Tutelary deities (mainly buddhas and bodhisattvas) such as Janraiseg, Dar’ ekh, Choinsüren (T. chos-dbyings brsung, Skr. protected by the dharmadhātu’, Jidar (or Jadār, Jiddar, T. kye’i rdo-rje, Skr. Hevajra), Gürgül (T. rig byed-ma or ku-ru kul-li/le, Skr. Kurukullā), (Dorj)Pagam/Pagma (T. rdo-rje phag-mo, Skr. Vajrārāhī), Mintūg (T. mi’khrugs, Skr. Aksobhya), Biziaya (T. (gtsg-tor) rnam-rgyal, Skr. (U)āvijayā), Jalbajams (or Jalwaajams, T. rgyal-pa rgya-mtsho, a form of Avalokiteśvara), Demchog garwu (T. bde-mchog dkar-po, a white form of Cakrāsāvīra), Günreg (shortly for Günreg Nambaranzad, T. kun-rig(s) rnam-par snang-mdzad, Skr. Sarvāvijāyā Vairocana, a form of Vairocana Buddha), Sendom (T. seng gdong-ma, Skr. Śīhā hamukhā, the lion-headed dākini), Damdin (T. rta-mgrin, Skr. Hayagrīva), Dugar (or Tsagaan shūkhert, T. gdugs dkar, Skr. Śitāpatrā), Namman (T. rnam snang, an epithet of Vairocana), Tūnlikha (T. ’khrungs lha, the deity of birth), Lüib Demchog (T. bde-mchog lu-i-pa’i, Cakrāsāvīra in the tradition of Luyipa), etc. also served as basis for practices of lamas, and their ceremonies were also performed. From time to time in a couple of temples some of these deities and their realms were presented with sand maøala (dültson or sachog dültson, T. sa chog rdul-tshon) for example Dar’ ekh, Janraiseg, Pagam, Günreg, (Dorj)Namjom (T. rdo-rje rnam-’joms, (Vajra)Vidharana, ’The (Vajra) Conqueror’) or Manal.

Chogo (T. cho-ga) meaning ’ritual, ceremony, way of performance’ is a collective name for certain kinds of bigger ceremonies dedicated mainly for buddhas, bodhisattvas,

---

83 On the Eve of the New Lunar Year (Bitüün), Tsedor Lkhām (T. tshes-gtor lha-mo, Jiliin dorom), the yearly ceremonial cake offering to Baldan Lkhām is held to the morning of the New Year. The reason of this ceremony is held on this day is that, according to the legends, Lkhām arrives in Mongolia in this day as she travels around the world riding on her mule. A special thanksgiving offering, called Tsedor damrag (T. tshes-gtor gtag-rag) is performed to her during the dawn hours. This part is recited with the ‘new melody’ (shine yan), which was introduced during the time of the 5th Bogd; while the previous parts of the ceremony are recited with the ‘old melody’ (khuuchin yan), which was introduced during the time of Öndörgegee Zanabazar. The ceremony ends with the tradition of paying homage to or ceremonial greeting of the lamas (zolgojk).
and tutelary deities. These rituals required initiation for the cult and practices of the given deity. As for the buddhas Awidiin chogo aiming at clearing away all sins and praying for the deceased to take rebirth in the paradise of Amitābha Buddha was performed as well as Ayushiiin chogo, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life. Mintügiin chogo honouring the unshaken or unmoved Akābbhya Buddha, and Günregiin chogo worshipping the omniscient Vairocana Buddha for better rebirth of the deceased were also held. As for the bodhisattvas Dar’ ekiin chogo honouring Tārā, the Saviouress female bodhisattva, and Janraisegin chogo, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life. Mintügiin chogo honouring the unshaken or unmoved Akābbhya Buddha, and Günregiin chogo worshipping the omniscient Vairocana Buddha for better rebirth of the deceased were also held. As for the bodhisattvas Dar’ ekiin chogo honouring Tārā, the Saviouress female bodhisattva, and Janraisegin chogo, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life.

Mintügiin chogo honouring the unshaken or unmoved Akābbhya Buddha, and Günregiin chogo worshipping the omniscient Vairocana Buddha for better rebirth of the deceased were also held. As for the bodhisattvas Dar’ ekiin chogo honouring Tārā, the Saviouress female bodhisattva, and Janraisegin chogo, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life. Mintügiin chogo honouring the unshaken or unmoved Akābbhya Buddha, and Günregiin chogo worshipping the omniscient Vairocana Buddha for better rebirth of the deceased were also held. As for the bodhisattvas Dar’ ekiin chogo honouring Tārā, the Saviouress female bodhisattva, and Janraisegin chogo, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life. Mintügiin chogo honouring the unshaken or unmoved Akābbhya Buddha, and Günregiin chogo worshipping the omniscient Vairocana Buddha for better rebirth of the deceased were also held. As for the bodhisattvas Dar’ ekiin chogo honouring Tārā, the Saviouress female bodhisattva, and Janraisegin chogo, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life.

Sosorbaramiin chogo in honour of Mahāpratisarā, Namjom yadamiin chogo, to remove all contamination and negativity, and Sanjidiin chogo (T. bzang-spyod, ‘prayer of good actions’), which is the main (Yerööliin khaan) from the six prayers (yerööl) were performed in the temples. The ceremony in honour of the sixteen arhats or main disciples of Buddha (Naidan chogo) was also held which today is usual ceremony held on the 30th of each months. Apart from these, Niit chogo (M. neyite (?), common chogo, or chogo for each deity) was held in some temples as well as Lamiin chodwiin chogo, i.e. ‘offering to the Master’, Gurupüja, the ceremony for Tsongkhapa, and the teachers and masters who transmit the Buddhist Teaching.

The great Maitreya Festival, celebrating the future Buddha, Maidar (T. byams-pa), which nowadays is held in the first summer month, was one of the most spectacular events in the main assembly hall according to Pozdneev (Mongols, pp. 54-55.). High-ranking lamas and astrologers determined its exact date, which was held immediately after the New Year Festival in several countryside monasteries. The ceremony itself is called Maidariin chogo, Maidar zalaach yerööl or Jambiin chogo (T. byams-pa’i cho-ga, ‘ceremony in honour of byams-pa’). In it all the lamas and the lay population gathered together and processed around the monastery following the statue of Maidar, which was mounted on a huge cart with a green horse head all the while praying for his coming. This festival was called Maidar ergekh (‘circumambulation with Maitreya’s statue’). There was another kind of recitation dedicated to Maidar the future buddha (Maidariin düitsen ödör) on the 6th of the last summer month with a Jasaa Jambiin chogo ceremony. It was surely held in Dashchoimbel datsan according to the questionnaire.

One of the longest celebrations was the oath-taking retreat period (Khailen or Yar khailen, T. (dbyar) khas-len, ‘(summer) oath-taking’, also called Yarnai, T. dbyar gnas, ‘summer retreat’), which began on the 15th of the last summer month and lasted for 45 days. Only gelen and getsel lamas were allowed to take part in this retreat, during which they read the Vinaya, confirm their vows, confess their possible mistakes and amend their negative actions. Today, it requires the participation of at least four gelen lamas.84 Sojin (T. gso-sbyong, confession of sins, purifying the precepts/vows) was a part of this ceremony, and on the 15th and 30th of every month Sojin was held in the main assembly hall of Dambadarjaa monastery, while Sojintoi Manal ceremony was frequently held in Mamba datsan. Dash Sojin (T. bkra-shis(-kyi) gso-sbyong, ‘auspicious fasting’) was quarterly held in the main assembly hall of Dambadarjaa monastery. Thus, supposedly Sojin was a live practice in the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree as well to help to keep the lamas’ morals. Today, the practice of Sojin has been revived hardly as fully-ordained monks are few in number.

84 This practice originates from Buddha, who practiced Khailen in the Realm of the 33 Gods. It also has roots in the old tradition of the confinement or retreat of lamas (Yarnai, T. dbyar-gnas) in India for the wet summer months, the original cause for which was to spend the rainy period in a retreat also with the aim of avoiding the accidental killing of insects. Originally, it lasted for three months during the summer, when lamas remained confined to their monasteries for religious meditation and contemplation. However, the duration has been reduced in Mongolia and the ‘retreat’ period lasts for only 45 days.
Beside the festivals described above, there were numerous other religious practices and events. As it is evident from the source Nünnai or Nügee/Nügnei (T. snyung gnas, ‘fasting ritual’) was also held from time to time by a couple of monks. This was a fasting ritual, fasting practice or retreat la sting for 3-15 days focusing on Avalokiteśvara (Janraisegiin nünnai), Vajrapāñi (Wachirwaan’ yadamiin nünnai), Akñobhya (Mintügwa yadamiin nünnai) or the Medicine Buddha (Manaliin nünnai). Dörwön tsagiin nünnai (‘seasonal fasting’) and Jasaa nünnai was also held in few places.

Jasii galiin takhil(ga) (M. γαλ-un takily-a) was held in almost each temple on the 24th, 25th, or 26th of the last winter month by 2-4 appointed monks to purify the financial unit and the treasury. 85

On the 25th of the last summer month, the ceremony called ‘Consecration on the fortunate day’ (Dashnyam arawnai, T. bkra-shis nyi-ma rab-gnas) was held in Wangain aimag. Today, this is called ‘the Great Consecration’ (Ikh arawnai), and on this day all the objects of worship, statues, thangkas and the shrines are re-consecrated in Gandan with the aim of renewing the effects of the original consecration.

*Khajid* (T. mkha’-spyod, Skr. khasarpa, ‘goddess, ‘sky goer’, ‘sky traveller’, Skr. dākini) ceremony was held on the 10th of each month by 4 appointed lamas in the relics temples of the 5th Bogd and the 7th Bogd. Today, in a few Mongolian monastery, including Gandan, the *Khajidiin chogo* ceremony is held only once a year. However, in some temples, especially in Red Sect temples, it is held monthly on the 25th and the 10th days. *Narkhajid* (T. na-ro mkha’-spyod, Skr. Sarvabuddha dākini) was the main tutelary deity of the 5th Bogd. It is said that when he was meditating on this goddess, he saw a red light above the Bogd khan Mountain and Tuul River. Thus, this ceremony has been held ever since then.

*Undes* (M. undüüsün, T. rgyud, ‘tantra’) ceremony was held not only for the wrathful deities, but for Tārā, Güireg, Dugar and other deities, and also sacrificial cake offering (*dordow*, T. gtor sgrub) could have been performed to them as well (e.g. Gürgüliin *dordow*). The ceremony of Güireg for the deceased was held regularly at the request of individuals.

In Toisamlin aimag on the 15th of every month the Guhyasamāja tantra (*Sanduin jüd, T. gsang-’dus rgyud*) was recited. Today, in almost each temple Guhyasamāja tantra is recited on this day. According to Gandan’s lamas holding again this ritual they preserve the ceremonial rules of the old *Jüd datsan*. As an interesting fact the Mongolian *Sandui* was recited in Gandantegchenlin twice in winter according to the source.

A special practice called Bumbii takhilga (‘vase offering’) such as Gongoriin bumba, Namsrain bumba, Jambaliin bumba, Manaliin bumba were performed in a few temples together with other practices. *Ganjur* ceremony was also held rarely in few temples. 86 *Tsogchid* offering (T. tshogs-mchod, Skr. ganapūjā, ‘accumulation of offerings’, feast offering) was also performed honouring the wrathful deities, such as Gongoriin tsogchid, to increase the merits and fortune of the treasury, *jas* and monkhood, or Lkham sakhiusnii tsogchid. *Donchid* (T. stong mchod, thousand-fold offering) was performed to several deities such as Biziyaagii donchid, Manaliin donchid, Jasaa Awidii donchid, and Bogd lamiiin donchid.

*Büteel* is a ceremony with the recitation of the magic formula of a given deity several times. In the philosophical schools Migzemiin büteel and Janraisegiin büteel were held for six days in the middle summer month with the participation of hundreds of lamas,

---

85 Tibetan rituals as *me mchod* or *sbyin-sreg* can be similar to it.

86 Today, on the 5th of the last summer month, the Jasaa Ikh *Ganjur* or *Altan Ganjur* ceremony is one of the annual ceremonies only held in Gandan.
whilst in other places these were recited randomly for a day by a couple of lamas. Today, this ceremony is also called *Maaniin büteel* dedicated to Janraiseg and is held for healthy and peaceful life. In the Khüree *Dar’ e khiin büteel*, *Choijingin büteel*, and *Gürgüliin büteel* were held, too.

Ceremonies of the Medicine Buddha or *Manal* were mainly held in the Medical monastic school. Thus, he had several types of ceremonies such as *Manaliin donchid*, *Manaliin dültson*, *Manaliin khural*, *Manaliin nünnai*, *Manaliin sachog dültson dashaad arawnai sakhius*, *Manaliin zürkh*, *Baga manal*, *Sojintoi Manal*, etc.

*Gürem* ceremony (today called also as *zasal*, M. *jasal*) was a usual practice performing healing or protective rituals. *Günreg* ceremony was held to lift sentient beings from bad rebirth to a better one, and to save them from any inconvenient rebirth. *Jadamba* (T. *bryad stong-pa*, Eight thousand verses version of Prajñāpāramitā) was read in *Dugariin aimag*. In the main assembly hall of *Dambadarjaa, Logshiriin wan* ceremony (reading of *Logshiriin wan*) took place for seven days from the 21st of the last summer month.

As the monastic schools focused on training their students, some of its rituals followed philosophical traditions. For instance several *dom* were held in winter: four *ikh dom* and four *baga dom*. Their names refer the day when they were held, such as 18-nii *dom*, 19-nii *dom*, 20-nii *dom*, 21-nii *dom*, 25-nii *dom*. Their majority was held on great days of the Buddha. Moreover, *Gawjiin damjaa*, *(Parchin) Domii damjaa*, and *Lingseb* were held here as well as the debates on the *Tawan bot’* (M. *tabun boti*), or *Daj ergekh*. *Joroo*87, *Joshi dom*, or *Jüshii dom* are also mentioned as well as *Lkhawawiin düitsen yerööl* or *Lkhawawiin dom*, and *Lyankha dom* or *Lyankhiin dom*. According to Soninbayar (*Gandantegchinlen khiid*, pp. 66-67.) before the *dom* exam (*domiin damjaa*) in the three philosophical monastic schools, the lamas who studied in the *dom* classes (T. *sdom*) were appointed to participate in the given feasts from the 4 great *dom* (*ikh*) and the 3 small *dom* (*baga*).88

Quite a few ceremonies are indicated in the text with their date like *Namriin dund sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the middle autumn month’), *Khawrii süül sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the last autumn month’), *Öwliin türüün sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the first winter month’), *Öwliin dund sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the middle winter month’), *Öwliin türüün sariin 25-nii yerööl* (Yerööl ceremony on the 25th of the first winter month), and *Arwan tawnii danrag* (‘thanksgiving offering on the 15th of the month’). *Sariin chogo* or *Sariin khural* (‘ceremony lasting for a month’) or *Namriin neg sariin khural* (‘ceremony for a month in autumn’) refers their duration.

The source will be used below describing the religious life of the relevant temples. As the Tibetan names of ceremonies were written down with Mongolia characters they are erroneous in several cases. Thus, some of them could not be identified.

---

87 Exact meaning unknown. M. *Joroo*, T. ?
88 According to Soninbayar the four great feasts were the following: *Lyankh dom* which was held on the 4th of the last summer month, on the festival day when Buddha turned the wheel of Dharma; 22-nii *dom* was held on 22nd of the last autumn month; 25-nii *dom* was celebrated on the annual commemoration day of Tsongkhapa, and *Jüshii dom* (T. *bcu bzhi ston-mo*) was held on the 14th of the middle winter month.
ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, headed by the *erdene shanzodwa/shanzaw* was responsible for all the properties of the Bogd, his city and his subordinated monasteries and areas. Whilst the highest religious dignitaries and bigger monasteries had their own treasuries (*san, M. *sang*), financial units (*jas*) belonged to the temples arranging their incomes and expenses. Their livestock and other properties were listed from time to time by the bookkeepers. What follows here is an account of the activity of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the most significant texts that have remained about its operation. These sources serve as basis to see the development of the religious life of the city. Then, the operation, incomes and expenditures of the financial units will be discussed, based on archives materials, again. As several books written in the Soviet period (e.g. *Pürewjaw, Khuw’sgal*) mention the misuse of power of lamas and monasteries to became rich, these statements cannot live out of consideration. As in 1924 the whole administration was extremely reformed, some conclusion will be drawn about the most significant measures.

Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs

**Erdene Shanzodiin/Shanzawiiin Yaam**

While for religious issues of the city the *khamba noman khan* was the responsible person, the *erdene shanzodwa/shanzadwa/shanzaw* (‘precious treasurer’, T. *phyag-mdzod-pa, M. erdeni šang odba*), was the supreme administrator of the entire department of the Bogd, i.e. his personal catering and costs, the administration and finance of Bogdiin Khüree, and the monasteries and areas of the *Ikh shaw’*. According to the introduction of the relevant Manchu catalogue of the Ministry (M-86) it was firstly initiated in 1723 by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. Before that time the subordinated people of the Bogd administratively belonged to Tüsheet khan’s govern. The *Erdene Shanzodiin yaam* had the same rights as the head of the *aimag* committee (*aimgiin chuulgan darga, M. ayimay-un čiyulyan-u daruqa*). In 1822 the authority of the ministry was expanded and became subordinated directly to the Manchu Ministry (*Manj yaam*), which was located in Ikh Khüree. The duty of the ministry was to administer the small units (*otog bag*) of the *Ikh shaw’* area, the 30 *aimags* and 10 *datsans* of Ikh Khüree, and the big monasteries of the *Ikh shaw’* area such as *Erdene zuu, Baruun Khüree, Baruun Khüreennii Noyon lamii khidi, Amarbayasgalant khidi, Kherlengiin Shaddüwdarjaalin Züün Khüree*, *Bileg ölzit Bereewengiin khidi, Buyanig zalbiragch Manzhir khidi, Örlögöölig sovereignty Ngojudkh Khüree, Ölziig khutag nom delgerüülekh Dashchoinkhorlin lamii Khüree, Damchojürmédlin Khüükhen khutagtiin Khüree, Chülem Janchüwlingiin Rashaanii khidi, Örlögöölig badruulsans Dashdarjaalin Dar' ekhiin Khüree, Gandanchoilin Erdene noman khambiin Khüree, Dorjchoilin (?) süm, Bod’ ikh amgalant süm, Tüwendlin (?) süm, Buyan yeröölt süm or Dashchoinkhorlin khidi (R-938), Dayanii Shaddüwlingiin Khüree(R-937), and Shashniig badruulagch Dambadarjaagin khidi (R-939).

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 122.) in the Manchu period the *erdene shanzodwa* was appointed by the Bogd and the Manchu emperor. He had to be a Mongolian lama educated in law and an expert in Mongolian, Manchu and Tibetan scripts but did not have to be fully-ordinated or have a high academic degree in religious philosophy. Two *da lams* (‘great lamas’), 16 *zaïsans* (chief officers), 8 officer clerks (*tüşmel bicheech, M. täsimel bičgeči*), 20 guards or adjutants (*khia, M. kiya, T. sku-89 Regarding the formation of the *Erdene shanzawiiin yaam*, Chuluunbaatar claims (p. 9.) that it was firstly initiated in 1723. In 1761 it was subordinated to *Saidiiin yaam*, and in 1822 it attained the same rights as the *aimag* committees (*aimgiin chuulgan*) and was given a seal by the Manchu emperor.
sruung) supported his work with several lay zaisans, princes and other attendants. The first shanzaw, Dagwalkhündew, fulfilled the position from the 1690’s. He supervised Öndör geegens’ treasury and managed the affairs of his subordinated people. The institution of shanzaw was reformed in 1767 and 1772 (Sereeter, *Ikh Khüree*, pp. 122-131.). In 1912 the ministry became responsible for the treasury and poverty of the Bogd khan, and for religious and political affairs. It had the same right as the other 6 ministries. Sereeter claims that apart from the erdene shanzodwa two da lams, and several zaisans run the ministry (p. 11.) and (p. 17.) the clerks of the ministry had their own calligraphy and writing system (e.g. they marked the difference between ē and j, t and d, g and q). Chuluunbaatar claims (p. 15.) that some shanzaws supported the establishment of schools from their own properties. The last person bearing this title was Jigmiddorj who was the 22nd shanzaw until 1924. According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, pp. 132-143.) the rank of da lam originated in 1767. From this time until the position was stopped in 1925, there were 44 lamas who held this rank. Though the Ministry with a different name run its operation until 1938 there were significant changes comparing with its function in the Manchu period or under the Bogd khaan’s reign.

The National Central Archives inherited all the documents of the Ministry. The catalogue (M-85) of the Manchu period contains 3563 text related to *Erdene Shanzodwiniin Yaam*, that of the Bogd khan’s reign (A-74) contains 1633 texts, and that of the Modern period (F-179) includes 793 texts.

The 3563 texts of the Manchu catalogue (M-85) were composed between 1731-1911 about the following topics: obligation of lamas (alba, M. alban), registers of employees (ajilchdiin bürtgel), rules (dürem khemjee, M. dürim kemijyen), agricultural fields (gazar tarialan, M. yajar tariyalang), incomes and expenses (orlogo zarлага, M. oroly-a jaruly-a), loans (ör awлага, M. örl abuly-a), holy stud-farms (seterten süreg, T. tshe thar, M. sūrūg), branding irons (tamgat temdeg, M. tamay-a temdeg), subordinated people and their livestock, name, age, number, origin of saints and reincarnations, and their re-locations to Ikh Khüree (khutagt khuwilgaadiin ner, nas, too, ug garal khüreeg nüülgekh), fast stallions (khurdan mor’, M. qurdun morin(n)), necessaries of worshipping and ceremonies (shashnii khereglel, M. šassin-u kereglel), shaw’ families (örkh am, M. erük am-a), sentence and punishment (šiiigel torguul’, M. siidkel toryayul¹), taxes (tawtar, M. tataburi), gold mines, debates of laymen and princes, order of documentation, welcome of the Bogd, landowners, danger of conflagration, registers of foreigners, establishment of schools, building of monasteries, rules of the stamping system, customs, movings, protection and commerce in Ikh Khüree, laws, borders and owoos, teaching of Mongolian script, cars, religion, decorations, number of subordinated people and their livestock, wealth of people who passed away, etc. Livestock of *Dambadarjaalin* and *Dashchoin khörlin* monasteries, that of the daisans and aimags of Ikh Khüree were listed several times.

Even from the catalogue titles one can draw conclusions about the main events and happenings in the city. For instance, a document discusses the necessary of the

---

90 Chuluunbaatar claims (Chuluunbaatar, L., *Shanzadwiniin yaam yuu khiiji baiw*, Ulaanbaatar 2005, p. 10., referred as *Shanzadwiniin yaam*) that according to the Bogd’s command when the subordinated people (shaw’) of a khutagt reached the number of 700, a shanzodwu had to be appointed as an administrator. At the time of the 8th Bogd 13 khutag with seal (tamgatai khutagt), and approximately 56 khutagis without seal (tamgagii khutagt) lived in the country. From the latest mentioned 56 khutagis 26 belonged to the Ikh shaw’ areas.

91 Catalogues of the Ministry of the Manchu governors or ministers living in Ikh Khüree (M-1), the branch office of Tüsheet khan aimag (M-11), that of Setsen khan aimag (M-33), and Sain noyon khan aimag (M-60) located in Ikh Khüree contain several texts. However, there is no catalogue of the branch office of Zasagt khan aimag which was located in Ikh Khüree, too.
performance of Tsam dance (M-85/48a). It was compiled in 1811, when Khüree tsam was firstly introduced to the Khüree. In honour of the Bogd ma bodily offering (mandal örgökh) and danshig/danshig naadam are mentioned several times, sometimes containing the list of archers (M-85/126). These events were held annually to worship the Bogd.

There is an interesting document from 1840 relevant to ceremonies and holy texts to be recited, together with rules, and offerings in the temples of Ribogejigandanshaddüwlin, Ikh Khüree (M-85/171). A text includes the lamas’ names, and the alms (zed) of those, who participated in permanent ceremonies (M-85/234). There is a list of donations dedicated to the operation of the Maitreya temple (M-85/258) (1852-1862). A list clarifies that the costs of the catering of the Bogd and several datsans were covered by the otogs (M-85/507., 1876). Several lists deal with the incomes and expenses of the datsans and the subordinated monasteries of Ikh Khüree, and lists of lamas participating in permanent and occasional ceremonies of datsans and aimags also exist. A list of lamas of datsans and aimags participating in the Jasaa Yerööl ceremony of the Lunar New Year is mentioned (1894). Lamas of datsans and aimags together with their loans were listed in 1896. Lists of incomes and expenses of Ikh jas and the datsans of Ikh Khüree (1898, 1899), as well as announcements on the renovation of Dambadarjaalin monastery (1907, 1908), and several lists of incomes and expenses of Dambadarja and Dashchoinkhorlin monasteries (1908-12-23, 1909-1-11) are available in the archives. All of these documents clearly show that the Erdene Shanzodwiin Yaam was responsible for all the administrative issues of the temples of the city and the monasteries subordinated directly to the Bogd.

In leporello form mainly commands were issued. For example one was issued about studying in religious schools, teaching various writing systems, translation of the Danjuur and other religious books (1806), while others were written about the acknowledgment of saints and reincarnation, studies in religious school, going for alms, costs of ceremonies and other questions (1807). Military service, relay stations, commerce, theft, economy, complaints (zarga, M. jargu), decorations, taxes, invitations of abbots (shireet lam), and the financial state of the Bogd are mentioned, too. For instance, a leporello contains the names of people who were decorated during the Maidar ergekh ceremony in 1812. Erection of stūpas to house the relics of the Bogds, and to welcome and receive their new incarnations are mentioned several times in the case of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th incarnations. Journeys of khutagts to Wu-tai-shan and Lhasa are available in the catalogue, too (1824). Renovation of monasteries were ordered in 1825 as well as registration of reincarnations living in the Khüree. A text written in 1829 is about ravage, fights, insults, and drawing attention not to put out fire on the hill at the occasion of Tsam dance. Several texts deal with the passing away of the Bogds, the building of their relics temple in Gandan (1842, 1896) and finding their incarnations (daraakh dür’) (1845). Rules of Tsam and Jakhar were written down in 1875. As it is clear from several texts the Bogd frequently visited Erdene zuu and Amarbayagalant monasteries (for example in 1887). Letters which were sent to capture the people who dug for precious stones to sold them were also written (1894). Commands were issued to forbid women to enter to the datsans and the monastic districts, and to prohibit lamas to make commerce and fight (1895). Other texts were composed about the regulations of school for carving (siilber zuragin surguul’). Regulation of lamas (lam nariin dagaj yawakh dürem), establishment of schools, and other important questions were also mentioned several times. There is a laporello about the debate of lamas in Züün Khüree, and about a forthcoming war in Tibet (1896). A command of the Bogd to build Chojjin lamjin süm and difficulties of its fundraise was issued in 1902 as well as a command in order to strengthen lamas’ vows. The colour of robes worn by nobles was determined in 1904. In 1907 the renovation of temples and
taking *gawjiin damjaa* was ordered, while in the next year hunter lamas were notified, and lamas were ordered to participate in ceremonies. About *gawjiin damjaa* and giving name of the newly established temples a leporello was written in 1909, while another one was published in 1911 to inform the *otog* about lamas participating in *tümen gelen*’s *khailan*, and asking for alms to the building of the great Buddha (Ikh Burkhan, here it refers to Avalokiteśvara) as the Bogd’s eyes were injured.92

The two-volumed catalogue (SKh-179) of the Modern period contains 793 texts dated between 1921-1938. The texts mainly concern the topics of religion, lamas, incomes and expenses, livestock, the subordinated areas, and the danger of conflation which could be a relevant source of danger. Nominations, restrictions of religious places, decoration of high-ranking lamas, building and renovation of monasteries, artifacts and accessories were are detailed. General documentations were composed about the livestock of monasteries with their herders, and the population of *Ikh shaw’* and their properties. Texts including nomination and obligation of people to fulfill *jasaa* service (*jasaanii eeljiin alband suulgakh*), conditions of relay stations and their horses (*örtöö ulaan*), documents which were sent to the Bogd from *Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam* (*Erdene Shanzowiin yaammaas Bogd ezen khaand ailtgasan örgösön barimtuud*), registers of name and number of monasteries, aimags and datsans (*Shashnii olon süm khiid aimag datsanguudiiin ner, too bürtgeliiin kholbogdoltoi bichig barimtuud*), documents about the authorities of high-ranking lamas and nobles (*tom lam noyodiiin erkh khemjeenii kholbogdoltoi bichig barimtuud*), and about religious affairs, such as worshipping mountains and *owoos* (burkhan nom bütéeekh, uul oowo takhikh zereg asuudlaar khariltssan bichgüüd) were recorded that time.

However, it should be emphasized that numerous texts of the catalogues reflect the change of the previous system, and politics. For example, the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs issued documents about the situation of foreign residents (*Erdene Shanzodwiin yaamnaas gadaadiin kharinyaat nariin asuudlaar khariltssan barimt bichgüüd*) and religious representatives (*shashnii tôlôölögch*) were settled near the bigger monastic sites. Registers of lamas were conducted almost every year. Official tax was levied on the livestock of the monasteries (*süm khiidiin mald alban tatwar onogdulakh tukhai zaawar dürem*) and lamas, who were at the age of military services were recorded several times (*tsergiin nasnii lam nariig nasnii baidlaar yalgawarlan todorkhoilson dans*), mainly from the 1930, as tax was levied on them (*tsergiin nasnii lam naraas möngön tatwar khuraasan tukhai bürtgel*) if they refused to join the army. Documents and requests of lamas who wanted to disrobe are available in the catalogue, too (khur boltskiig küssen zarim lam narin kholbogdoltoi barimt bichig). Rules were determined of the tax having levied on the livestock and other properties of monasteries (*süm khiidiin mal khöröngöös khuraakh tatwarin tukhai dürem*), and a law was created for the separation of religious and political affairs (*tör shashnii khergiig tusgaarlakh tukhai khual’ dürmiin khuulbar*). Documents in order to teach children in schools and to establish technical schools (*Niislel Khüreend khüükhdüüdiig suulgaj surgakh, tenkhimiin surguul’ bai guulakh tukhai asuudlaar khariltssan bichgüüd*), and that of dealing with the complaints about theft and robbery (*zarga khulgai deermiin asuuldaar khailtssan bichgüüd*) are also available in the archives. Other texts mention customs and penalties (*gaal’ türees tatwar torguulihn kholbogdoltoi bichig barimtuud*), hunting and environment protection (*an agnuur baigaliig khamgaalakh zereg asuuldaar khariltssan bichgüüd*), commerce of co-operatives (*khorshoo khudaldaaanii asuuldaar khailtssan bichgüüd*), and establishment of administrative offices in the

92 1633 documents are kept in the archives from the Bogd khaan’s reign (A-74). Their study requires further efforts.
counttryside (nutgiin zakhirgaa baiguulakh tukhai asuudlaar khariltssan bichig barimtuud). Religious representatives were sent to Moscow to participate on religious conferences (shashnii tölöölögchiig Moskwad bolokh shashnii khurald oruulakh asuudlaar khariltssan bichig). Documents aiming at teaching the alphabet to novices, registers of lamas of the 30 aimag of the Khüree (Ikh Khüreensei 30 aimgiin lam nariin bürgel), documents about the establishment of co-operatives involving lamas to do ‘community-friend’ social work (lam nariig niigmii ashitgai khödölmör tatan oruulakh zorigool üüldwertiin arteliig baiguulakh tukhai bichig barimtuud), registers of communal lamas (lam nariig niigmii lam nariin bürgel), registers of lamas enlisted to military service (tsergiin alband tatagdsan lam zaluuchuudiin bürgel), and registers of lamas who knew Mongolian script are at the researchers’ disposal to survey the events of the 1920-1930’s.

The Bogd’s Treasuries (Bogdiin san)
The income of the Bogd’s treasury was based on donations and taxes which flowed in from the palaces, aimags, and datsans of Bogdiin Khüree, and from the monasteries that belonged to the Ikh shaw’ territories. The Bogd’s treasury had two departments: the internal treasury (Dotood san) or palace treasury (Ordnii san) which covered his personal expenses, and the great treasury (Ikh san) or external treasury (Gadaad san) which financed the operation of the Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam, the temples of Bogdiin Khüree, and the monasteries of the Ikh shaw’s area. The Bogd’s herds and flocks, and agricultural fields enriched the property of the Ikh san.

Related to the Internal or Palace treasury the Manchu catalogue (M-87) contains 914 documents, that of the Bogd khaan’s reign (A-173) contains 264, and that of the Modern period (F-181) includes 26 texts.

Relevant to the Great treasury its Manchu catalogue (M-86) contains 8207 texts, while its catalogue from the Bogd khaan’s reign (A-75) contains 1030 texts, and the catalogue from the Modern period (F-180) includes 206 texts. The Manchu period’s texts were composed between 1750-1877. Apart from the usual contents (incomes and expenses, livestock, etc.), numerous documents deal with the passing away of the Bogds.

The 206 texts of the Modern period (F-180) were compiled between 1921-1938. In 1921 food, tea, dairy products, felt, firewood and coal, livestock, agricultural fields, incomes and expenses, collection of tax, möngö with interest, debts were recorded as well as the Chinese inhabitants of the city. Moreover, ceremony for the longevity of the Bogd was performed, thus flour, rise, milk, meat, cottage-cheese which were required for this ceremony were recorded as well. From 1921 there is a register of materials dedicated to Mandal örgökh ceremony by several aimags and datsans of Khüree celebrating the return of the Bogd to the city, while another ceremony was held as a last honour to the Ekh Dagina who had passed away. After the passing away of the Bogd in 1924 donations to perform the mađala offering in his honour were collected. From 1925 a register of accessories of worship, and other materials dedicated to the pole of the stūpa (suwragnii shünshig) by the southeast san (ziün urid san) and the treasury of the Green Palace were recorded as well as the accessories which were moved from the Green Palace. The incomes and expenses of the treasury were registered in 1921.

93 Though the former two catalogues were not surveyed by the author, the 26 texts of the latest one were thoroughly studied. They were composed between 1922-1933 covering the properties and the livestock as main topics. From 1921 there is a register of materials dedicated to Mandal örgökh ceremony by several aimags and datsans of Khüree celebrating the return of the Bogd to the city, while another ceremony was held as a last honour to the Ekh Dagina who had passed away. After the passing away of the Bogd in 1924 donations to perform the mađala offering in his honour were collected. From 1925 a register of accessories of worship, and other materials dedicated to the pole of the stūpa (suwragnii shünshig) by the southeast san (ziün urid san) and the treasury of the Green Palace were recorded as well as the accessories which were moved from the Green Palace. The incomes and expenses of the treasury were registered in 1921.

94 For example, related to the death of the 4th Bogd, whose relics temple was constructed in Amarbayasgalant monastery, there is a list of golden and silver equipment which were used for the erection of the relics temple (1813), a list of tea and money which were dedicated for the recitation of holy texts and construction of the stūpa in his honour (1813, 1814), a list of donations to erect the stūpa (1814, 1815), a list of money which were offered to worship his relics (1814), a list of livestock, equipment and other articles which were sold to support the building of the relics temple (1815), and another list of articles which were sold to build the relics temple of the Bogd and to renovate Amarbayasgalant monastery (1815, 1820). The catalogue of the Bogd khaan’s reign was not surveyed by the author.
and other ceremonies, together with manz, tsav, and the catering of the Bogd were listed. Owoo worships, and möngö which were gained from donators were recorded, too.

In 1922 identity card (ünemlekh) was given to the people who worked for datsans and other monastic sites. In 1924 monastic sites and sculptures of Niislel Khüree were recorded. The livestock of Ikh san was herded on eastern and western pastures. In 1924 a register of Chinese merchants were compiled together with their properties (möngö, etc.). As the Bogd passed away costs of building of a stūpa and a temple to house his relics were calculated together with donations (khandiw) (1924-5). The treasury still had its livestock, guards (kharuul, manaa managchid) and butter-lamps. In 1926-1927 the golden, silver, corall, pearls and other jewels of the great treasury were recorded. In 1930-1931 the total incomes and expenses of the Ikh jas of Gandan monastery were recorded, and some other documents dealt with Ikh jas, too. From the lastest years a list of möngö income coming from the official tax (alban tatwar) paid by otogs and bags (1936-8), a list of all the incomes and expenses of Ikh san together with the tax which was collected from the otogs (1938) have remained. Correspondence of lamas of Ikh san is also available (without date).

Apart from the treasury of the Bogd high-ranking lamas (khutagt, khuwilgaan) had their own treasuries (san). Devotees often offered gifts to other high-ranking lamas, such as the abbot, chanting master or disciplinary master, but their private properties did not formed a treasury.

The Financial units of Monasteries and Temples (jas)
In the time of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar Jasiin aimag was responsible for the proper operation of the camp and the main assembly hall running the catering, mending, reparation works, etc. Later, when monasteries, temples, datsans, and aimags had their own incomes and expenses (orlogo zarlaga), and properties (khöröngö), their internal structure (dotood zokhion baiguulalt) consisted of several units called jas (T. spyi-gsog, public accumulation/ reserves). Physically, these units were housed in a small building or small buildings near their temple within the enclosing fence. A smaller unit also existed (called jaw, jio or jao). The financial units were firstly initiated from alms and donations offered by laymen to recite given ceremonies for their and every sentient beings’ benefits. The believers dedicated livestock, dairy products, animal products, tea, silken scarves, möngö, and other goods for the community and due to this capital and continuous offerings these units were able to maintain and develop themselves.

In every case Ikh jas (sometimes called gol jas ‘main financial unit or great jas’) belonged to a temple as a main unit. Furthermore, from offerings dedicated to a certain ceremony individual units could have been originated, e.g. Ganjuuriin jas was established for donators’ alms who wished the recitation of the Kanjur and from that time every Ganjuur ceremony (Ganjuuriin khural) became financed by the property of Ganjuuriin jas, and laymen who wanted Kanjur to be recited submitted their offerings to Ganjuuriin jas. Besides the Ikh jas which signifies a central or common economic unit, the other jas were named after the names of ceremonies. In this way, from the names of the jas that belonged to a given temple, we can draw conclusions about the ceremonial life, that is, the ceremonies performed in any given temple. For example, in a temple with a jas named Sakhiusnii jas, ceremonies were for sure performed for the wrathful protector deities, in a temple with Ganjuuriin jas readings of the Kanjur, with Lkhamiin dordowiin jas offerings of sacrifical cake (dordow, T. gtor-sgrub) to Lkham goddess, with Günregiin jas the ceremonies for the deceased, with Awidiin chogiin jas the ceremony for longevity, while in a temple with Buman Dar’ ekihn jas the ceremony of reading the mantra of Dar’ ekh 100,000 times was performed regularly.
Costs of a given ceremony were covered by the main financial unit or its own financial unit if it was relevant. On special ceremonial occasions extra income flowed into the unit. Moreover, as several lists in the archive materials show, it was not rare that following the request of the lamas a new jas (for example Magtaaliin jas) was established which had to be sponsored by devotees (tus aimagt olon khwrag naraas magtaaliin jasiig baiguulsan tukhai shine baiguulsan jasd öglögiin ezdees bar’san züiliin dans).

The property of the jas could be handled by the manager (daamal), the treasurers or bookkeepers (nyaraw, T. gnyer-pa), and the clerks (bicheech) who were responsible for the financial affairs of a temple. They (mainly the nyaraws) kept annual accounts with detailed lists of all income and expenditure by the temple. It is clear that they composed annually registers or balance sheets of incomes and expenses, moveable and immovable properties, belongings (ed khogshil baraa tergüütniig bürtgesen dans), changes in the number of the livestock (maliin too), cash (belen möngö) and möngö which were lent to others. Although in the old times these data were not recorded annually but sometimes with interruption for some years, in the 20th century registers were made not only once but twice or three times a year. Whilst during the Manchu period the property of a jas was mainly measured in brick tea (tsai), later money based registers (möngö) were compiled.

Income and Expenditure
From the Manchu period performing ceremonies, making offerings, catering lamas (manz tsaw), burning butter-lamps, and repairing the temple buildings were all paid from the assets of the financial unit. It had a stable property to cover the usual costs of the high-ranking lamas of the temple and sometimes salary or alms (zed pog, T. phog) was dispersed to lamas. Considering ceremonial expenses (khural nomiin zardal) usual and special ceremonies had different costs. As for simple ceremonies only low-priced articles were required (fat for burning butter lamps, tea, simple food, etc.), for special ceremonies particular accessories were needed such as precious stones, special robes, and various offering-cakes consisting of several ingredients. On special occasions lamas had different food with rice, fruits, cakes or noodles, and meat which costed more than the usual one. The food portion of a lama was based on his rank. In the National Central Archives numerous registers of various goods which were sold for ceremonial purposes (khural nomiin züild zarsan eldew yumnii dans) show the features of these costs. Special ceremonies attracted a lot of people, thus not only the expenses were more, but also the incomes (offerings). The temple buildings had to be renovated from time to time. In the case of the datsans an individual jas or jaw was established to fund its renovation (dugan büreekh).

Originally incomes (orlogo) were gained from alms (badar barikh), offerings (khandiw), and donations (örgöl bar’ts). These donations included a wide variety of goods such as herds, flocks, brick tea, meat, dairy products, flour, fat, silken scarves (khadag, T. kha-btags), silken materials, robes, juniper, grains and fruits, later money. On special ceremonies or at the establishment of a new jas donations were higher. These alms or donations (örgöliin orlogo) gave the 20-35 % of the total income of a temple as Pürewjaw claims (Khuv’sgal, p. 110.). As additional resources holy images, and books were sold in monasteries, and lamas performed healing ceremonies and did fortunetelling as well. However, these offerings depended on the fame of a monastery and the number of its visitors. Bequests of great lamas increased the properties of temples, and as Pürewjaw says (p. 60.) several elderly people approaching the end of their lives dedicated the half or the whole of their livestock to the establishment of a jas as a guarantee to a better rebirth (am’sünsee daatgakh).

Besides, the capital of a jas was increased by other activities: progeny of the
livestock (mal süreg), selling the livestock, oween and leasing huge agricultural fields (tarialangin gazar), trading, and giving möngö or money loans with interest. Tax and services also increased the incomes of the units (see Pürewjaw, Khuw’sgal, p. 12.).

The monasteries, temples and their financial units had thousands of livestock. According to Pürewjaw adds (Khuw’sgal, p. 68.) it meant the 40-50% of the total income of monasteries. The increase of the temple’s livestock, reared and grazed on pastures by subordinates, the predicted profit from the herds, namely dairy products, felt, and leather were considered as services (alba). As the archive materials show herds and flocks of temples, aimags, or financial units of Bogdiin Khüree were herded by laymen in pastures which belonged to the given temple, mainly in the area of the present Töw aimag. Herds and flocks (süreg maliig shalgasan bürtgel) were distinguished as five kinds of animals (horse, cow, sheep, goat, camel: aduu, ïkher, khon’, yamaa, temee), and mainly their yearly progeny (ürijil) or increase (öösölt) and loss (khorogdol) were accounted.96 Sometimes horses were counted according to their age, colour (züs) or type (mare and stallion, mount), and horses that were prepared for military service were also listed. Bulls (called shar ïkher) and cows were sometimes also distinguished. Depending on the wealth of a temple 3 kinds of animals, 4 kinds of animals, 5 kinds of animals, and in some cases only sheep and goat flocks were counted. Apart from herding the livestock dairy products (milk, fat, kumis, yoghurt, cottage cheese, dried cheese: süü, tos, airag, tarag, aarts, aaruul), and other animal products (wool, felt, leather: noos, esgii, ar’s) had to be given by the herder to the the temple or the aimag (tus aimgaas busdiin gar dear baigaa süreg malaas süü zarts khuraan awsan ni). Numerous lists with male sheeps and goats are available in the archives as well as lists of felt collected from the otoqs (jasiin irge, serkhii bürtgel ba otgudaas khuraaj awsan esgimii dans). It was usual that the jas leased out its bull (tus aimgaas busdad khölsüülsen shar ïkhriin bürtgel). The livestock of the datsans, temples and aimags of Bogdiin Khüree were different.97

Trading resulted in incomes, too. As it is clear from the archive materials livestock and other properties gained from donations were sold for ceremonial purposes. Although till the 1920’s it was not usual that lamas make commerce personally, according to Pürewjaw even some lamas went to China to sell horses collaborating with the Chinese

---

95 According to Pürewjaw, the 160 acknowledged saints and reincarnations owned about the 20 percent of the whole livestock of Mongolia, i.e. 2 million animals. Pürewjaw (p. 64.) says that Maiskii claimed that in 1918 Ilk Khüree had 218000, in 1921 297572 livestock (Pürewjaw, p. 161.: in 1921 it was 294429).

96 Mentioning an example Ginjaachoiin datsan owed total 7746 animals in 1876 (Pürewjaw, Khuw’sgal, pp. 61-62.): namely 6057 sheep and goats, 1377 horses, and 312 cattles. In 1893 its livestock increased to 10547.

97 According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, p. 64.) when a jas was firstly initiated by livestock donations its herds and flocks were herded separately but together with the donator’s animals. If the progeny extremely increased the livestock of the jas started to be herded separately. Animals were herded as “service” (alba) or “social work” (khamjilaga), and poverty-stricten orfans became their shepherds (süregchin). If nobody applied, shepherds were officially appointed from the otoqs. According to Erdeneepil lama (Pürewjaw, p. 64.), who once lived in Dashdandarlin aimag, the Central Committe of the MAKH Party prohibited this herding service in 1923. Erdeneepil adds that the progeny had to be 60-70% in a year. If somebody was not able to achieve this goal he had to pay the loss having occured. Shepherds did not receive any salaries, but could share in animal products. As Gombodoo remembers (Pürewjaw, p. 66.) 8 metres felt (or 40-50 buckets) was gained from 100 sheep. 5 jin fat and 15-20 jin milk had to be gained from every milch cow, and 150-200 jin airag had to be gained from 50 mares. The leather of dead animals had to be given to the aimag. For the shepherds one sheep was given every year. The livestock was called mönkh süreg (‘eternal livestock’) as if there was loss it had to be compensated.
stores (püüs, Chinese pu zi/ pu li). As for agricultural fields Pürewjaw claims (pp. 77-79.) that till 1911 almost every aimag and datsan of Ikh Khüree did not owe any. However, lamas asked for fields from nobles and it was usual to lease out these fields to Chinese people to cultivate them requesting grass or möngö as rental fee (p. 72.). The archives material contains a few contacts about agricultural field.

In the beginning brick tea was donated to the lama community as food subsidy. Later the quantity of brick tea, and finally möngö or money indicated the wealth of a temple or jas. Tea and möngö were used as means of payment. Firstly Chinese, later lamas, monasteries and a lot of jas lent tea and möngö (ör awлага) with interest to those who asked for loans (Datsangiin tsaiğ khüülen awsan khümüüs). In this way some lamas became extremely rich. As owning any property is not allowed by the Vinaya, the 4th Bogd issued a command in 1797 prohibiting the lending activity. It says that playing chess and shagai, smoking, making commerce, shooting with bow, and lend money is strictly prohibited. However, this prohibition was not enough to stop this flourishing source of income. Pürewjaw claims (p. 94.) that besides the financial units some wealthy high-ranking lamas such as Baljir gawj, Bütemj, Tserendorj, Chimé agramba also gave loans (p. 94.).

Dashsamdanlin datsan also had agricultural fields (p. 82.). From 1916 these monastic fields were exempted from tax (p. 84.). However, after the end of the Bogd khaan’s reign all the fields were collectivized.

As this activity of the temples was not forbidden by higher authorities several datsans, aimags and financial units put möngö and tea (shar tsai, zuzaan tsai) out in interest (möngö tsai khüülekh). While brick tea was the mean of payment in the 18th century, in the end of the 19th century Chinese (vanchaan) and Russian money (tselkow, 98 Pürewjaw recites Erdenepil (Khuu’sgaaliin ömnökh, p. 96.) who claimed that Bütemj went to China to sell livestock.

99 According to Pürewjaw, every noble was the only ruler of his own area (Khuu’sgaal, p. 70., p. 72.). It was not allowed to move or herd animals out of the area of the khoshuu.

100 The measurement of these lands were tsin, mu, ald (Pürewjaw, Khuu’sgaaliin ömnökh, p. 77.). According to Pürewjaw (p. 80., p. 82.) Dashchoimbel datsan, Güngaachoilin datsan, Badamyogo datsan, Emch narii datsan, Jiid datsan, Zoorol aimag, Dünkhhor aimag, Mergen khambii aimag, Mergen nomen khanii aimag, Khüükhen noyonii aimag, and Dashandarlin aimag had agricultural fields in Töw aimag. In some cases Chinese people were rented to cultivate these fields (p. 81.). Considering their quality the fields could be good, middle or bad. In 1911-1921 1 hectare field was worth 2-6,5 lan. As it is clear from a contract (p. 81.) drawn with a Chinese in 1918 who could cultivated a field for three years had to pay 600 lan silver every year, respected the quality and quantity of the yearly harvest.

101 According to Pürewjaw (Khuu’sgal, p. 85.) Chinese gave loans to Mongols from the beginning of the 18th century. However, Mongols learnt and started to do this activity from the end of the 18th century. According to Pürewjaw (p. 87.) the first loans were given by the bursers or bookkeepers of the financial units and treasuris of Ikh Khüree.

102 According to Pürewjaw (Khuu’sgaal, pp. 88-89.) Thus, percents were intensively increased and reached 36-48% at the end of the 19th century. That time and later apart from the financial units the treasury of himself the 8th Bogd lent money. Moreover, it was officially ordered that lamas had to ask for loans (p. 92.) to increase the wealth of monasteries in this forced way. This was called shaaltiin tsai (‘pressured tea’).

103 According to Pürewjaw (Khuu’sgaaliin ömnökh, p. 68.) one shar tsai (yellow tea, tea from the last year) means 40 gramm tea. 60 shar tsai was worth 1 khyatad zuzaan tsai (Chinese thick tea) in the beginning of the 20th century. In 1913 150-200 shar tsai were worth 1 lan möngö.

104 According to Chiméd (Möngön khüülliin tukhai, pp. 4-7.) in the beginning the financial units cooperated with merchants and usurers, but finally they operated and made commerce independently.
tsulkow) were also in use. According to Tserendorj (Khudaldaanii toim, pp. 24-29.), the following means of payment were in use in the city: tsai (tea), tüz (paper money), dens möngö (yembüü), coins such as silver coin presenting Yuan-shih-k‘ai (Yuan-shi-kai tolgoit gedeg möngön tögrög), tayağ (‘with stick’), Russian silver coin (oros möngön tögrög) and paper money such as oros tsel’kow, yembu, and baga bolzoot temdeg.

Annual taxes were firstly introduced to the shaw’ area in 1836 by the Manchu minister and tax was levied (tatwar onogduulakh) on the lay population of Mongolia. Ikh shaw’ was also required to pay tax in tea. Recovering tax (tatwar khuraasan) consisted of (p. 102.) flour (guril), fat (shar tos), aarts, milk (süüi), öökhön tos, meat (makh), buudai, khar chawga, khushga, Chinese tea (khyyatad tsai), silken scarf (khadag), and baskets of argal (arag argal), firewood and coal (tülöö nuurs). One of the most exclusive oblige was to cover all the costs of yearly ceremonies of Ikh Khüree, such as Yeröööl, Ganjuur, Tümt, or Büteel. Other exclusive tasks were to serve the heating of the main assembly hall and cater its high-ranking lamas. Though several statement of Pürewjaw are very excessive, his results are based on archives material, and also reflect the Socialist judgement of the lamas.

New Measures

Studying the catalogues of the National Central Archives one can conclude the most significant measurements of the changed system based on the text types. For example in 1921 a special expression appear in some titles, namely ordon ergekh (‘walk around the palace’). According to dictionaries ordniig ergelt means a palace revolution or coup. Text titles contain the names of participants from Gungaachoilin, Dashchoimbel, the Green Palace, and other temples. It seems that this activity was still vivid in 1923 as people were nominated to probably keep an eye (ordon ergekh eeljiin alba) on the Green Palace and other palaces (Goolin süm zereg ordig ergekh khümüüsiig tomilon nersiin dans). In 1921 documents about schools and learning the alphabet were composed, too. Documents to drawing attention to the robbery by the Gamin and Baron Ungern and to discuss its prevention have remained from 1921 as well as a register of meals giving to the sentenced ones. In 1922 documents about the nomination and withdrawal of military leaders and officers were composed. Hospitals for animals were constructed.

Almost all the Chinese residents were chased from the city in the 1920’s. However, there is a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year men between the age of 18-45 were recorded at first. There is a document in connection with the Buddhist temple which was established in Saint-Petersburg from Mongolian and Tibetan supports. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses of the Baron’s terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year a list of Chinese stores from 1924.
Moscow. In the same year the main assembly hall turned fire, and droughts stricked the country.

In 1928 lamas of each aimag of Khüree were recorded. In 1929 a document was written in order to make clear the nationality of the Yonzon khamba, the soiwns and other members of the Religious Board. A copy of the resolution adopted by the 6th Party Assembly and had come into force of the 5th Party Assembly have remained from 1930 as well as documents accepting the relief of the khamba nomon khan from his religious tasks. Establishment of schools on monastic sites to teach Mongolian script, and collecting back the lamas who were going outside the Khüree were written in 1930, as well as a letter which was sent to the middle and low class lamas from the religious authorities (shashnii zakhirgaa) of Gandan and Züün Khüree. Several datsans and temples could not pay the united taxes (negdson tatwar) in 1930 and 1931 as dozens of documents witness. In 1931 unified tax was levied for example on Dechingalaw and other 5 temples and put to the bank (bankand tushaasan möngö). In 1930 several livestock of the aimags were transfered to co-operataives (aimgiin mal sürügig artyel ’d kharulgasan).

There is a document which clarify the number of lamas of temples and monasteries (1933), and another according to which passport was given to foreign inhabitants. There are requests for being lama addressed to the religious authority. In 1934 military tax (tsergiin tatwar) was gathered from lamas who were in military age but had not joined the army. In 1935 new novices of Ekh Daginiin aimag, Dondowlin, Namdollin and other aimags were recorded by the religious authority. From the same year there is a typewritten document which contains the rules (dürem) of lamas working in the cooperatives. A plan to form circles (bülgem) to teach Mongolian script to lamas of Gandan and Züün Khüree, together with the name of people (who teaches?) and permission for their disrobe (chöööñii khuudas) have remained (1935) as well as the documentation of the internal structure of Gandan monastery. From 1936 a list with a chart and a questionnaire have remained that contains the incomes and expenses and all of the properties of each jas of Gandan and Züün Khüree in Ulaanbaatar. Two documents talk about lamas who went from their aimag to their home countryside area to have a rest (or disrobe) (chööö awakh, 1936-9, 1937-5) which indicates that numerous lamas deserted from the city.

From the year of 1937 the following documents are extremely significant: a register of lamas of datsans who were less than 45 years old; a register of lamas who were more than 46 years old; a register of lamas who disrobed; a list of lamas who went to the countryside; a document in order to send children (novices) of several aimags of Khüree to school; a register of lamas and youth who joined the army; a contract and documents of communal handicraft cooperatives (lam nariin artyel) to employ lamas who disrobed (Lam nariin artyeliin geree khar bolson lam nariig ajilluulakh tukhai kholgodoltoi bichgüüd), and a document about rules about the collection of lamas’ tax. From religious point of view the questionnaire listing the permanent ceremonies is the most useful as it was mentioned above.

Finally, from the last year, 1938 the following documents are important: a register of lamas of the 30 aimags of Khüree; a register of lamas who were permitted to leave (or disrobe); a register of religious and other properties, a register of lamas with ranks and those without, that of lamas working at the cooperative (negdel), and a document in connection with the script circle (bichig üsgiin bülgem) which was established next to the religious authority.

Texts also mention medeechin (authorities), and also ardiin töölöölögchin (people’s representatives). It should be emphasized that the collection of the National Central Archives does not contain documents related to annihilization, closure and destruction at all.
The city settled in its permanent place in 1855, though it can be said that, from 1778, it was situated in the present Ulaanbaatar basin. From 1855 onwards it was divided into the following main parts: the principal monastic districts of Züün Khüree, Baruun Khüree (Gandan and the area behind Gandan); the quarters inhabited by lay people (kharchuud) Ikh shaw’, Züün kharchuud, Züün ömnöd khoroo and Baruun ömnöd khoroo; the trade quarters Züün damnuurchin and Baruun damnuurchin; the Russian quarter called Konsuliiin denj; and the Chinese merchant quarter called Maimaa khot (Maimaachen).

As it has been mentioned above there were significant changes in the life of the capital in the early part of the twentieth century: in 1911 when the Manchu empire collapsed and the 8th Bogd came to power as a religious and political leader; in 1921 when Baron Ungern von Sternberg and his White Russians were chased out, the revolution was won and Mongolia became independent; in 1924 when Mongolia became a People’s Republic with a constitution after the 8th Bogd’s death, the name of the city became Ulaanbaatar, and the suppression of religion started; and in 1937-38 when, after more than a decade of gradual suppression, almost every active monastery was destroyed and thousands of lamas, nobles and laymen were purged. Thus it cannot be said that from 1855 onwards to the 1937/38 purges the capital always looked the same as it is described below, as it underwent continuous change. As temples and places of worship were gradually closed as a result of these changes, the city itself was reframed into a modern city from a monastic centre. However, the main parts or districts in the city remained in place until 1938.

The Rinchen map was compiled in 1979. His intention was to represent all the temples in the old capital that he could get information about. However, this does not mean that all of the temples he marked were active in the same time. The map marks the temple sites in a map of the city as it was in Rinchen’s lifetime. It reflects the temples existing during a more general time period of the early part of the 20th century, as the suppression and the closing of temples was carried out gradually. It is known that not all of the marked temples were working immediately prior to the purges. Different political events also influenced these changes, such as the hounding out of the Chinese, which resulted in closing down the Chinese temples (some of them also marked on his map) in the 1920’s. Jügder’s painting of the capital was painted in 1913 well before the repressions started, thus represents an earlier period. It shows the monasteries and temples active at the time.

For this description of the city structure, the above mentioned two primary sources were used in addition to the descriptions given by the data providers and informants and the written evidence of other sources. Therefore, the following description of the city structure and its temples relates also to the general period from 1855 on to the early 20th century, during which the city gradually changed and developed. Firstly, the certain districts themself are briefly introduced, then their monasteries and temples are detailed.

ZÜÜN KHÜREE, THE EASTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT

Bogdiin Khüree was divided into two main monastic parts: Züün Khüree (M. Jegün küriyen, eastern monastic district) and Gandan (T. dga’-ldan) or Baruun Khüree (M. Barayun küriyen, western monastic district). The latest was the centre of philosophical Buddhist education. Both parts were surrounded by aimags where lamas lived. Pozdneev uses the terms Khüree for Züün Khüree and Gandan for Baruun Khüree, which indicates that these names were commonly used at that time for the two parts, with züün (‘east’) and baruun (‘west’) being used to describe the relative position of these two principal areas of Bogdiin Khüree.
Numerous books contain detailed or sporadic data on Züün Khüree and many photos are available in books\textsuperscript{109} and in the collection of the Film Archive.\textsuperscript{110} Some valuable paintings and sketches show the arrangement of this old monastic part.\textsuperscript{111} Data providers helped to clarify some particulars on its temple buildings and religious life in the 1920-30s.

Züün Khüree was the biggest district in the city. The eastern part of the capital was settled first and, as such, was the administrative centre of the capital with the fenced-off Yellow Palace (\textit{Shar ordon}, founded first by Öndör gegeen in 1639 as his residence) of the Bogd, and the main assembly hall, called \textit{Bat tsagaan} temple in its centre. The name \textit{Shar ordon} or Yellow Palace comes from the fact that the fence around the courtyard was yellow (Pozdneev, p. 59.), while \textit{Bat tsagaan} (‘massive white’) refers to the shape of the assembly hall. The whole of the Züün Khüree area with its constituent buildings can be seen in the detail on Jügder’s painting.

The central part consisted of about 15 buildings and yurts, situated in and around the fenced area of \textit{Shar ordon}. Jügder’s painting shows them in details. The most imposing buildings of the \textit{Shar ordon} and, indeed, the whole capital, were the golden roofed \textit{Dechingalawin khural} (R-925) within one fenced area with \textit{Dorj powran}, the octagonal temple of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Bogd, \textit{Ochirdariin süm, Eregsümgombiin süm}, and other yurt-palaces, temples and yurts which served as a place for religious and political meetings inside the enclosure of the Yellow Palace. Other buildings, yurt palaces were also situated here. Outside the court of the Bogd’s residence \textit{Baruu örgöö} or \textit{Awtai sain khanii örgöö} (‘Palace of Awtai Sain khan’ or ‘Palace on the west’) was situated on the left. Behind the area of the \textit{Shar ordon} the \textit{Tsogchin} temple was situated. On either side of the \textit{Tsogchin} temple, there were the \textit{Noyon shüteeni süm} or \textit{Manaliin süm}, \textit{Dar’ ekhiin süm}, and the \textit{Mamba datsan} (originally founded in 1760) for medical, \textit{Zurkhain datsan} (1789) for astrological, and \textit{Jüd datsan} (1759) for tantric studies. These temple buildings were settled here in 1855 after the move from Tolgoit. A special place of worship was the \textit{Maidarin süm} housing the 16m high Maitreya statue. During the reign of the 5\textsuperscript{th} Bogd the \textit{khamon khan}, Agwaankahtaidaw established the statue in 1834. Behind the Maitreya temple was the open-air kitchen where food for the lamas was prepared in huge metal vessels.

Moreover, as Jügder’s painting shows the centre which was surrounded by the 30 \textit{aimags} where the lama and noble population lived. The arrangement of the buildings of the various monastic assemblies of Züün Khüree and Gandan was the same, in which over 10,000 (tümen) lamas lived. It followed the principle of \textit{khüree deg}, that is the arrangement of the \textit{aimag} temples and the lamas’ dwellings in a circle or, more exactly, a \(\cap\)-shape, around the central area comprising the main assembly hall and the principal monastic

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{109} Tsültem: intr. 12 (Maidarin süm), 22, 34 (Tsogchin dugan, Manba datsan and Noyon shüteeni süm), 43 (Manba datsan), 44, 45 (Jüd datsan), 50-52 (Dechingalawin dugan), 56, 57 (Dorj powran or Naiman tultai süm), 158 (bronze stūpa); Maidar: 63 (Maidarin süm), 107; Sereeter: 56 (Tsogchin dugan, Emch nariin datsan), 64 (Jüd datsan), 66 (Emch nariin datsan), 70 (Maidarin süm), 84, 84 (Dechingalawin datsan), 90 (Dorj powran or Naiman tultai süm); Shepetilnikov: 24, 94, 27-29, 31, 57, 43, 79-82; Palsi: 103, 105, 106; Geleta/Forbath: 120, 121, 152 (Dechingalawin datsan), etc.

\textsuperscript{110} In the collection of the Film Archives there more than 100 photos catalogized as “Pictures of Züün Khüree and \textit{Shar Ordon}” (K23997-K24101 and K23677-K23712). Some nicest examples are: K24100 (Maidarin süm), K24081 (printing house), K24020 (Dechingalawin dugan, Rigsümgombiin süm), K24030 (Dorj powran or Naiman tultai süm), K24035 (Maidarin süm), K23999 (Dechingalawin süm), K24005 (Dechingalawin dugan, Rigsümgombiin süm), K24009 (Dechingalawin dugan, Tsogchin dugan, Maidarin süm), K24059 (Tsogchin dugan), K24061 (bronze stūpa), K24062 (Emch nariin datsan), K23699 (Dechingalawin dugan).

\textsuperscript{111} Painting by Jügder (1913); Tsültem: intro. 26 (map sketch of Züün Khüree), Maidar: 57, Maidar’s sketch of \textit{Tsogchin dugan}, the same picture can be found in Tsültem: 20
institutions all of which faced south.\textsuperscript{112}

Every \textit{aimag} in Züün Khüree had many hundreds of lamas and its own square or yurt-shaped wooden or felt temple. The monastic schools, situated east of the Bogd’s residence (\textit{Zurkhain datsan, Jüd datsan, Manba datsan}), were independent from the \textit{aimags}.

There were several printing houses (\textit{barkhan, T. par-khang}) in Züün Khüree, each with about ten workers carving the printing blocks and printing the religious books, which were mainly ordered by monasteries of the countryside.

According to Pozdneev (\textit{Mongols, p. 64.}) during the daytime people were allowed to enter freely into the Züün Khüree area but, after 6 pm. women, except the old and children, were forbidden to remain in any part of the the whole district. It is said that policemen secured this order. There was a police unit called \textit{arwan tawnii tsagdaa} (‘the police of 15’), which, according to Bawden (English text: p. 47., Mongolian text: p. 728.) was appointed by the Manchus in the later half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century to patrol the environs of Urga and other settlements for fifteen miles around.

Several streets crossed Züün Khüree. The zone between the former Züün Khüree \textit{aimags} is currently the area between the present Sükhbaatar Street and Ikh surguul’ Street. This area was the central square (örgön chöö, gol chöö) or street leading to the Shar ordon. It was called \textit{Zalrakh zam}, the approach road used by the Bogd on which he arrived from his palace which was situated on the bank of Tuul River. On all sides of the boundary of Züün Khüree there were rows of prayer wheels on the peripheral road (goroo, T. skor, ‘circumambulation, circumambulate’), where hundreds of pious pilgrims made his bowings from dawn till it turned dark (see Ramstedt, \textit{Journeys}, p. 44.).\textsuperscript{113} That on the south were called \textit{Dashchoinkhoriin khürd} (ölzii khutag nomiin khürd, T. bkra-shis chos-'khor) or prayer wheels of auspiciousness.

Litter was thrown beyond the path encircling Züün Khüree, as the entire Züün Khüree area had to be kept clean. These litter heaps can be seen on the paintings of Ikh Khüree.

There were also stūpas throughout Züün Khüree. According to Jambal, there was a bronze stūpa outside the Yellow Palace. The lamas studying philosophy believed that if one circumambulated this stūpa from sunset until sunrise, it would help one to attain wisdom (Jambal, English text pp. 8-9., Mongolian text p. 687.). This bronze stūpa can be seen in several old photos.

Pozdneev claims (\textit{Mongols, p. 64.}) that within Züün Khüree the streets and lanes were narrow and twisting with only a few gardens and trees. The gates of the \textit{khashaa}s (courtyards) were painted red, crowned with a tablet with the OM syllable carved on them. Within the courtyard fences there were usually two Mongol yurts, one used as a (winter) residence of the lamas with a wooden entranceway to protect it from wind and one for the kitchen. The better-off lamas also built wooden houses where they spent the summer. As it is traditional in Mongolia the entrance of all the buildings and yurts faced to the south. In Züün Khüree as well as in Gandan yurts and sometimes small wooden residential buildings were arranged in large fenced-off courtyards next to the temple buildings, which were made of brick, wood or housed in a yurt. Pozdneev adds (p. 64.) that one saw hardly any

\textsuperscript{112} Countryside monastic cities throughout Mongolia were arranged in the same way, sometimes with separate \textit{aimags} (such as Daichin wangiiin khüree, present Bulgan aimag or Sain noyon khanii khüree / Uyangin khüree, present Öwörkhangai aimag). Lama population and laymen lived in courtyards or yurts around the temples of monastic complexes.

\textsuperscript{113} As for the circumambulation road of Züün Khüree and Gandan Agwaankhaidaw abbot composed a book bearing the title \textit{Ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling-gi skor-tshad} (TBRC: W16808) to help lamas and devotees to achieve the proper practices.
signs of life in the streets of Züün Khüree. The Bogd gave blessings in the morning and pilgrims wandered from one temple to another until 11am at which time the temple ceremonies were finished for the day and the gate of the his Yellow Palace was closed. Then, the worshippers either gathered in their lama friends’ yurts or spent the whole day in the open-air market place. This was where the majority of lamas, along with other residents of Khüree, passed their leisure time.

In spring 1938 the temples of Züün Khüree were destroyed or nationalized for use for other purposes. Only three yurt-shaped aimag temples (Wangain aimag, Erkhem toinii aimag, Ekh dagiin aimag) have remained intact, thus can reflect today the special atmosphere of the once existing old monastic part.

THE CENTRE OF THE EASTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT

Rinchen marks the main assembly hall or the centre of Züün Khüree under the name Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin (Nomiin Ikh Khüree) (R-910). However, many name variants of the Tibetan origin ri-bo dge rgyas dga’-ldan bshad-sgrub gling are in use such as Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin, Riwogeji Gandanshaddüwlin, etc., and it is sometimes also mentioned in its Mongolian translation: Ölziig badruulagch tògs bayasgalant nomlol büteeliin süm.

Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, establishing the first main assembly hall in 1654 named his whole complex as Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin. When the capital moved for the first time (to Züün Khüree, ‘Eastern Khüree’, in today’s Khentii aimag) the Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin was used for the name of the great assembly hall established there. So it can be argued that Öndör Gegeen established the assembly hall named Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin, which, from that time onwards throughout the numerous relocations, was always the main assembly hall of the capital on each site. Also the basic components of the centre of Züün Khüree remained the same each time the capital moved.

The capital relocated to the overall area of today’s Ulaanbaatar in 1778, but moved this territory before settling in its present site in 1855. From this time the Eastern part (Züün Khüree) of the capital, which included the main temple, the administrative centre for the city and also the Bogd’s residence, was situated on the right bank of Selbe River. According to Banzragch (Khüree khiid, p. 15.), Züün Khüree occupied around 720×720 ald (1 ald=1.6 m) (equivalent to 1,300sqm) area.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 55.), the great treasury (Ikh san) of the Bogd financed all the monastic schools (datsan), temples and assemblies (khural) located in and around the fence of the Yellow Palace. The Tsogchin also possessed treasuries or warehouses (san jas) where various ritual objects and accessories needed for the ceremonies were kept. The Tsogchin san was regarded as the next wealthiest after that of the Bogd. Two institutions, namely Gandantegchenlin (R-912) and a congregation dedicated to the memory of Awtai sain khan, called Baruun örgöö or Alag baiw, were direct branches of the Tsogchin temple. Furthermore, the following places were also under the administration of the Tsogchin: Shaddüwlin khiid (R-937), Büteeliin jas (financial unit) connected to the Maaniin büteeliin khural, i.e. the ceremony in which Janraiseg’s prayers were recited; Noyon shüüten, where the assembly of continuous fasting meditation (Mönkh niïnain khural) was gathered; the assembly of Ayuush or Tsegmid (T. tsha-dpag-med, Skr. Amitāyus) (Ayuushin khural) called Tseteeuw (probably the same as Tsedew, T. tshë-sgrub, ‘long life practice’); the printing house called Sümbüm (nom burkhanii bar khewleliiin gazar); the non-stop assemblies (Duu tasrakhgüi khuraluud),

114 The name Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin cited by Rinchen refers either to the great assembly hall itself or to the whole central area of Züün Khüree.
Dashsamdanlin datsan (R-935) and its aimags; and the congregations of Gürem (T. sku-rim), Ganjuur (T. bka’-’gyur), and Solgiin dugan (probably T. gsol-gyi ‘du-khang’?). According to the introduction of the Manchu catalogue of the main assembly hall (M-98) the operation of the following temples were subordinated to the tsogchin: non-stop assembly (Duu tasrakhgüi khural), Ayuushiin Tsewegiin khural, Manaliin büteeliin khural, Baruun örgööniin khural, the congregation of Shülkh (i.e. Soleg), Gürem, Ilk Ganjuur, Noyon shüteen, and the printing house (Sümbüm). Ochirdar’ and Dechingalaw temples were subordinated directly to the Bogd. According to Pürewjaw (Khuw’sgal, pp. 32-33.) in the case of certain temples, such Ochirdaririn süm, Baruun örgöö, Tsagaan süm, etc., where instead of regular ceremonies only jasaa khurals were rarely held, the staff was few in number.

In 1925, after the death of the Bogd khaan (8th Bogd) and the formation of the new government, the financial units (san, jas) were also reformed. After 1925 the operation of some of the temples was supported by the Ochirdariin or Wachirradiiin san (Vajradhara treasury), the treasury belonging to the temple called Ochirdaririn süm or Wachirradiiin süm. According to Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, p. 11., Uls töriin töw, p. 36.) the administrative centre of Töw aimag (Central province) was moved to the Yellow Palace area in the 1930s. In 1942, this was again moved this time to Zuunmod, the aimag centre, and the buildings of the Yellow Palace were used as a communal handicraft co-operative (lam nariin artel’) where lamas who had been forced to disrobe and leave their temples, worked. An additional large building was built for manufacturing. The wooden triumphal gate, which was a Manchu initiative in 1883 in honour of the 8th Bogd, and the wooden hedge (shörgön khashaa) that surrounded the main square in front of the Yellow Palace, were destroyed in 1938. The two lions that stood on either side of the main southern entrance of the main square were saved. They are now in front of the Natural History Museum. Today the whole area has been built over nothing has remained from the many buildings of the former center. The main assembly hall stood in the western part of what is now the courtyard of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children’s Creativity. Dechingalaw temple was situated where now the 6th building of Mongolian National University stands. The other buildings of the centre were situated surrounding them.

Tsogchin, the main assembly hall
Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin (T. ri-bo dge-rgyas dga’-ldan bshad sgrub gling), Tsogchin dugan / Ikh Tsogchin (T. tshogs chen ‘du-khang), Bat tsagaan
GPS: N 47°55.583’, E 106°55.030’, elevation 1294 m

The Tsogchin dugan (T. tshogs chen ‘du-khang), the great assembly hall, stood at the centre of Zuün Khüree, as is usual in monastic complexes in this tradition. It was also called Bat tsagaan (‘enormous white’) referring to its shape and form. Originally designed by Öndör Gegeen, the square-shaped white temple had 108 pillars (The actual building always retained the same design: a one-storey wooden structure on a quadrant base covered by white felt.). Pozdneev (Mongols, p. 55.) describes the appearance of the temple in detail. It had a square cupola with four windows and three broad folding doors, the middle being higher as it was the entrance for the khutagt. Tsültem claims in his introduction (Tsültem, Mongolian Architecture), that it had 108 columns, its square form was 42×42m and accommodated 2,000 lamas during the daily chanting.

According to Pozdneev (Mongols, pp. 54-55.), daily chanting lasted from 9am to 11am. The general assembly of lamas gathered here only four times a year, namely: on New Year’s day; on the occasion of Choinkhor düitsen held on the 4th of the last summer
month, one of the four great days of Buddha, which was combined with the reading of the Ganjuur which lasted for three days from the 9th to 12th of the last summer month; the Maidar ergekh, the circumambulation of the sculpture of Maitreya, the future Buddha in the 3rd or 4th month; and the presentation of Danshig offering for the longevity of the Bogd.

According to the oral history, 10,000 gelens (tümen gelen, the expression meaning also generally ‘multitude of lamas’) participated in the oath-taking retreat period (Khailen) of Ikh Khüree, gathering for 45 days in the enlarged Tsogchin temple. For these occasions with the great number of lamas gathered, the temple space was enlarged by the use of felt-covered temporary extensions.

According to Pozdneev’s description (Mongols, pp. 54-57.), the interior of the main assembly hall was not luxurious, and did not differ from aimag temples, as it had the same wooden floor full of holes, and low, bare benches for the lamas. One point of difference was the throne (sentii, T. seng-khri, ‘lion throne’) of the Bogd with its five cushions located in front of the altar. The sculptures were arranged on the north wall on either side of the gegeen’s throne in wooden display cupboards. (This is in accordance with the proscribed position for objects of worship in Buddhist temples.) As the Tsogchin temple lacked any kind of ornaments, it was almost the poorest temple in the Khüree during the daily ceremonies. Öndör gegeen’s sitting cushion, hat, the sculptures he had made himself and the books he had brought from Tibet were kept here.

The main tutelary deity of the temple was Jigjid and the main protector was Lkham (Sereeter, Ikh Khüree, pp. 54-56.).

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 52.), a large sculpture called Ikhiin Zuu (‘Buddha of the Great’) made by Öndör gegeen was placed on its altar when it was enlarged. Today it is kept in Gandan monastery.

According to Dariimaa (p. 94.), during the Tümet Ikh khangal ceremony the silken painted-scrolls of the wrathful deities and the silken pictures representing the various offerings dedicated to them one by one (this kind of thangka composition is called ganzai were on full display being covered by a curtain at all other time. Out of all these painted scrolls of the wrathful deities, which decorated the old Tsogchin temple, the three remaining ones (Shalsh, Gombo, Ochirwaan’) are now kept in Gandan (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist, pp. 285-286.).

The National Central Archives includes numerous sources related to the financial unit of the main assembly hall. As the main temple in the capital city, the temple collected the highest income. The temple administration was conducted in a separate wooden yurt called Khoit örgöö. According to Sereeter and the Manchu catalogue (M-98) of the National Central Archives, a lot of financial units (15 in number) belonged to the temple, such as Ikh jas, Yerööl Ganjuuriiin jas, Pogiin jas, Shaddüwlingiin jas, Düinkhoriin jas, Mönkh zuliin jas, Chogiin jas, Khailan jas, Duu tasrakhgūi Ochirwaaniin jas, Duu tasrakhgūi Gombiin jas, Duu tasrakhgūi Ulaan sakhiusnii jas, Shíirawnyambiin jas, Duu tasrakhgūi Nyamba Ayuushiiin jas (probably Duu tasrakhgūi Nyamiin jas, Duu tasrakhgūi Ayuwshiiin jas), Duu tasrakhgūi Zagdsambariin jas, Maaniin buldeelii jas. The day to day affairs of the three philosophical schools of the capital, located in Gandan, and the schools of tantra (Jüd), medicine (Emch or Manba), astrology (Zurkhai) and Lamrim were all financed by the treasury of Tsogchin and their own financial units.

For preparing food for the assembly, the Tsogchin had its own open-air kitchen behind the temple, where nearly a dozen vast brass and iron kettles were set in the ground. According to Pozdneev (Mongols, p. 56.) the wooden platform used for calling monks to the ceremonies (büreenii shat) was sitated in the southeast of the hall.

The Bogd, the head abbot (khamba nomon khan), the vice abbot (ded khamba), the five tsorj, the four main disciplinary masters, the four main chanting masters had their
seats in the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*).

The lower ranking lamas in the *Tsogchin* were the four assistants (geyeg, T. *dge-g-yog*), two offering preparers (takhilch), two offering masters (chowombo, T. *mchod-dpon-po*), 60 shrine keepers (duganch, T. ‘*du-khang-pa*), two treasurers or bookkeepers (nyaraw, T. *gnyer-pa*, belonged to *Ikh jas*), one clerk (bicheechn), and two guards (sakhiul).

In the *Tsogchin* temple readings were held every day, with the participation of the old lamas and young novices (while the other lamas pursued their studies in the monastic colleges of Gandan). History records that 10,000 gelen lamas (tiumen gelen) gathered here for the biggest ceremonies coming from all the temples in Züün Khüree and in Gandan. According to Dashtseren lama there were special ceremonies on the 8th, 15th and 30th of the lunar month. The other ceremonies depended on the wishes of the donors (jandag, T. *shyin-bdag*). The *Tsam* religious dance was performed twice a year in front of the Yellow Palace: a smaller one in winter (Gangaa, Khüree *tsam*, p. 19.) it was on the 29th of the middle winter month; and on the 9th of the last summer month about 100 deities were represented, on which date a longevity ceremony (Bat-orshil örgökh, or Danshig, T. *brtan-bzhugs*) was also performed (Gangaa, p. 19.). The Maitreya procession (Maidar ergekh), where the statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya was processed through the city, attracted many people. Other great annual ceremonies were held here as well, such as the celebration of the Lunar New Year (*Tsagaan sar*, ‘white month’) with its ceremonies commemorating Buddha’s defeat of the six masters, the holders of heretical doctrines for fifteen days on in the first spring month.

The National Central Archives’ catalogues includes 771 titles related to the operation of the *Tsogchin* and its subordinated units. Its catalogue (M-98) of the Manchu period contains 461 texts dated between 1853 and the 1900s. According to the introduction of the catalogue the *Tsogchin jas* was firstly initiated in 1813. Beside of its own operation, *tsogchin* was responsible for various religious questions, such as recitation of the everyday chanting (*tsogchin*), registration of new lamas and novices, nomination of ranked lamas of the aimags and datsans. In the beginning the main assembly hall had four disciplinary masters, a chief lama, a vice lama, a treasurer and a chief officer (*zaisan*). Among the numerous interesting texts there is an instruction prescribing to lamas, nobles and high-ranking lamas how to prepare and offer the plate of worshipping (*tawgiin idee*) for the abbot during the celebration of the Lunar New Year. It was composed in 1853. Furthermore, there is a list of donations to decorate the roof of the main assembly hall with a golden top ornament (*altan jantsan*) in 1867. There are lists of möngö, tea, livestock, and other goods donated to prepare the *Züün sakhiusnii dordow* (sacrificial cake offering to the protector in the east) in 1880. Tea that was lent to Baga Manal *jas* of Noyon shüteenii *aimag* was recorded in 1896. There are texts about 4 non-stop assemblies from 1897, on the necessaries of offerings dedicated to the Buddha and other deities, on the properties of Mönkh nügneen *jas*; camels, tea, meat, wheat, flour, and butter donated or used for permanent ceremonies; the number of livestock, möngö, tea incomes and expenses of certain financial units. There are commands coming in 1875, 1886, 1887, and 1893 to prohibit women to settle and live inside the monastic district (*khüree*), and to determine the colour of robes to be worn by high-ranking lamas, as *khamba*, *tsorj*, etc. (1892). A letter was issued about the renovation of the main assembly hall in 1893, and another one on forcing to make the lamas’ vows strengthen (1896). Lamas gathering in the main assembly hall was counted many times (1896, etc), and leporellos were issued to supervise those who usually had not gathered on ceremonies (1897). Regulation of lamas (1898), and a command in order to fundrais the building of *Choijin lamiin süm* (1902) were also sent.

The catalogue (A-76) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 110 items related to the main assembly hall and its subordinated institutions. Among the texts *Mönkh nügnein*, the
non-stop assemblies, and otogs (for example Tsuyan otog which was situated on the northwest) belonging to the main assembly hall are frequently mentioned. The most interesting texts are the following: donations for the renovation of the main assembly hall (1917), calculation of male sheep that were herded in otog areas and other pastures of the the vice lama and Noyon khutagt nomon khaan (1920), list of the three kinds of animals belonging to the treasury of the yonzon khamba lam (Yonzon khamba lamiin san) (1921). Other valuable documents order the khamba nomon khan to make a sit after Noyon khutagt nomon khaan, while another one orders every Mongol inhabitant to put prayer flags (dartsag, T. dar lcog) in the wind and read the command (lünden) of the Bogd (1912). There is a text in order to punish the lamas who changed their aimags (aimag shiljsen lam nar) according to their personal wish (1913), and another to acknowledge and believe in reincarnations (khuwilgaan todruulj shütekh). There is a contract drawn by a Russian to mend the tea kettle pot (manziin togoo) of the main assembly hall (1914), and a document stimulating families to make the text “Four maōūlas of Lkham” recited offering to strengthen the flourishing of the state (1915). Rules of Police secure in Niislel Khüree were determined in 1918. Incomes and expenses of Ikh jas and the amount of möngö collected to carve the Kanjur’s blocks were also recorded in the same year. Some texts have remained without exact date, such as that one honouring people who renovated the main assembly hall and people who supported their work; or another which recorded the expenses and incomes of the lamas removed to the layquarters. Furthermore, there is an individual source about the number of livestock belonging to the Ikh jas of Züün Khüree which is included in the catalogue A-229.

Coming closer to the fall of Buddhism, the catalogue of the Moder Period (Kh-182) about the Ikh jas of the main assembly hall contains 200 texts composed between 1922-1937. Besides names of herdsmen (1922), and number of male and female horses (1922), a leporello was issued by the Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam about the secure guard of shrine keepers and cooks (manj) of Tsogchin jas (1923). As it is clear from the texts the bookkeepers, working together with some managers (daamal), was responsible for the livestock. The herds and flocks of the main assembly hall were herded in north, south and east pastures. It had all the five kinds of animals. List of incomes of Ikh jas (1927), expenses of wheat, flour, juniper, silken scarves and other necessary of ceremonies (1928), equipment that was removed from religious authorities to Tsogchin jas in 1926 (1929), donations and costs of renovation of the main assembly hall (in 1932 and 1935) were all recorded. Lists of the livestock belonging to the four non-stop assemblies (1921, 1922), and incomes and expenses of their required measure of butter, meat, flour, wheat, and other goods (1921) were also listed. When the Bogd khaan passed away in 1924 several robes and articles were moved to Büteeliin jas. As the documents indicate there were not remarkable changes in the beginning of the 1920’s. Incomes and expenses of eternal butter-lamp of Ikh jas (1925), the three kinds of animals of the 6 non-stop assemblies (1925), later the 8 non-stop assemblies (1926) were recorded. Moreover, income of the 10 non-stop assemblies with loans in felt, tos, leather (1926), and three kinds of animals of the four financial units of the 10 non-stop assemblies (1927) were listed in the 1920’s. As the documents show in 1927 the moveable and inmoveable properties of numerous financial units of Züün Khüree and Gandan was summarized. In 1928 a summary counting the livestock of aimags, datsans, assemblies and financial units of Züün Khüree and Gandan was conducted. Livestock of Ulaan sakhius and Shiirawnyambiin jas (1928), and Mönhk zuliin jas are listed in this catalogue as well. As for the 1930s leporellos

115 Dechingpuntsaglin datsan, Dechinchoilon khural and Odserdechinlhündüwlin khurliiin tsereg are mentioned in titles, though there are not other sources to confirm that they did belong to Bogdii Khüreee.
on presumed incomes and expenses of the jas in the years of 1935-1936 were created. In 1936 a summary listing all the temples, with their value and properties, incomes and expenses was composed. Finally, in 1937 a list clarified the value of the buildings, temples, and objects that were offered to tsogchin ikh jas, and its subordinated assemblies and financial units were determined. The four and six non-stop assemblies are mentioned several times. Though originally there were 10 kinds of non-stop assemblies, finally they number decreased to 3-4.

The National Central Archives’ Modern Period catalogue (F-183.) includes 85 individual sources about Mönkn nügnein jas which were composed between 1921 and 1937. Among the several texts which deal with the incomes and expenses and the number of the livestock, in 1921 the camels, horses and bulls of the aimag that were leased out were counted. In 1938 the livestock of Mönkh nügnein and that of two other financial units were counted. In 1934 the incomes and expenses were recorded as well as on the 13 December, 1937. On the 3 October 1937 the cash and inmoveable properties of the jas were registered.

The main assembly hall was destroyed in 1938. A photo of the old temple is available in the Film Archives (K24059) which also appears in Tsültem’s book (picture 34). It shows the main assembly hall with its surrounding fence and the entrances. It stood in the western part of what is now the courtyard of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children’s Creativity (Khüükhediin urlan büteekh töw, previously known as the Pioneeriin Ordon, ‘Pioneer Palace’).

**Shar ordon, the Bogd’s Yellow Palace**

The central part of Züün Khüree consisted of about 15 buildings and yurts, situated in and around the fenced area of Shar ordon. Jügder's painting shows them in details. The most imposing buildings of the Shar ordon and, indeed, the whole capital, were the golden roofed Dechingalawiin khural (R-925) within one fenced area with Dorj powran, the octagonal temple of the 3rd Bogd, Ochirdariin süm (Vajradhara temple), Eregsumgombiin süm, and other yurt-palaces, temples and yurts which served as a place for religious and political meetings inside the enclosure of the Yellow Palace. Other buildings, yurt palaces were also situated here: for example, Khökkh torgon tugdum/ Töriin khökkh tugdum (‘the blue silken yurt palace/ the blue yurt palace of the state’), which was where the great political assembly was held once a year. The sites of other temples and shrines like Tunlkhaqin khural, Namsrain khural cannot be determined exactly, but they surrounded the residence of the Bogd. Outside the court of the Bogd’s residence Baruun örgöö or Awtai sain khanii örgöö (‘Palace of Awtai Sain khan’ or ‘Palace on the west’) was situated on the left.

**Dechingalaw, the Kālacakra monastic school**

Dechingalaw / Dechingalwa (T. bde chen bskal-pa, ‘era of Great Bliss’), Ikh amgalant tsag, Düinkhor datsan (T. dus-’khor grwa-tshang)

GPS: N 47°55.559’, E 106°55.063’ (site of the old Dechingalaw temple)

Rinchen marks this temple separately as Dechingalawiin khural (R-925). It was also called shortly as Dechingalaw / Dechingalwa or in Mongolian translation Ikh amgalant tsag (T. bde-chen bskal-pa, ‘era of great bliss’) or Düinkhor datsan (T. dus-’khor, Skr. Kālacakra) referring to the fact that the Kālacakra system was practiced here. Several sources mention
details of this temple and its practice and photos in books\textsuperscript{116} and in the Film Archives (K23699, K23999, K24005, K24009, K24020) show its beautiful outer appearance. G. Buyandelger, chanting master of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery provided data on its ceremonies.

The Kālacakra teachings, the ‘Wheel of time’ (T. dus-’khor, pronounced as Düinkhor in Mongolia, Tsagiin khürd in Mongolian translation), is one of the secret tantric teachings given by Čikyamuni Buddha to the first King of the legendary kingdom of Shambhala, called Suchandra (T. zla-ba bzang-po, Diwaasambuu/ Dewaasambuu in Mongolian pronunciation).

The teaching became widespread in the 11\textsuperscript{th} century. It illustrates the inter-relationship between the phenomenal world, the physical body and the mind-animated nature or living beings. It serves as the basis for zodiac astrology and the temporal cycle. Düinkhor (T. dus-’khor, Skr. Kālacakra) is also the name of a higher tutelary tantric deity, who is one of the five wrathful tutelary deities of the Gelukpa tradition. His standing form, in which he is embracing his consort, has 4 faces (blue, red, yellow, white) symbolizing the four seasons. His twelve eyes symbolize the twelve months, his 24 arms the 24 hours, and his finger joints symbolize the 360 days. He treads on evil spirits.

The first tantric assembly (jüd, T. rgyud) was founded by the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Bogd in 1739 under the Tibetan name: Bde-chen gsang-sngags gling (Dechinsanaglin). Later, three places were established where tantric systems were followed, namely Dechingalaw datsan, Badma yogo datsan and Jüd datsan (R-910 and R-912). According to the information sheet in the present day Düinkhor datsan, the original datsan was constructed in 1800 after the 4\textsuperscript{th} Bogd visited the Düinkhor temple in Lhasa and participated in the Düinkhor initiation (awshig, Skr. abhiåeka) performed by Lkhokh or Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid Gegeen (in short form, Lkhokh jalsrai gegeen, T. ? rgyal-sras bskal-bzang thub-bstan ’jigs-byed). He founded Dechingalawiin süm in the area of Düinkhorii aimag, which got its name after its main tutelary deity, Düinkhor, and after a special ceremony called Jambal choijin (Tib.’jam-dpal chos-skyong) or small Düinkhor (baga düinkhor), which was held there every month. The main tutelary deity of the temple was Kālacakra, while the main protectors were Dorjshüg (T. rdo-rje shugs(-ldan)) and Jamsran, the Red Protector. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, pp. 83-84.), the temple building was completed in 1806. The great treasury (Ikh san) covered the expenses of the temple. Sereeter claims that despite many lamas being educated in the datsan they could not obtain a scholastic rank. 40 lamas belonged to the temple. However, according to G. Buyandelger, the zeerembe rank (T. rtsis-rims-pa), the highest academic qualification in astrology, could be obtained in the datsan.

The highest ranking lama in Dechingalaw temple was the dorj lowon (T. rdo-rje slob-dpon) with the first dorj lowon being the 4\textsuperscript{th} Bogd himself. According to the article in the volume of the Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development (p. 302.) the first disciplinary master was Chonzow noyon while the first chanting master was Badan. The second dorj lowon was the Tibetan Ikhbaaramba of Shüteenii aimag, while the third was the vice abbot of Düinkhorii aimag who was followed, after his death in 1921,

\textsuperscript{116} Tsültem: intr: 22; 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56; Maidar: 107; Sereeter: 84; Shepetilnikov 57; Palsi: 83; Geleta/Forbáth: 152
by Tsogt Zandan, the tsorjl lam of (Dash) Dandarlaimag. The disciplinary master was changed every year. There was a tradition that the outgoing disciplinary master led the Bogd to the temple, while the incoming disciplinary master led him back to the palace.

Pozdneev claims (Mongols, pp. 57-59.) that, thanks to the 4th Bogd's devotion to the Düinkhor teachings, the original temple was enlarged in 1807. From this time, many other rituals were held there apart from the Düinkhor ceremonies. In 1809 the temple's mezzanine and roof weresolidly gilded. The Bogd then set up his yurt in its courtyard which became his personal residence. Since that time, this place, the fenced-off courtyard of the Yellow Palace, became the permanent winter residence of the Bogds. Pozdneev says that the Bogd had his quarters in two yurts, one was made from wood and covered with felt, and the other was a typical Mongolian felt yurt (‘one of which is wood and covered with felt, and the other of felt alone').

According to Pozdneev (p. 58.), the Dechingalaw temple along with the yurts and other quarters of the Bogd, burned almost to the ground on the night of 15 January 1892 (the last winter month according to the Mongolian calendar). As he visited Mongolia in that year, he claims the rebuilding of the temple began in the same year using 50,000 lan (a Chinese unit of weight, 1 lan=37.3 g) of silver provided by the great treasury (Ikh san) and the subordinated areas (Ikh shaw’) to do this. Pozdneev describes how the façade and the internal plan of the temple remained the same, although the mezzanine was constructed in two tiers. Russian window panes donated by Buryats were installed in place of the former Chinese paper-covered windows. The Bogd ordered new sculptures from the famous workshops of Beijing and Doloon nuur.

As Pozdneev describes (pp. 58-59.), and old pictures show, Dechingalaw datsan was the most imposing building in the whole city: ‘All the wooden parts of its mezzanine and roof have been regilded, and now they literally burn in the sun... The cupola of the datsan, as before, is hung round with little bells, the low and silvery tinkle of which may be heard almost uninterrupted.’

According to Pozdneev (p. 59.), Tibetan lamas chanted everyday in Dechingalaw temple. They came to Ikh Khuree from Tibet to be attendants of the khutagt. They lived near the khutagt’s palace and were the court staff or bodyguards. Public services were occasionally held in this temple though only when the Bogd could not go out to the main assembly hall (Tsogchin). In addition, a morning service was sometimes held here on the day of the Maitreya procession. Pozdneev also explains that, as Dechingalaw was the Urga khutagts’ palace temple, all the lamas of the capital assembled on the death of the khutagt when his remains were brought to the temple until the time that he was buried (p. 59.).

Jügder's painting shows the temple in its state in 1913. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüreee, p. 84.) the temple burnt down once again in 1914, and was rebuilt again in 1915 from 34,500 lan silver collected from the four Khalkha aimags, and the subordinates. From 1926 some financial units belonged to the datsan, like Düinkhorin jas and Zagdsambariin jas.

The special ceremonies of the Kālacakra tradition were held in this temple. The most important of them was the great initiation of Kālacakra (Düinkhorin wan), held in the last spring month. It is said that on the 15th of the last spring month a Düinkhorin chogo (T. dus-khor-kyi cho-ga) ceremony was held in Mongolian monasteries. In Bogdiin Khüree it was held only in this very site.

In the Dechingalaw temple, traditionally the (Düinkhor) ceremony began on the 1st of the last spring month. On the 2nd day a ritual dance called Sagar or Gazriin büjig (T. sa-gar, ‘Earth-dance’) was held seeking the permission of spirits for using the land where the coloured sand maŏðala (Dültsen jinkhor) was to be prepared. From the 4th onwards the Dültsen jinkhor and the balins and offerings were prepared and consecrated and, on their
completion, the Great Düinkhor ceremony began on the 13th day with the ritual dance of Chogar or Takhilitin būjig (T. mchod-gar, ‘offering-dance’) being held on the 15th. On the last day of the ceremony, a fire-offering called Düinkhoriin jinsreg (T. dus-khor-gyi sbyin-breg, ‘Kālacakra fire-offering’) was organized. The final part of the ceremony was at the end when the dültsen sand maØðala was destroyed with the sand being taken in a ceremonial procession to the source of Tuul River in Gachuurt (on the north-east of Ulaanbaatar) where it was offered to the spirits of land and water.

In the collection of the National Central Archives 64 valuable sources are available in the individual catalogues of Dechingalaw datsan, while the other documents related to its operation are listed in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Its individual catalogue (M-207) of the Manchu period contains 6 texts dated between 1878-1906 (?). The very first text, written in 1878, is a list of donators who supported the operation of Dechingalaw with tea as food subsidy (khünsnii tsai). A leporello lists the alms (zed) and silken scarves (khadag) of those ceremonies in which the most lamas participated. There is a list of offerings which were placed to the altar in front of Baldan Lkham’s precious object of worship (nandin shüteen) at the Tsedor Lkham ceremony in the Lunar New Year (1890). Another leporello, composed in 1894, is about praying (nom örgökh) to Baldan Lkham’s precious object of worship to strengthen the longevity of the Bogd (Bogdiin shawdan batagakh). Further texts as healing ritual with number (toonii gürem buulgaj, exact meaning unknown) to the precious object of worship to strengthen the longevity of the Bogd (1898, 1902, 1906), and leporellos of worshipping necessities (khural nomiin khereglel) are available as well as the internal rules (dotood juram) of the datsan which aimed to pray for the longevity of the Bogd. The catalogue (A-230) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains only one item with more leporellos about accessories and necessities of ceremonies (1912, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1920). There are two catalogues relevant to Dechingalaw from the Modern Period. One of them (SKh-185, bearing the title of Dechingalawiin süm) contains 39 items which were composed between 1923-1933. There is a document about the ceremonies of the temple, a Tibeto-Mongolian bilingual list about the expenses of the Düinkhor ceremony held in the datsan in 1926, a list of necessaries to prepare offerings (1926), and the livestock property of the treasury of Dechingalaw (Dechingalawiin san) and its Düinkhor jas (1927). A list of the incomes flowing in from alms (badar bar’j orson) (1928) is also available.

Concerning the 1930s a document on the amount of money which was collected from Dechingalaw and the other most important five places to deposit to the bank in 1931 have great importance as well as the list of Dechingalaw’s immovable property (ül khödlökh khöröngö), and its collectivized livestock (khamtrald shiljüülsen mal) listed in the same year. There is a list of flour, rise, and other goods which were bought by Dechingalawiin san (9 March, 1933). The other catalogue (TsKh-228 about Dechingalawiin khiid) lists 18 texts which were composed between 1923-1935. The collection contains sources about the incomes and expenses of the units which were subordinated to Dechingalaw, for example Dechingalawiin san, Düinkhor jas, Shar ordon, Zagdsambariin jas, and Bandlin süm. Düinkhor datsan is mentioned once separately (1923) and Pandelin süm (Bandlin süm)’s herds and flocks, felt and other articles gained from herders were listed in 1926. A documents discussing such problems as fight (temtseledek) between the temple’s lamas (1935), and a list of offerings and necessities of ceremonies (without date) are also available in the collection. Thus, the following conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned titles: in the Manchu period Dechingalaw is mentioned mainly as Dechingalaw, not as a datsan, but as a temple (or monastery). However, its function to pray to strengthen the longevity of the Bogd(s), supposes and refers to important priviledges. Dechingalaw housed the venerable statue of
Baldan Lkham, and Tsedor Lkham ceremony was held at New Year. Düinkhor ceremony was held in the temple which had its own financial unit. It is interesting that only a couple of texts reflect the period of the Bogd khaan’s reign and that the documents on Dechingalaw were divided into two separate catalogues. Supposedly the majority of the texts are available in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Due to the fact that after the political changes and the dethronement and the passing away of the Bogd khaan, the operation of Shar ordon, Zagdsambariin jas, and Pandelin süm were still maintained by Dechingalaw. The different titles of the two catalogues refers that relevant texts of Dechingalaw datsan itself are in the the catalogue Skh-185, while the relevant texts of its subordinated units are in the catalogue TsKh-228. Meanwhile, the most interesting texts which requires further researches are about the deposit of money which was collected from Dechingalaw and the other 5 places (probably Shar ordon, Pandelin and the others) in 1931, which is a unique document among the texts of the Modern Period. It indicates the changes in the early 1930’s, as well as the texts confirming the fact of collectivization of the livestock (document from 1933). One of the latest documents talk about fights and debates of the lama community (1935). As an interesting fact only some document discusses the livestock of the datsan.

According to an article (Northern Buddhist, p. 302.), Dechingalaw temple was closed in 1937 just before the important celebration of the great day of the 4th Bogd on 15th of the middle winter month. According to Sereeter, this temple ceased to operate in 1938. The tradition continued with a three-day Düinkhor ceremony using the painted maάðala, Raibri jankhar (T. ras-bris dkyi-l’khor) being held in the spring of 1938 in Düinkhorin aimag but this was also stopped. Dechingalaw temple standing where today the 6th building of the Mongolian National University is was totally destroyed.

The Düinkhor ritual was not held again anywhere in Mongolia until 1961, when it was re-instated in Gandan since when it has been held once a year in spring. The tradition was revived in 1992 after which new Düinkhor temple building was constructed on the initiative of D. Danzan (honourable chanting master, darkhan unzad) and R. Sereeter (honourable disciplinary master, darkhan gesgüi) lamas in Gandan (in 1994) based on the style of the pre-1938 temple. Dechingalaw was revived in the courtyard of Gandan monastery in 1992, with the new building being completed in 1994 (GPS: N 47°55.379'; E 106°53.743', elevation: 1278 m). The traditional ceremonies, especially the yearly Great Düinkhor festival, have been revived and are once again held in the new temple. The main tutelary deity of the temple is Düinkhor and the main protector deities being Dorjshügden and Jamsran.

Temple of the Three Protectors or Three Bodhisattvas
Rigsümgoambilin süm (T. rigs gsum mgon-po), Tsedewgombiin süm (T. tshe-sgrub mgon-po) O. Pürew mentioned this temple as Tsedewgombiin süm (‘longevity protector/protector of long life’). Rigsümgoambilin süm/ Eregshümgoambilin süm or Gurwan yazguurin itgel are also used in books as name variants. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, Gandan, p. 86.) the 4th Bogd ordered the building of this temple in 1793. It officially opened in 1796 to celebrate

117 Several old traditions such as the preparation of the Kάacakra sand maάðala and its ceremonial procession to the source of Tuul River in Gachuurt, ritual dances called Sagar and Chogar, and a fire-offering Düinkhorin jinsreg were revived. Many of the artifacts of the temple were made by D. Danzan, the initiator of the re-erected temple, such as the statues of Buddha, Düinkhor, Dorjshüg, Jalsrai gegeen and the throne of the Dalai Lama.
rituals and chant books to the honour of the three main bodhisattvas of Tibetan Buddhism. These ‘Lords of the Three Families’ or the Three Protectors are Avalokiteśvara (Khonsūṃ bodisad or Janraiseg), Mañjuśrī (Manjushir, T. ‘jam dbyangs) and Vajrapāṇī (Wachirwaan/Ochirwaan’, T. phyag-na rdo-rje). The temple stood once next to Dechingalaw temple, on the east.

The octagonal Vajra Palace

Dorj Powran (T. rdo-rje pho-brang), Naiman taltai süm

The Vajra Palace stood near to Rigsūṃgombiin süm, on the east. Other names as ‘Octagonal temple’ (Naiman taltai süm), referring to the shape of the building, and ‘Palace of the Bogd khaan’ (Bogd khaanii lawran) referring to its function were in use as well. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, Gandan, p. 86.) the octagonal building called ‘Vajra Palace’ (Dorj Powran) was the residence of the 3rd Bogd. After his death the palace became a temple (süm) where regular ceremonies (jasaa khural) were held.

Vajradhara Temple

Ochirdariin süm (T. rdo-rje ‘dzin-pa), Wachirdariin süm, Wachirdaraagin süm

Ochirdariin süm was the temple dedicated to Vajradhara (Mongolian translation Ochir barigch). According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 85.) during the time of those Bogds succeeding Öndör gegeen a temple was built in the Yellow Palace to house a statue of Ochirdar’, the unique masterpiece sculpture made by Öndör gegeen. (The Bogds are considered as a reincarnation of this deity.) The two-storey building was in the eastern corner of Shar ordon, next to and east of Dorj Powran. Sereeter also says that a limited number of lamas belonged to the temple and held ceremonies (Jasaa khural) regularly there. The statue of Vajradhara survived, was placed and is still kept in Ochirdariin süm in Gandan monastery (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist, pp. 285-286).

Yurt palaces and yurts

Ger tugdam (T. thugs-dam)

As it is evident from Damdinsüren’s paintings (Khüree tsam and Naadam), inside the courtyard of the Yellow Palace, there were many yurts and yurt palaces. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 21.) and Darimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 16.), the Üüdnii örgöö (‘Entrance palace’), Dundadiin örgöö (‘Middle palace’), Mörgöliin tugdam (‘Yurt palace of worship’), and the yurts of the attendants of the Bogd (shadar sangiinkh) were here as well as the Khökh torgon tugdam/Töriin khökh tugdam (‘Blue silken yurt palace of the state’), where the great political assembly was held once a year.

Other temples and institutions in the centre

Monastic schools

According to Pozdneev (Mongols, p. 58.), the lamas of these datsans (T. grwa-tshang) did not belong to any aimag temple. The datsan temples in Züün Khüree were one-storey quadrangular buildings made of wood, all of very similar appearance. Although these datsans were places of education, it seems that while philosophical academic titles could be obtained in the datsans of Gandan, medical and astrological academic titles (maaramba, T. sman-rams-pa and zeerembe, T. rtsis-rims-pa) could not be obtained in the Züün Khüree monastic schools of Ikh Khüree but only in some countryside monasteries and in Tibet.
Medical monastic school

Emch narin datsan/ Manba datsan/ Mamba datsan (T. sman-pa grwa-tshang)

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, Gandan, p. 66.) the original Medical monastic school of the capital was established in 1760 at the initiation of the 3rd Bogd. The first leader of the temple was a Tibetan lama, Luwssannorow (T. blo-bzang nor-bu). Pozdneev referring to the Erdeni-yin erike chronicle claims that its first abbot was a lama who was summoned from Tibet and who bore the title of Erdeni emči (p. 60., footnote 44), that is, ‘precious physician’.

The main tutelary deity of the monastic school was Shanlan, who was honoured in a big annual ceremony, called Shanlangiin chogo (T. zhang-blon-gyi cho-ga), while its main protector was Damjan/Damjin. These are traditional protectors of doctors and medical schools. Shanlan is a blue coloured wrathful deity with flaming hair, wearing a red robe and holding a jewel in his right hand with an alms bowl in his left hand. Damjin is a blue coloured wrathful deity wearing a big round hat and riding a billy-goat.

The curriculum of the school was based on a combination of traditional Indian (Skr. Āyurveda), Tibetan (T. rgyud bzhi) and Chinese medicine with Mongolian folk medicine. After four years of study, the students could obtain the rank of doctor (emch). According to Sereeter, the maaramba rank (T. sman-rams-pa, ‘professor’ in medical science) could not be obtained here. At any one time about 100 lamas were training in the school but more lamas participated in the ceremonies.

As adult lamas gathered in Manaliin süm (Noyon shüteenii süm, see below), only novices gathered in Emch narin datsan daily to hold ceremonies.

According to S. Dulam (pp. 90-91.),118 twice a year (in the last summer month and in the middle autumn month) four to eight lamas from the datsan under the leadership of a maaramba teacher went to collect herbs from Chinge ltei Mountain. This study trip was called ‘lyankhuad garna’ (‘excursion to the lotus’).

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, Gandan, p. 66.) the old wooden building of the temple with its golden roof was situated in the area of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children’s Creativity on the east side of Tsogchin temple. The decoration of the temple was financed by Doltson khuwilgaan Galsanjams lama from Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag. Its photo is available in the Film Archives (K24059) and it Tsültem’s book (picture 34).

Ts. Dorj lama (1901-2007) claims that approximately 60 lamas gathered here before 1925.

According to L. Dashdorj (born 1918), who lived in Bargiin aimag and was a lama of Manba datsan or Emchin datsan, the lamas of the datsan came from the 30 aimags of Züün Khüree. Zurkhai and Jiid datsans stood near the temple. Jasaa khural was held every day and exams were held occasionally. The Medicine Buddha, called Manal (T. sman-bla, Skr. Bhaiåjayaguru) and Damjan/Damjin were worshipped there. Two disciplinary masters (one of them was called Baldorj) and two chanting masters belonged to the temple being nominated for a given period. The temple had many lamas who hold maaramba degree for example the head of the temple.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 693 individual sources about this monastic school. The catalogue (M-95) of the Manchu period lists 581 texts dated between 1818 (or 1821) and 1911. As it is stated in its introduction, the datsan was founded in 1760. Its operation was devoted to religious purposes, having permanent and inpermanent ceremonies. It was a school for Tibetan medicine and healing methods. Its

---

118 Dulam, S., Khüree dörwön uulii takhilga, belgedel. Ulaanbaatar 2004. (Referred as Dörwön uul.)
staff consisted of the following ranked lamas: a chief lama (*ikh lam*), a vice lama (*baga lam*), a disciplinary master, a chanting master, a shrine-keeper, a main offering master, an assistant offering master and a cook (bookkeeper is not mentioned). The *datsan* had its own registers, incomes and expenses, and property. Its operation changed in 1911 due to the reign of the Bogd khaan. The very first text in the catalogue is about möngö and tea properties, and tea which was sold by Manaliin jas (1818 or 1821). There is a notification of goods which were used for holding rituals (1838); an inventory of ceremonial accessories (1840); a list of necessaries of Danshigiin khangal ceremony (1840), a list of butter, flour, wheat, and other goods which were sold by *Ikh jas* to meet ceremonial requirements (1842), a list of goods which were bought by the *jas* from a Chinese store (1848), a list of costs of permanent (*bainga*) ceremonies (1860), a list of expenses of *Manaliin dültsen jasaa* ceremony (1867), a list of old and new möngö and tea, with a namelist of people who borrowed them (1876), a list of goods which were sold by *Düütsen jas* dedicated to Danshigiin khangal ceremony (1880), and an inventory of the holy books, sculptures and accessories belonging to the *datsan* (1882). People giving alms (*khandiw*) such tea to Düütsen jas were recorded (1887), as well as the quantity of felt and leather which was received from herders of the livestock (1891). There is a list notifying the debts which were received from others in 1903, and another one from the same year listing the debts of the *jas* which had to be received back from others.

The Bogd khaan’s period has 2 catalogues related to the medical monastic school (A-220 and A-85). Catalogue A-220 contains only one text, which is a leporello supervising the incomes and expenses on *Manba datsan* (1915). Meanwhile, catalogue A-85 contains 66 texts.\(^{119}\)

The catalogue (Kh-193) of the Modern Period contains 45 texts. Their majority is about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, donations, and möngö with percents. A text lists the patrons of the temple (1921). The latest texts are registers and lists of expenses of the *aimag* (1936, 1937). From religious point of view the most valuable source of the catalogue is a register written in 1937 (Kh193/42) which lists the names of all the permanent ceremonies being held in the *datsan*. This list contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of more than 17 ceremonies\(^ {120}\) which were regularly performed in the *aimag* temple in 1937. These were the following: Jasaas ceremony was held every day with the participation of 9 lamas from the expected 12, as the others did not owe the proper books. Düütsen yerööl ceremony was held for 15 days from the 1\(^{st}\) of the first spring month by 28 lamas. Sakhius ceremony was held twice a month on the 15\(^{th}\) and 29\(^{th}\) days with the participation of 9-9 lamas. Sojintoi Manal ceremony was held on the 8\(^{th}\), and Yandag san on the 2\(^{nd}\) of the month with the participation of 9-9 lamas. A kind of Donchid\(^ {121}\) ceremony was held on the 16\(^{th}\) of the middle spring month with the participation of 36 lamas. *Manaliin sachog dültsen dashaad arawnai sakhius*\(^ {122}\) ceremony was performed for 17 days from the 1\(^{st}\) of the first summer month with the participation of 73 lamas. *Ikh Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 15\(^{th}\) and 29\(^{th}\) of the middle summer month with the participation of 76 lamas. *Dar’ ekhiin sachog dültsen dashaad* was prepared for 15 days in the last summer month with the participation of all the expected 32 lamas. Gongor Namsrai ceremony took place for a day on the 30\(^{th}\) of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected 8 lamas. *Manaliin númnai* .

\(^{119}\) The content of the catalogue has not surveyed yet by the author.

\(^{120}\) Although the ceremonies are innumbered, they are listed in 17 rows. As there are more Düütsen yerööls mentioned in the text, the number of ceremonies was more than 17.

\(^{121}\) The exact name of the ceremony cannot be made out. M. Doloon odari-ni donchid, T. ? stong-mchod

\(^{122}\) This ceremony is not known from other sources. It is in connection with the procedure of the preparation of the Medicine Buddha’s maððula. T. sman-bla’i sa mchog bkra-shis rab-gnas (?)
was practiced for 15 days in the first summer month with the participation of all the appointed 4 lamas. 2 sakhiusnii tugdam ceremony was held for four days in the first winter month with the participation of all the appointed 4 lamas.

Sakhiusnii dordow was held for four days in the first winter month with the participation of all the expected 21 lamas. Magtaal ceremony was held for a day on the 15th of the last winter month with the participation of 78 lamas. Düütsen yerööl ceremony took place on the 22nd of the last autumn month, on the 3rd, 18th and 25th of the first winter month, 9th and 12th of the middle winter month, and on the 25th of the last winter month. On these occasions 10-10 lamas participated. Tsedor Lkham ceremony was held on the 30th of the last winter month, when all the expected 30 lamas gathered together.

From the above-mentioned data we can conclude that the everyday (Jasaa) and monthly ceremonies (Yandag san, Sojintoi Manal and two Sakhius ceremonies) were held by 9 lamas, while the most lamas, above 70, participated only in the bigger annual ceremonies.

In summer sand maaðalas in honour of the Medicine Buddha and Tārā (Manaliin dültson, Dar’ ekhiin dültson) were prepared for more than two weeks. Manaliin nünnai fasting was held in summer by 4 lamas for 15 days. Manal, the Medicine Buddha had distinguished role in the ceremonial system with a monthly ceremony (Sojintoi Manal), a sand maaðala preparation (Manaliin dültson) and a meditational fasting period (Manaliin nünnai). The Sakhius ceremonies had to be performed in honour of Damjin and Shanlan who are the protectors of medical monastic schools. Feast day’s prayers (Düütsen yerööl) were held frequently.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 66.) and the Manchu catalogue of the datsan (M-95) the following economic units (jas) belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Manaliin dültsongiin jas, Dar’ ekhiin dültsongiin jas, Jambaliin jas, Pogiin jas, Naidangiin jas, Manaliin jas, and 29-nii tsawiiin jas (shortly Tsawiiin jas), etc. The Manchu catalogue says simply Olon khurltin jas instead of Manaliin jas. From the names of these units it is clear that Manaliin dültson and Dar’ ekhiin dültson had own financial units, as well as some ceremonies, and the catering of Sakhius ceremonies being held on the 29th day of the month.

The temple was closed in 1937. According to Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, p. 11.), after 1938 the Mamba datsan was used as a drug factory. The building was demolished only in 1952.

**Tantric monastic school called Puntsogshaddüwlin**


The site of the two-storey wooden Tantric monastic shool (jüd datsan) called Puntsogshaddüwlin was on the left side of the Tsogchin temple.

As it is widely known the 2nd Bogd established the first tantric assembly in 1739. However, the years 1745, 1759 and 1790 are mentioned in different sources as the foundation date of the temple, which could reflect its impermanent site due to several relocations. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 63), the school was lead by the dorj lowon (T. rdo-rje slob-dpon, ‘vajra master’). According to Ts. Dorj (1901-2007), a lama in Dashchoinkhorlin monastery in Zuunmod, who once belonged to Jüd datsan and lived in Shüteenii aimag of Bogdiin Khüree, Jüd datsan had 100 lamas before 1925. He also claimed that two khamba (ikh khamba and baga khamba), two disciplinary masters (ikh gesgüi and baga gesgüi) and two chanting masters (ikh umzad and baga umzad) belonged

---

123 Its date is not mentioned in the text.
to the temple. There were no lamas bearing tsorj and lowon ranks.

The main tutelary deities and protectors of the temple were Sandejig sum (the collective name for the three deities Sandui (T. gsang-'dus, Skr. Guhyasamaja), Demchig (T. bde-mchog, Skr. Cakrasavara), and Jigjid. Apart from these deities Dorj lama mentioned Gombo, Choijoo, and Damdin. He emphasized that ceremonies were held in the temple to honour Gombo and Damdin. Soninbayar (Gandantegchinlen khiid, p. 65.) also lists Gombo, Damjan (erroneously for Damdin) and Damdin Choijil (erroneously for Damjan Choijil, T. dam-can chos-rgyal, epithet of Yama).

In Jüd datsan lamas studied in different classes (zindaa, T. 'dzin-grwa). Only those who attained the gawj degree in philosophical studies could enter this school to study higher levels of tantric studies with the aim of obtaining the highest level Tantric exam, an agramba (T. sngags-rams-pa) degree. According to Ts. Dorj lama, agrambiin damjaa (agramba exam, T. sngags-rams-pa'i dam-bca') was taken in the first summer month when five or ten lamas were given the chance to become agramba should they pass their exam.

The following units belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Günregiin jas, Janraisegiin nümnain jas, Sanduin jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Sanjidiin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas. From these names, it is obvious that fasting meditation in honour of Janraiseg took place, and recitations of the Kanjur, the Guhyasamaja tantra were held. Sandui, Demchig, Jigjid, and Günreg were worshipped.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 515 sources about the operation of Puntsogshaddülin or Jüd datsan. Related to the datsan there are two catalogues from the Manchu period. One (M-91) of them contains 312 texts dated between 1795-1910. The very first text is about the number of livestock belonging to the jas (1795). There is a list which was sent to Puntsag nyaraw, who was the supervisor of Sandejigsüm jas of the datsan. (1819). A text written in 1814 serve data on the datsan’s tea property and its interest. There are registers of lamas who shouldered different tasks (daalgawar shalguulakh) dated between 1796-1820, and name of lamas who were responsible for yearly and seasonal tasks were listed in 1824. Lists of möngö given to people (1826, 1842) are available, too, as well as list of tea which was lent to people with percent in 1844. Further lists such as that of the livestock which was offered to the jas by people (1845), that of property, möngö and tea (1845), incomes and expenses of its financial units (1845) are also kept in the archives. Documents of articles sold for ceremonial purposes (1847), of lamas of the datsan who gathered in ceremonies and received tea portion (1847), of the 3 kinds of animals of Sanjidiin jas (1871), yellow pack bulls lent to people (1882), and tea loans of several jases (1889) have also remained. A register of various ceremonies of the datsan (some of them being accounted in Tibetan script, 1875-1908, 1903), property of the “treasury” of the doorkeeper of Sakhius ceremony and its tea loans (1905) were listed as well. The collection contains a lot of leporellos, such as the regulation of lamas (1840, 1878), and giving salary to lamas being participated in ceremonies (1862, 1863, 1864, 1871, 1873, 1874), and about möngö, tea, and silver equipment of the jas (1891). There is a leporelo in order to collect flour from agricultural fields or its leasing (1896). The Bogd’s command came in 1902 focusing on mainly the ones who refused to pay the costs of Choijin lam’s temple (1902). The other catalogue of the datsan (M-216), called Ikh Khüreeenii Jüd datsangin fondiiin barimtiin bürtgel contains only two items. The first one is a leporelo on the expenses of ceremonies that were held by a lot of or a few lamas (1864), while the other one is about the 3 kinds of animals of the datsan and about inherited properties (1880, 1896, 1898).

The catalogue (A-83) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 98 texts. Pogiin jas, Jüd jas, Dashnyam (arawnain) jas, Günregiin jas, Sanduin jas, and Wangiin jas are mentioned
in their titles. The rules and costumes of agrambiin damjaa were determined in 1911. There is a list, written in Tibetan, on the möngö of Pogin jas which was lent to others (1913), another one, written in Tibetan, about the costs of the renovation of the temple building (1914), and a third one, written in Tibetan, about the incomes and expenses of various ceremonies being held in the datsan such as Sanjejigsüm khural and Lamiiin chodwiin khural (1915). In the archives a contract and some related texts (some of them written in Chinese) exist about how the datsan lent its agricultural field to a Chinese store (püüs) which had to pay the rental fee in flour (1912). A document forbidding and prohibiting every lama to play domino, cards and other games, to drink alcohol, to smoke and to make intercourse with women were issued in 1912. There is a text about worshipping the mountains and owoo, without date.

The catalogue (F-184) of the Modern Period contains 102 texts dated between 1921-1933. Dültsen jas, Ikh jas, Baga jas, Jüd jas, Dordowiin jas, Günreg jas, and Dargii jas (probably dargiin (‘that of the head’) are mentioned in titles. Meanwhile, the texts are mainly about the incomes and expenses of ceremonies and property of financial units. There is a text composed in 1923 about how the 4th Bogd initiated agrambiin damjaa in Jüd datsan. A list of möngö and other incomes which were in response of the treasurers of the datsan (1923), a list of recovering debts (1923), lists of camels and bulls used as pack animals, and mares (1926-28) are also housed in the archive. There is a text on the internal structure of the datsan (without date). The latest text is dated in 1933 and is about the incomes, expenses, and livestock property of the datsan.

Though no materials are kept in the archives written after 1933, the datsan was shut down only in 1938. The tradition was revived in 1998 on the initiative of Gurudeva rinpoche (a highly esteemed lama originally from Inner-Mongolian who contributed greatly to the revival, restoration and re-opening of temples in Mongolia) and Yo. Amgalan, the vice abbot of Gandan. Today, Jüd datsan (GPS: N 47°55.343’, E 106°53.616’, elevation: 1312m) is situated in the area of Gandan. The leader (with the rank of dorj lownon) of the temple is N. Biziyaa, who studied in Zuunmod and Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery in Mongolia, Sera (T. se-ra) and Ganden (Gandan, T. dga’-ldan) monasteries in India. He was connected to an old lama, Ts. Dorj (1901-2007) who was in the old Jüd datsan. Biziyaa lama has been trying to revive the Jüd datsan tradition based on the information gleaned from the memories of this old lama. At present five other adult lamas belong to the temple and study there and about 20 young novices belonging to the temple are being trained in chanting and translating, and, especially, in Tantric studies. The three main protectors of the datsan are again the three main tantric deities of the Gelukpa tradition, namely Sandui, Demchig, and Jigjid (Sandejig süm). During the daily chanting the text, called Sandejig süm is recited. Each afternoon between 1.00 and 2.00pm a shorter version of the Sanduini jüd (T. gsang-’dus rgyud, Guhyasamāja tantra) is read while on the 15th of every month it is recited in full. In 2005 the building of a permanent Jüd datsan was started behind the University, although only the base had been dug.

**Astrological monastic school**

_Zurkhai(n) datsan (T. rtsis-pa grwa-tshang)_

The Astrological monastic school was situated on the left of Jüd datsan. According to Pozdneev (p. 60.) and Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 67.) the 4th Bogd founded it first in Züün Khüree in 1789. Here lamas were trained in astrology, astronomy, various writing systems and drawing. Zeerembe degree (T. rtsis-rims-pa) could not be obtained. The most talented students could get the rank of daa zurkhaich (‘great astrologist’) and they were responsible
for solving important problems of the state. During the reign of the Bogd khaan (1911-1921) the annual state lunar calendar was written here and printed at the printing factory of Ikh Khüree, called *Ikh Khüreeni Sümbüm* (T. gsung-'bum, ‘collected works’). 124

Its main tutelary deity was *Sandui Jamdor* (T. gsang-'dus ‘jam-rdor, Skr. Guhyasamāja Mañjuśrī), while its main protector was *Choijil*.

The following financial units (*jas*) belonged to the school: *Ikh jas*, *Khorin yesnii dültsengiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii dordüwiin jas*, *Namsrain dordüwiin jas*, *Tsogiin jas*, *Mönkh zulii jas*, *Erdeniin Yumiin jas*, and *Dorjzodwiin jas*. The catalogue (M-92) of the National Central Archives mentions *Pogiin jas* and *Magtaaliin jas* instead of *Tsogiin jas* and *Mönkh zulii jas*.

According to Ts. Dorj lama of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery of Zuunmod (1901-2007) this *datsan* was situated next to *Jüd datsan* and ten lamas gathered here before 1925.

The National Central Archives houses 267 remarkable sources of the operation of *Zurkhai datsan*. The catalogue (M-92) of the Manchu period contains 191 items dated between 1827 (?) and 1911. According to its the introduction the *datsan* was firstly established in the 44th year of the reign of Tengeriig tetgesen (1779). Its operation was dedicated to religious purposes with holding permanent and occasional ceremonies. The school trained astrologer lamas by teaching calculation, different languages and scripts, weather forecast, and astronomy. The staff of the temple consisted of the following ranked lamas: a chief, a vice lama, a disciplinary master, a chanting master, a shrine keeper, a main offering master, an assistant offering master, a doorkeeper, a cook, etc. The operation of the *datsan* has not been changed till 1911, which was the first year of the Bogd khaan’s reign. As the registers show the *datsan* had its own incomes and expenses, livestock and property. Among the many texts of livestock, incomes and expenses of the *datsan*, there are texts about the costs of accessories (1846), percents of tea (1851), möngö, livestock and other goods which were offered by patrons (1853), a list of incomes and expenses of ceremonies which were not financed by the financial units of the *datsan* (1853). There is a notification about the offerings dedicated to the newly established *Dordowo(iin) jas* by other *jases* (1877). An inventory of sculptures and books belonging to the *datsan* was composed in 1901, and the properties of the *datsan* were listed in the same year. Other texts are about profit coming from felt and dairy products, and from selling of the livestock (1879, 1908). The tea capital (*ekh tsai*) of permanent ceremonies were recorded in 1909. An interesting document contains the names of herdsmen who became vagabond and hobo (1908). There is a list without date containing the names of people who borrowed tea with percent from the *datsan*.

The catalogue (A-86) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 37 texts125 and that of the Modern Period (Kh-191) mentiones 29 texts dated between 1921-1930. The first text is about the loss in livestock due to the invasion of the Chinese Gamin army (1921). There are texts about the four kinds of animals of the *datsan* (1921), about camels and their leasing with percent (1924), about finance (sankhüü), and silver accessories of the *datsan* (1927-29). The latest text is a contract to herd the livestock of the *jas* by a communal co-operative (*artyel’ khamtral*) (1930).

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 68.) the temple, which operated until 1938, stood on the area of the later Housing and Construction Ministry (Barilgiin yaam) which was built and operating during the Communist era. The famous statue of *Choijil*, which was in this temple originally, is presently in Gandan monastery.

---

124 Pürewjaw list some texts which were studied in Zurkhain *datsan* (*Khuw’sgal, pp. 38-39.*).
125 The content of the catalogue has not been surveyed by the author.
Other temples

Maitreya Temple
Maidarīn sūm (T. byams-pa)

Pozdneev claims that there is no evidence for the date of the foundation of this temple, but he estimates it was built between 1820-1836 (Mongols, p. 61.). According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüreee, p. 69), in 1834 the 5th Bogd requested khamba nomon khan Agwaankhaidaw, 1779-1838) to build a 16m high (50 tokhoi, cubit, with 1:0.32 m) statue of Maidar, the future Buddha, which was housed in a high wooden Tibetan-style temple. This temple was the largest and highest building in Ikh Khüree in Pozdneev’s time. He gives a colourful description of the temple in his book (pp. 61-62.).

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 69.) between 1838-55 when Ikh Khüree moved to the western hill of Gandan monastery, this temple was the only one to remain on its original site as the statue was too heavy to move. The main tutelary deity of the temple was Günreg, while its main protector was Gombo. It was located in the north-eastern part of the Tsogchin temple. High-ranking lamas of the philosophical schools of Gandan monastery came here every year to perform the Maitreya procession, as well as pilgrims to make a deep bow to the Future Buddha.

The following units (jas) belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Mönkh Günregiin jas, Günregiin dültsengiin jas, Chog Sanjidin jas, Mönkh zulii jas.

According to Pozdneev (p. 61.), the gilded brass statue of Maidar seated on a lion throne was made at Doloon nuur, in the workshop of a Chinese, whose Mongolian name was Ayushi-tunyan. The statue was made in seven separate parts, which were brought from Doloon nuur to the Khüree where they were assembled. Pozdneev claims that the temple interior was very crowded, with five massive burkhan (images of deities) along the north wall behind the Maitreya statue, and along the east and west walls there were 10.000 cast images of Buddhas in cases. These were cast by the 4th Bogd in 1799. Above the cases of the ten thousand Buddhas, there was a gallery which housed the Ganjuur and Danjuur. In this temple there was no separate khurliiin sūm (separate temple or room for holding ceremonies). Thus the services were held in the Shüteenii örgöö (sanctuary for the holy objects), that is, the temple itself housing the statues. According to Pozdeyev, 20 lamas were appointed to do the daily chanting. They did not belong to any aimag, and were supported at the expense of the Bogd. According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 22.), this temple had one disciplinary master and there were no ceremonies held except the Nünnai, which lamas performed in three days rotations. It seems that the accounts by Pozdneev and Dariimaa contradict each other, though they may refer to different periods in time.

The Maitreya procession, one of the biggest annual ceremonies, was attended by all the lamas of Ikh Khüree, followed by crowds of devotees, who circumambulated Zuün Khüree. (The road circling Zuün Khüree was Maidar ergekh zam, ‘the road of the Maitreya circumambulation’). It was also one of the most impressive events with the Bogd, khamba nomon khan, high ranking lamas, and musicians taking part in the parade with all the middle and low ranking lamas carrying the ritual objects of the procession while performing the readings at the four main directions on the road encircling Khüree.

126 The main abbot composed an account (bearing the title Khu-re chen-mor bzhengs-pa’i byams-pa’i dkar-chag, TBRC: W16797.) of the construction, contents, and consecration of the great Maitreya statue at Ribogejigandanshaddüwlin, which was dedicated to its consecration ritual (rawnai, rab-gnas) in 1833 by the 5th jewtündamba khutagt.
The collection of the National Central Archives has 377 individual sources about the operation of Maidarilin datsan. The catalogue of the Manchu period (M-94) contains 282 text that were composed between 1832-1911. According to its introduction the year of the temple’s foundation is unknown. It had permanent and occasional ceremonies, and own incomes and expenses, and livestock. Among the sources there are lists of herds and flocks (1832), of donators and their donations on Dültsen ceremonies (1864), of donations for the renovation of the temple building (1865) received even from the countryside, of livestock which were sold, profit on livestock, tea borrowed by some subordinated ceremonies (1886). There is a leporello related to a debt to pay to China (1865). Another which made the doormen of Maidar ergekh residents was written in 1878, and there was also a trial to find place (dewsger oruulakh) to the lamas of the datsan (1880). A source talks about the renovation of Maidar’s statue (1882), and a lot of leporelos list the golden and silver artifacts and accessories of the datsan (from 1883). A text was composed on the felt and tea property which were received from other datsans (1888). There are lists profit on male sheep (ireg), ram (serkh), felt and leather (esgii ar’s) as well (1889, 1890). Costs of the temple’s renovation were recorded in 1889, as well as tasks and duties of the Maitreya circumambulation in (1889 and later). In 1898 the high-ranking lamas were prescribed to use rug to sit and other equipment of their priviledge. A reminder of unpayment of the expenses of the temple dedicated to the younger brother (Chojjin lam) of the Bogd is kept in the collection, too (1902). Numerous inventories of golden and silver objects of worship, a contract with Chinese carpenters on the renovation of the temple (1907), a letter which came in order to supervise the lamas’ vows and the pure protection (shangatgakh) of the Teachings of the Yellow Sect (1909) are available as well as a list of frequently used accessories (1911), a letter which came in order to supervise the agricultural fields of some temples and datsans (1911), and a list of donations (khandiw) to the temple (1911) by other datsans. Thus, the catalogue (A-87) of the Bogd khan’s reign contains 61 titles, while the catalogue of the Modern Period (SKh-190) lists 34 items dated between 1921 and 1930. There are texts on ceremonies (dültsen, chog), incomes and expenses of Sanjidiin jas (1921), golden and silver accessories of the datsan (1921), offering of butter to the Mönkh zul (1923), list of the livestock, leather, felt, tea, and other goods that were sold between 1917-1923, data about the agricultural fields, lists of three kinds of animals of the 5 jas (1927), and a supervision of herds and flocks by the disciplinary masters and bookkeepers (1929). An inventory gives valuable information about the old and new sculptures and property of the datsan (without data). Thus, the following conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned titles: in the beginning donators and other datsans supported the operation of Maidarilin datsan. Its lama staff consisted of doorkeepers and lamas for whom residential place had to be found. The expression ‘Maidar ergekh’ reflects here to worship and go around the statue of Maidar. However, it became the name of Maitreya circumambulation in the city, too. It seems that the temple building was renovated in 1865, 1889, and 1907, and the statue itself in 1882. Tasks and duties of Maitreya circumambulation were determined in 1889. It is an interesting question when the first circumambulation could have been held. The temple must have been rich in artifacts as a lot of texts discuss them. Readings of Günreg and Sanjid were held and eternal butter-lamp was burnt. A disciplinary master and a treasurer surely belonged to the datsan, which had agricultural fields and at least 3 kinds of animals. The latest text is dated in 1930.

The temple and its statue were totally destroyed in 1938. Pictures of the old temple can be seen in Tsültem’s book (intro. 13), Sereeter’s book (70), and also in the Film Archives.

127 The content of the catalogue has not been surveyed yet by the author.
As the inheritors of Züün Khüree, the present day Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery plans to rebuild the statue and the temple close to its original site. Fundraising began with a ceremonial event held on the 22nd of December 2005.

**West Side Palace, the Palace of Awtai sain khan**

*Baruun örgöö / Awtai sain khanii örgöö / Alag baiv*

The yurt-shaped palace of Awtai sain khan was situated outside the Yellow Palace, on the left side. According to O. Pürew this yurt-palace could hold 300 people, who came here to do prostrations and worship Awtai khan (1534-1589), who was the first propagator of Buddhism and founder of Erdene zuu monastery, Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, Jamsran, the Red Protector and Gombo. The statue of Jamsran, created by Öndör Gegeen occupied the most prominent place in the yurt palace. Traces of the original huge yurt-palace of Awtai khan are still visible in the area of Erdene zuu monastery. The yurt-palace in Ikh Khüree was also established in his honour.

The armchair of Awtai khan was kept here, with the figures made of wood logs representing fellow champions of him (presumably Baatar beil/ Büüwei baatar and Shijir baatar) on its two sides. When the Yellow Palace burnt down, the armchair and the figures were transported to the Summer Palace, near Tuul River, where Pozdneev saw them (*Mongols*, p. 61.).

According to Jambal (English text p. 17., Mongolian text p. 694.), during the Tsam dances ceremonies were also held in *Baruun örgöö*. This was also a place for performing healing or protective rituals (*Gürem*). According to Darimaa (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 21.), only the ceremony of Tümet khangal, some aspects of the ritual of the Tsam dance and the ceremonies of the New Year were held in this palace. Pozdneev claims (p. 60.), that according to the tradition, *Baruun örgöö* was the same yurt in which Awtai khan himself had lived. When it was first founded, ceremonies were held every day by 20 appointed lamas, who did not belong to any aimag temple, and who were directly supported by Tüsheet khan, a descendant of Awtai khan. According to Pürew, only four lamas belonged to this temple (though it seems likely that his account relates to a later period of time, when the number of lamas had decreased).

Pozdneev adds that a special thanksgiving offering called *Jamsrangiin danrag* (T. *lcam-sring-gi gtang-rag*) was performed here three times a month to Jamsran, as the protector deity, at the same time as the Khangal ceremony (the same as Sakhius, ceremony of the wrathful deities) was held in the gegeen’s palace temple. Later, it no longer functioned as a temple, and there were no seats for lamas though the yurts still housed the three statues.

The site of the palace was on the south-west of the present Children’s Creativity Centre. According to Pürew’s book (*Mongol uls töriin töw*, p. 38.) it was pulled down in 1939.

Presently, the statue of Jamsran from *Baruun Örgöö* is kept in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference*, pp. 285-286).

**Temple of the Noble Object of Worship Presenting the Medicine Buddha**

*Noyon shüteeni süm / Manaliin süm* (T. *sman-bla*, Skr. Bhaiṣṭhayaguru)

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 81.) and Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 19.) this small wooden temple was located behind the Yellow Palace, on the east of *Manba datsan*. It was founded during the time of the 2nd Bogd (1724-1758), although no exact date could be determined. However, according to Pozdneev (*Mongols*, p. 60., footnote 45), the cult of Manlkha / Manla or Manal was introduced to Khüree in 1805 and the temple building was
erected in the same year.

Manal was worshipped here. The great treasury (Ikh san) financed the temple and one financial unit (Mönkh niin nain tom jas) belonged to it, referring to the continuous meditational fasting retreat that was used to be held here. Its operation was subordinated directly to the Tsogchin. 21 lamas came from different Züün Khüree aimags to participate in the regular ceremonies of Manal (Jasaa Manal) and in the meditation. The name of the temple relates to the worship of the unique statue of Manal created by Öndör Gegeen. According to Pozdneev (p. 58.) adult lamas gathered in Manaliin süm, while young novices could gather in Emch nariin datsan (‘the monastic school of the doctors’, the same as Manba datsan, see above) to perform daily chanting.

On the left of the temple there was a building called Zuliinkh (‘that of butter-lamps’) where butter-lamps and other offerings used in many temples were made. The temple was closed in the winter 1937.

Photo of the temple are available in the Film Archives (K24059) and in Tsültém’s book (picture 34) presenting the Tsogchin temple, Manba datsan and Noyon shüteenii süm together.

The Manal statue had survived and is presently in Gandan monastery (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist Conference, pp. 285-286.).

White Tārā Temple
Dar’ ékhiin süm (T. sgrol-ma), Tsagaan Dar’ ékhiin süm (T. sgrol dkar)
The small wooden temple of Dar’ ekh, situated to the north-east of the Yellow Palace behind Noyon shüteenii süm (Pürew, Töriin golomt, p. 19.) held the 21 statues of different emanations of the goddess created by Öndör gegeen according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 85.).

In winter, 1914 the temple burned down, but the statues were rescued. In 1915 the temple was rebuilt according to a command issued by the Erdene Shanzodwiiin yaam with funding amounting to 5,200 lan silver. Today, the twenty-one Tārā statues and the statue of the Nogoon Dar’ ekh (T. sgrol ljang, Skr. Śyāmatārā, the Green Tārā), made by Öndör gegeen, are in the Bogd khaan Museum (R-911). The statue of of Tsagaan Dar’ ekh (T. sgrol dkar, Skr. Sitatārā, the White Tārā) made by Öndör gegeen is presently in Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts.

Vaiśravaṇa Assembly
Namsrain khural (T. rnam-(thos)-sras)
According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 87.), this temple was erected to worship the deity of wealth (Namsrai, T. rnam-(thos)-sras, Skr. Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera). Some lamas performed regular ceremonies (Jasaa khural) to pray for the increasing of income of the Bogd’s inner treasury (dotood san) and great treasury (ikh san). There is no data on where exactly it stood.

Assembly of the Deity of Birth
Tünlkhagiin khural (T. ′khrungs lha)
According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 86.), this temple was erected to honour the Deity of Birth. There is a deity assigned to the day and exact time of a person’s birth. The deity is determined by the combination of elements of the birth-year. It is believed that the worship of the ‘birth deity’ prolongs an individual’s life so it must be given preference in prayer
and veneration. All the reincarnations of the Bogd conducted ceremonies to the deities corresponding to their birthdays.

Jambal (English text p. 8., Mongolian text p. 687.) describes in details the anniversary service (Tünlekh, T. ‘khrungs, ‘born, to be born, give birth’) for the longevity (Danshig) of the 8th Bogd, who was born on the eighth day of the first month of autumn. According to him, twelve lamas read the relevant texts continuously. There were three Buddha images there, Damjan Dorlig, Naichün Choijin (T. gnas-chung chos-skyong also gnas-chung chos-rgyal, Nechung oracle, the state oracle of Tibet) and a white-coloured Buddha wearing a helmet (duulga ömssön tsagaan dürtei burkhan), which was brought from the place of Ürjin Khand (T. u-rgyan/o-rgyan mkha’-‘gro, Uddiyana, to the north-west of ancient India, where Padmasambhava was born). The anniversary rituals lasted for three days being conducted from nine in the morning until twelve at night. According to Jambal, the anniversary service lamas conducting the service had a temple (Jambal uses the word örgöö meaning ‘palace, residence’) where they held the ceremony. The temple, which had an ornamental red roof-cover, was to the north-west of Ochirdariin süm and to the south of the Dechingalaw. It must be the temple of Tünlkhagiin khural. It is presumed that it was a yurt in the courtyard, but there were several yurts situated there. The only sources are Jügder’s painting and the other paintings or painted maps. As they do not show the same arrangement of buildings, which could have changed over time, it cannot be determined exactly which one it was.

**Non-stop Assembly or Threefold Assembly**

*Duul tasrakhgüi khural / Gurwiin khural*

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 55.), some temples in Züün Khüree had continuous chanting (*duul tasrakhgüi khurluud*) of 3 to 7 texts of the following: Gombo, Jamsran, Dar’ ekh, Lkham, Ochirwaan’, Gamgan’, Shiirewnyamba (T. shes-rab snying-po). According to Dashtseren lama, on the left of Shar ordon there was an assembly with continuous chanting called *Duul tasrakhgüi khural* (‘non-stop ceremony’) or *Gurwiin khural* (‘threefold ceremony’). The disciplinary master of the Tsogchin temple appointed 10 lamas from the Züün Khüree aimags to participate in these continuous ceremonies. According to Dashtseren lama, two kinds of ceremonies were held here: Dar’ ekihin khural in honour of Dar’ ekh; and Gurwan Gürem (T. sku-rim rnam gsum, ‘three kinds of protective rites’) in which the texts of Seded, the Green Tārā and the Heart Sūtra were recited. According to G. Buyandelger, the current chanting master of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery, there were about five different kinds of continuous assemblies in Züün Khüree. These yurt-shaped temples were situated on the left of Shar ordon, in front of Zurkhain datsan. In the collection of the National Central Archives the Tsogchin’s catalogues includes data about these non-stop assemblies (see above), as their were financed by the main assembly hall.

**Printing House**

*Sümbüm (T. gsung-‘bum), Barkhan (T. par-khang)*

On the east of the non-stop assemblies there was a large printing house (*barkhan, T. par-khang*) widely known as Sümbüm (‘collected works of an author’, hereby used in the meaning of printing house). According to Pozdneev (*Mongols*, p. 63.), the printing courtyard (*baariin khashaa*) was situated on the west of the Maitreya temple, paralleling the *khamba nomon khaan*’s courtyard, which stored wooden plates for printing, which were done in the large yurt of the courtyard. In Pozdneev’s time printing in Urga operated on a very small scale with only 20 Mongolian and about 50 Tibetan works being printed. It
was said that in former times numerous books were printed. During the reign of the 4th Bogd alone, 72 volumes of the 108 volumed *Ganjur* were hand-carved, which work was stopped by his death. Unfortunately, lists of printing blocks and printed books of this printing house are not available. According to Rinchen when the Tibetan *Ganjur* was carved and printed in Züün Khüree, the eminent lamas corrected the errata of the Tibetan Derge and Narthang’s versions. The xylographic edition of the Tibetan *Danjur* was also started but being an enormous task finally it was interrupted. The Sümbüm was subordinated directly to the main assembly hall. Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, p. 39.) that wooden and iron blocks were used here for printing and the first 20 volumes of the *Danjur* were printed here, too. He adds, that the blocks of Jadamba were carved on copper (zes) by talented masters of Dalai Choinkhor wangin khushuu of Tüsheet khan aimag and other countryside smiths. The head of the Sümbüm bore the rank of daamal. Numerous artists and painters worked here as several countryside monasteries and wealthy noblemen gave orders for Buddhist texts. The Sümbüm was famous all over the country for its printing activity. However, besides the Sümbüm, some small printing houses also existed in the capital city, such as that of the three philosophical monastic schools of *Gandan* (see details above).

**Kanjur Temple**

_Ganjurriin dugan* (T. bka’-'gyur)

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 55.) small assemblies like *Ganjurriin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. According to Pürew’s drawing (*Töriin golomt*, p. 19.), this temple was situated behind the main assembly hall with the *Khoid örgöö* (Rear Palace) on its left and *Gürmiin dugan* (Temple of protective rituals) on its right. *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid*, the first masterpiece sculpture by Öndör Gegeen, was kept there. It was also called as ‘the old *Ayuush* of the Great Ganjur (*Ikhin Ganjurriin öwgön Ayuush*, Darimaa, *Burkhan zuraach*, p. 52.). The sculpture was later delivered to Gandan and is still kept there (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference*, pp. 285-286).

The name of this temple refers to the holy collection of the ‘translated teachings of Buddha’. It is not clear if the 108 volumes of the *Ganjur* were kept in the temple (though for sure they were), and, if so, which version(s). It is highly possible that the name of the temple came from the fact that the *Ganjur* recitations were held here. Darimaa adds that ceremonies were held here every day (p. 18.), but there is no other data on its ritual life.

**Temple of Protective Healing Rituals**

_Gürmiin dugan* (T. sku-rim)

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 55.) small assemblies like *Gürmiin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. In Pürew’s drawing (*Töriin golomt*, p. 19.) this temple was situated behind the main assembly hall on the right of Kanjur Temple. The name of the temple, Gürem refers to the healing ceremonies or protective rituals performed there, part of the activities in any temple. There were also specialized temples for performing Gürem.

According to Darimaa (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 18.) ceremonies were held here every day. There are no other sources on the activities of this temple.

---

**Soleg Temple**

*Soleg/Solok/Sülkh, Solgiin dugan* (probably T. gsol-gyi ‘du-khang)

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 55.), small assemblies like *Solgiin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. Darimaa also mentions the name of the assembly (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 18.) but there is no precise data about its exact site and its ceremonies. Its name, *Solgiin dugan* cannot be identified (probably T. gsol-khang, gsol-gyi ‘du-khang), though may refer to the kitchen or a burning offering (T. bsang gsol, see Jambal, English text p. 24., footnote 5). It is likely that this congregation was situated near the main assembly hall.

**Rear Palace or Brown Palace**

*Khoit örgöö/Bor örgöö*

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 55.) and Pürew’s drawing (*Töriin golomt*, p. 19.), this wooden yurt was situated behind the main assembly hall on the left of Kanjur Temple. Sereeter claims that the *khamba nomon khan*, the *ded khamba*, the five *tsorj*, the four disciplinary masters and the four chanting masters of the main assembly hall gathered here together and made decisions on religious questions. Darimaa (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 26.) adds that the yurt was situated in a separated fenced-off courtyard.

**Residence of the main abbot, the *khamba nomon khan***

*Khamba nomon khan* (the ‘Khan Abbot of the Religion’) was the title of the highest ruler of Khüree in religious affairs, being the most significant cleric apart from the Bogd, who appointed him.

Luwsankhaimchog lama was the last to fulfill this position from 1920 to 1937. His fenced-off residence with trees in its courtyard was situated behind the Yellow Palace, on the east side of the Maitreya Temple (Pozdneev, *Mongols*, p. 63.). It is shown in Jügder’s painting and on the map kept in the Ulaanbaatar City Museum. Dashtseren lama confirms that his yurt dwelling was situated near the present building of the National University of Mongolia (MUIS). According to Choisüre lama (born 1916), *yonzon khamba* Luwsankhaimchog, the head of all Züün Khüree, lived in a small yurt with his Tibetan attendants close to *Süngin aimag*, which seems to refer to the same place.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 108.), Luwsankhaimchog was born in Tibet in 1873. He obtained the *gachin* (T. mkhan chen, ‘great scholar’, great abbot) rank in Tashilhunpo monastery and arrived to Mongolia in 1915 as a *jawtii lam* (T. byabs-khrus) of the Bogd, that performs purifying liturgies. Later, he became the personal tutor (*yonzon*, T. yongs-’dzin) of the 8th Bogd. In 1920 he was nominated as *khamba nomon khan*. In 1937 he was executed being one of the highest ranked lamas.

**Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs**

_Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam / Shanzawiin yaam* (T. phyag mdzod-pa)

As the main administrative office of the city, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs was situated behind the *Tsogchin* temple and the Maitreya temple, south-east of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children’s Creativity. As can be seen from Jügder’s painting, the *Shanzodwiin yaam* had a large fenced-off courtyard with a red gate. Pozdneev claims (*Mongols*, pp. 62-64.) that the ministry was divided into several departments divided into four courtyards, such as the administrative headquarters of the *shaw’ nar* in the first courtyard, office of the Urga proper and of the *khutagt*’s palace in the second courtyard,
the private office and dwelling of the *erdene shanzodwa* himself in the third and the administrative headquarters for all the property, especially livestock, of the department of *shaw’ nar*, in the fourth courtyard. Crowds of people waited for decisions every day all day long in front of the entrance to the ministry. Close by, those who had been sentenced sat ‘in chains and wearing heavy planks on their necks’ as the court was operating in a yurt opposite the ministry. The most famous ministers of the Bogd khaan’s reign were the two Badamdoj and Luwsanbaldan.

### 30 AIMAGS AND THEIR TEMPLES

There are numerous books which contain sporadic data about the *aimags* of Züün Khüree, and also several photos are available in books and in the collection of the Film Archives showing the *aimags*, *aimag* temples and celebrations in Züün Khüree. Old lamas living once in one of the *aimags* and belonging to *datsans* or *aimag* temples of Züün Khüree helped to clear up some particulars.

At the beginning of the 20th century the total number of *aimags* remained at 30. Each *aimag* consisted of fenced-off courts mostly with yurts within them. The *aimags* were different in size reflecting the different number of lamas residing in them. Each *aimag* had their own wooden temple either yurt (round) or square-shaped, own financial units (*jas*), and herds and flocks in the countryside. The *aimag* lamas held their own ceremonies and chanting in their own temples with their own deities, which were worshipped there. The temples contained images of the worshipped deities. The lamas joined *aimags* connected with their home countryside territory, so that lamas from the same administrative regions outside the capital lived in the same *aimag*. Many *aimags* got their names from a high-ranking lama or noble or their worshipped deities.

Several streets crossed Züün Khüree such as Wangain highstreet (Wangain örgön gudamj) leading to the east from the Yellow Palace (*Shar ordon*), Setsen toin highstreet and San highstreet. Pürew claims (*Uls töriin töw*, pp. 36-37.) and the map in Ulaanbaatar city museum shows that the first *aimag* on the west side of the *aimags* settlements, *Shüteenii aimag*, was situated where the Parliament is now, reaching north until the council building of Sükhbaatar district, with its temple on the north of this area, and the last *aimag* of the shape on the east, *Örliüüdiin aimag*, lay to the north-east of the Parliament all the way to the present day main building of the National University of Mongolia. All the other *aimags* were situated between these two in a shape to the north of these two *aimags*. Therefore the zone between the former Züün Khüree *aimags* is currently the area between the former Züün Khüree *aimags*. This area was the central square (*örgön chöloö*, *gol chöloö*) or street leading to the *Shar ordon*. It was called *Zalrakh zam*. The southern area, below the area of the *aimags*, was renamed Sükhbaatar square in 1924. As well as the central section and the *aimags*, high-ranking lamas and nobles lived in Züün Khüree. For example: Jalkhanz khutagt S. Damdinbazar (1874-1923, one of the 13 great khutagts of Mongolia), on the east of *Shar ordon*.

The Baruun Selbe River crossed the area occupied by Züün Khüree. There were five bridges (*güür*) across it: *Ikhiin Zuukhiin güür*, *Anduu nariin güür*, *Setsen toinii güür*, *Sükhbaatar square*...
According to Pozdneev (Mongols, pp. 52-53.) a total of 12,900 lamas lived in the aimags of Züün Khüree in 1855 and 13,850 lamas in 1889. As he observed, by that time the aimags had lost their original purpose and were only administrative units of lamas, coming from the same areas of the country. Every aimag had a separate temple, and the yurts of the lamas were situated around or nearby the temple of their aimag. Of the 27 aimags which Pozdneev described (as three aimags were formed after his time in Mongolia), six were independently organized by devotees’ donations.

According to Jambal (Mongolian text p. 761., English text p. 76.), who made a report on the request of Sükhbaatar, the Mongolian military leader, during the 1920’s total 14,850 lamas lived in the aimags. There were 4 aimags with 1000 lamas (Shüteenii, Sangain, Zoogoin and Ekh daginiin), 15 aimags with 500 lamas (Setsen toini, Anduu nariin, Dugariin, Wangain, Süngiin, Dünkhoriin, Erkhem toini, Bargiiin, Örlüüdiin, Lam nariin, Nomon khaniin, Dondowlin, Jadariin, Toisamlin, and Darkhan emchin), 6 aimags with 350 lamas (Khüükhen noyonii, Biziyaagii, Jasiiin, Nomchiin, Dandarlin, Namdolliin) and 5 aimags with 250 lamas (Makhamayaa, Choinkhorlin, Mergen khambiin, Khuwilgaanii, Bandidiin).

Dashtseren lama, who belonged to Choinkhorlin aimag, described the layout of his aimag, which applies more or less to all the other aimags: the square-shaped wooden aimag temple building was surrounded by the yurts of the ranking lamas, administrative offices and small shops. The temple abbot (or aimag head) lived in his own yurt. The following ranked lamas belonged to the temple: an abbot (head), a tsorj or lowon, 2-4 chanting master, 2-4 disciplinary master, a cashier, and a bookkeeper. Each aimag was a self-sufficient unit having lamas to fulfill different duties or with different occupations such as doctor, chef, cleaner, carpenter, tailor, builder, and learned persons. According to Dashtseren lama, it was not allowed for lamas to participate in ceremonies in other such as doctor, chef, cleaner, carpenter, tailor, builder, and learned persons. According to Dashtseren lama, it was not allowed for lamas to participate in ceremonies in other aimag temples. Each aimag had at least two high-ranking lamas (khamba, tsorj and lowon) who were its highest authorities. In addition, the disciplinary master(s) of the aimag in order to keep the regulations, had the right to punish the lamas. However, the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall (tsogchin gesgüi) had authority over them.

Pozdneev says (Mongols, pp. 53-54.) that the aimag temples had two sections: a larger one, called the ‘temple of worship’ (khurlii süm), where services and ceremonies were held, and the so-called sanctuary (shüteenii örgöö) or ‘abode of the holy objects’, situated on the temple’s north side joined by a door, where the holy idols of a given aimag were kept. Note that Pozdneev calls the conjoining sanctuary shüteenii örgöö while this is most widely called gonkhon (T. mgon-khang) and sometimes zonkhon (T. gtsang-khang).

According to Pozdneev’s description, the aimag temples’ idols were few in number, between three and seven, and thangkas were hung only in a few of these temples. He also explains how small shops and stands stood in the entrance of the aimag courts. This was the place (jas) where auctions were held of property donated by Mongols to the temple and the lamas. According to him (p. 56.), each of the aimag temples had a büreentii shat (a wooden platform used for calling the lamas to the ceremonies) set up on the southeast side of the aimag temple (khurlii süm). Each of the aimag temples had a büreentii shat platform on the southeast side to call monks for ceremonies.

As for the sanctuaries (shüteenii örgöö), the separate sections of the temples for the holy objects, according to Pozdneev’s observation, they were quadrangular wooden buildings with Chinese roof and ganjir decoration. In two aimags, Sangain and Zoogoin, the sanctuary was two storeys high according to Pozdneev. Inside these sanctuaries massive sculptures stood and other sculptures and thangkas were displayed. Pozdneev
claims that lamas and laymen were forbidden to enter these sanctuaries. Except the takhilch who prepares and places offerings, only two other lamas were appointed who could enter to recite texts of the given ceremonies. Pozdneev says that people were allowed to enter these sanctuaries only once a year, on the 9th of the first summer month.

What follows is some basic information about the date and circumstances of the foundation of the thirty aimags, their principal deities, and their financial units. (Note that the dates given are those when the aimag communities were founded not the dates when the aimag temple building that existed at the time of the purges, were built. No exact data can be found on the latter.) Most of this data is drawn from Sereeter’s work (Ikh Khüree). As for the worshipped deities, Sereeter’s data was compared with information from one of the data providers, Gonchig lama, born 1917, who is the main disciplinary master of Dashchoimbel datsan, and who had once belonged to the old Dashchoimbel datsan and lived in Shüteenii aimag. He had a list of the worshipped deities in a manuscript he wrote in the 1930’s. A list of the aimag temple deities published in Gandan monastery’s newspaper were also used (Bilgiin melmi, p. 3.), which shows similarity with Soninbayar’s list (Gandantegchinlen khiid, pp. 61-62.). This data was also used to help draw conclusion about the basic ceremonies in each temple. Some data on the type of the aimag temples and their exact site is given, taken from Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, pp. 19., 22-23.) which also gives some data on the styles of the aimag temples and their exact site. GPS reading were taken for 24 of these sites, using Pürew’s data to locate them. Furthermore, the aimag descriptions contain some data provided by other old lamas who had once lived in a given aimag. Data about the number of lamas in the different aimags were taken from Pozdneev (Mongols, p. 52.), whose data was based on a contemporary list of the Tsogchin temple, and Sereeter also gave information about the number of lamas in each aimag, even giving numbers for 1855 and for 1938. In the description below these data are given for every aimag.

As the aimags were situated in a ∩ shape, the aimags are listed below from south-west to south-east in order. The aimags were registered by the 30 letters of the Tibetan alphabet (ka, kha, ga, nga, etc.), based on their location in the khüree deg (∩) and the date of their foundation (e.g. Shüteenii aimag is marked with letter ka, and Ėkh dagina aimag, which was founded as the last aimag, is marked by a).

1. Shüteenii aimag

Shüteenii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: zhu-te-ni), marked with letter KA of the Tibetan alphabet, was one of the first seven aimags being initiated by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar between 1665 and 1720 (Sereeter, Ikh Khüree, pp. 18-20.). As Luuzan lama, born from Büüwei prince family, was the initiator of this aimag, it was called Luuusan toinii aimag, ‘the aimag of Luuusan lama’ at the beginning. Then, Manzshir khutagt lived here, so it became known as Manzshir lamiin aimag. Finally, a temple was erected to house the idol of Gombo, who was worshipped by Öndör gegeen’s mother (Dalai eej), so the aimag was re-named Shüteenii aimag or ‘Aimag of the Holy Object of Worship.’ Its main tutelary deity was Zügüü Namnan (T. gtsug dgu rnam snang, an epithet of Vairocana) and its main protectors were Naichün/Naichin and Namsrai. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ėkh jas, Danshigiin khangaliin jas, Tümen Sanjidiin jas, Undesnii jas, Ėlgielin jas, Tsedor Lkharniin jas, Mandalshiwaagiin jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Dültsengiin jas, Ėkh Dar’ ekihiin jas (from 1908: Buman Dar’ ekihiin jas), Garawchogchidiin jas, Mönkh zuiliin jas, Baga Dar’ ekihiin jas, Shunkhan Ganjuuriin jas, Ėkh Lamiin chodwiin jas, Dashnyam arauwnain jas, Dalai eejin jas, Baga Lamiin chodwiin jas, Dugan(ii) jas.

As Shüteenii aimag was one of the oldest and most densely populated aimags numerous texts about its operation (1754 in number) are available in the National Central
Archives. Its catalogue (M-121) of the Manchu period lists 1406 texts dated between 1797 and 1911. According to the catalogue’s introduction Shüteenii aimag had 10 financial units from the 1800’s with one-one heads (darga or geriin darga). Later, all together 18 financial units belonged to the aimag, namely Ikh jas, Tsedor Lkhamiin jas, Danshig(iiin) jas, Tiimen Sanjidiin jas, Itgelin jas, Mandalshivaagiiin jas, Mönkh zuliiin jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Baga Dar’ ekhiin jas, Ikh Lamiin chodwiin jas, Baga Lamiin chanwiin jas, Dalai eejiiin jas, Dashnyam aravnain jas, Shunkhan Ganjuuriiin jas, Dültsengiiin jas, Dordowiin jas, Dugan(ii) jas. Besides it Donchidiin jas, Garawtsogchidiin jas, Tarawchenbo jas, Manal jas, Janraisegiin jas, Ulaan Ganjuuriin jas, Khangal jas, Chadbogiin chog jas (?), 131 are also mentioned in titles. Documents discuss mainly the incomes and expenses, property, herds and flocks, number of lamas, novices, nobles, clericals and laymen belonging to the aimag. There are texts about receiving the debts (ör nekhemjlekh) from Setsen khan, Sain noyon khan, Zasagt khan, and Tüshtet khan aimags.

The very first text is a list about the aimag’s property and möngö which was lent to others (1797). There are registers of the administrators (zakhirakh darga) of the 10 courtyards of the aimag (1830, etc.), and also a list of equipment which were used when the Amban Tsetsen noyon came to Khüree (1861). A leporello about the payment of danshig naadam, a register of lamas (1833), a leporello on loans which were given to laymen (1835), a register of lamas who dwelled in the aimag and those who did not (Dewsgertei ba engii lam nariin bürtgel), a document about the payment of feasts (dom khurakh) of the Bogd (1866), and letters which came for the aimag’s authorities (erkh barigch lam nart irsen zakhidal) are also available. There is a list containing the names of the aimag’s registered lamas (danstai) living in the city and in the countryside.

The catalogue (A-89) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 249 texts relevant to Shüteenii aimag. According to the catalogue’s introduction 1452 lamas and 18 financial units belonged to the aimag during this period, such as Ikh jas, Tsederlkhamiin jas, Danshigiin jas, Tiimen Sanjidiin jas, Itgel jas, etc. Moreover, Sakhiusnii jas, Dültsen Dordowiin jas, Dar’ ekhiin jas, Shunkhan Ganjuuriiin jas, Garawtsogchidiin jas, Duganii jas, Shine Dar’ ekhiin jas, and Dalai eejiiin jas are mentioned in titles.

Generally, texts focus on the aimag’s livestock, incomes and expenses, offerings and donations, and objects of worship. There is a list of offerings, which were donated by Erdene nomon khan lam on a ceremony in 1912. Some titles indicated that Tserendorj bookkeeper (nyaraw), and Sodnomochir officer (tüshmel) lived in the aimag. For example, there is a list of livestock being donated by Sodnomochir tüshmel and other donators to cover the costs of the aimag temple’s covering, and to initiate a separated jas for this activity (1912). There is a list of paper möngö which were lent (1913), of the livestock being herded on eastern and western pastures, a list of tea gained on usual ceremonies and on ceremonies that were held for the request of individuals (1918), a list of coins and paper möngö being lended with interest (1918), a text on the eternal butter-lamp dedicated to Manal in Dalai eejiiin jas, an avoidance of things forbidden on ceremonies, lighten or remit of customs (1916), a leporello making clear the costs of the aimag temple’s renovation (1918), a register of resident nobles of the aimags (1921), and a list of lamas of Shüteenii aimag who were gathering at Gandan (1921).

The catalogue (Kh-203) of the Modern Period contains 99 titles. They are dated between 1921-1937 and focus on the incomes and expenses of the aimag. It had livestock hearded on east pastures. Among lists of donations (1921), there are lists about the recovering of the tax (1921) even if tax on the livestock (1923), and lists of loans being given with interest (1923, 1925), together with the supervisions of the möngö of the temple.

131 Exact meaning unknown. Probably zed pogiin jas, chogiin jas.
(1924) even if in tögrög (1928). From the 1930’s there were more census on aimag lamas aiming at taxation. For example, there are lists of lamas who had to pay military tax (1933, 1936), registers of each lamas of the aimag (1934, 1935, twice in 1936, 1937), a register of ranked lamas of the aimag (1935), a list of lamas who had to pay military tax being in compulsory age (1935), and a register of novices under the age of 18 (1935). The livestock of the aimag was documented in 1935. There are two additional interesting texts without date, namely a register of lamas with position (myandag tushaaltai), and a register of poor lamas.

Pürew whose descriptions are most probably based on the painting by Jügder, says that the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple and it was situated on the east of what is now the Natural History Museum (Baigaliin tüükhiin müzei, N 47°55.345’, E 106°54.916’). A photo is available in the Film Archives (K24038) that also appears in Tsültem’s book (Mongolian Architecture, picture 27). According to Ts. Dorj lama (1901-2007), who lived in Shüteeniin aimag, 1,000 lamas belonged to this aimag and the aimag temple had the protectors mentioned above, namely Namsrai and Naichin. According to Sereeter, in this aimag the number of lamas who lived there was 1,000 in 1855 and 501 in 1938.

2. Dondowlin(giin) aimag

Dondowlin aimag (T. don-grub gling, ‘monastery of accomplishment’), marked with letter ZA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1780 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 21.). In 1774 zasag beil (noble officer) of Tsetsen khan aimag founded a temple in his territory (khoshuu). He dedicated it to the 4th Bogd in 1780 and founded a new aimag with some lamas from Shüteeniin aimag. Its main tutelary deity was Nagbo Demchig (T. nag-po bde-mchog, ‘Black Cakrasa vara’) or Nagwushawlügji Demchog (T. nag-po ...- lugs ?-kyi bde-mchog, the Tibetan origin of this deity’s name couldn’t be identified) (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3.) and its main protectors were Gombo and Damjan Choijil. However, Gonchig lama names the four-faced emanation of Gombo, namely Shalsh as one of its protectors. The large sculpture of Choijil or Choijoo made by Öndör gegeen, which was kept in Dondowlingin aimag, is presently kept in the Ochirdariin süm in Gandan monastery (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist Conference, pp. 285-286.). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Dültsen(giin) jas, Sanjidiin jas, Dorjnamjimiin/Dorjnamjiliin jas, Dordowiin jas, Ganjuuriin jas.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 24 sources on the operation of Dondowlin aimag. The catalogue (M-103) of the Manchu period contains 11 texts composed between 1862 and 1906. It is clear that at least 6 jas belonged to the aimag, which were the same listed above. The very first text describes the incomes and expenses of the aimag (1862). There are texts listing the names of the residential lamas of the aimag (devsgerten lam nar) (1905/6), and a register of the bequest of Bazar gelen (1906). Bazar gelen had to be a wealthy lama (maybe the head) of the aimag and it was usual that the aimag inherited the books, sculptures and artifacts, and private livestock of a high-ranking lama. In the collection there is a leporello which contains the names of that lamas of the aimag, who participated in the ceremonies in monastic schools (1906).

The catalogue (A-176) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains only two texts. One of them is on the incomes and expenses, and the number of livestock (1913-1917), while the other is a document ordering the payment of the value of goods which were stolen from someone (1921). The catalogue (SKh-222) of the Modern Period contains 11 texts focusing on the livestock and properties. There is a draft of the internal rules of the aimag and the lamas’ incomes from 1925. It indicates that the internal rules changed in 1924 or
were not written down previously. An interesting piece of material witnessing the changes is a contract written in 1930. It orders the aimag to give its livestock into co-operatives. Furthermore, there are documents to levy tax on lamas of the aimag between 1932 and 1933 (1933), and a register about each lama of the aimag (1934), and another one with the application of the lamas who knew Mongolian script (1934). There are other significant texts without date such as a register of lamas older than 18 years and a register of each lama of the aimag.

Pürew claims that the aimag had a big felt yurt temple, which was situated on the north-east of the Natural History Museum (N 47° 55.424’ E 106° 54.917’). 300 lamas lived in the aimag in 1855 and 52 in 1938.

3. Jadariin/ Jiddariin aimag

Jadariin aimag (T. kye(‘i) rdo-r/ kye(‘i) rdo-rje), marked with letter KHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1745 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüreee, p. 22.). The aimag was named after its main tutelary deity, Jadar/Jiddar (T. kye’i rdo-rje, Skr. Hevajra). According to Gonchig lama and the Bilgiin melmi ar article Tonbajin (T. thod-pa-can, ‘the one with the skull cup’, an epithet of Cakrasāvara) was its other main tutelary deity. Its main protector was Gombo gür (T. mgon-po gur), an emanation of Mahākāla, being worshipped by the Sakyas. Sereeter and the catalogue (M-107) of the Manchu period of the National Central Archives list the following financial units belonging to the aimag: Ikh jas, Dültsengiin jas, Ikh Tarawiin jas, Tsawiin jas, Jambiin chogiin jas, Donchidiin jas (M-107: Donjidiin jas), Baga Tarawiin jas, Dondogiin Sanjidiin jas, Soiwangiin Sanjidiin jio (M-107: Soiwangiin Sanjidiin jas). Then, the catalogue adds Tsawiin Nügneen jas, Ganjuur jas, and Mönkh Sanjidiin jas.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 230 valuable sources about the administration of Jadariin aimag. The catalogue (M-107) of the Manchu period contains 142 titles dated between 1807-1911, mainly about the incomes and expenses, livestock, möngö and tea property of the aimag. The very first text was written in 1807 about the necessaries of worship. There is a list of tea gained as profit (khüü ürjüülekh) on loans of the financial units of Khangal and other ceremonies (1904), and a leporello making clear the area of the agricultural field of the aimag (1908). Sculptures (1908), and resident lamas were recorded in 1908.

The catalogue (A-93) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 35 texts. Tarawiin jas, Dültsen jas, and Ikh jas are mentioned in titles. There is a register of articles and livestock offered by believers for the renovation of the aimag temple in 1913.

The catalogue (Kh-201) of the Modern Period contains 53 texts dated between 1926-1937. Mönkh nügnein jas, Dültsen jas, Ikh jas and Baga jas are mentioned in titles. Texts concentrate on möngö with interest, leasing the livestock, incomes and expenses, recover of debts, necessaries of worship, books and offerings (1926). There is a list which contains data of taxation coming from the livestock (1927). A commercial contract was conducted by a layman in 1927. A list of incomes and expenses of the renovation of the temple building, palaces, etc., and a text on the equipments of worshipping the buddhas were composed in 1927, too. A summary of the property of the financial unit (1928), and necessary of worship and property of Jadariin aimag were recorded in 1930. Selling price of the livestock was determined in 1930. There is a document concerning the restauration of equipment and statues donated by donators (1933), and a list of lamas up to 18 (1934). The latest document is a register of expenditures of the aimag of the given year and its accessories of worship (1937).

Pürew claims that the aimag had a square shaped temple building, situated near, what is now, the Library of Sükhaaatar district. However, he represents it as yurt-shaped.
temple on his sketch (p. 19.) One of the most famous lamas of the aimag was Agwaankhaidaw or Agwaan Luswan Khaidaw (T. ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-'grub, 1779-1838), the 13th abbot (khamba nomon khan) of Ikh Khüree, who was known as (Agwaan) Khaidaw Abbot of Jadar aimag (Jadariin khamba). He compiled numerous books such as the one in 1836 which is up to this day the main handbook for the preparation of the Tsam religious dance. The tutelary and protective deities of the aimag indicate that this assembly belonged to the Sakya (T. sa-skya) stream of Tibetan Buddhism. In this aimag 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 54 in 1938.

4. Toisamlin/ Toisomlin/Toslin aimag/ Dashtoisomlin aimag

Toisamlin aimag (T. thos bsam gling, ‘monastery of hearing and contemplating’), marked with letter RA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1798 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 23.). In the 1790’s taij (prince) Tsedenbishrelt and Rawdan lama (toin) from Orjinjawiin khoshuu of Tüsheet khan aimag founded a temple in their area. They moved to Khüree and dedicated it to the 4th Bogd who gave Dashtoisomlin as the name of the assembly. Its main tutelary deity was Sandui Mijid (T. gsang-'dus mi bskyod, Skr. Guhyasamāja Akāśobhya) and its main protector was Gombo. According to Gonchig lamas’s manuscript and the official newspaper of Gandan (Bilgiin melmii), the main protector of the temple was Lkham. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Düitsen jas, Mönkh Sanjidiin jas, Danjuuriin jas, Günregiin jas, Nünnain jas, Jambiin jas. The aimag had a square shaped temple building. S. Dagwa lama (born 1910), who lived in Toisamlin aimag, claims that 300 lamas lived here. The aimag had a temple with golden roof and Manzshir (T. 'jam-dpal / 'jam-(dpal)- dbyangs, Skr. Mañjuśrī) was one of its main protectors.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 210 sources on Toisomlin aimag. The catalogue (M-116) of the Manchu period contains 116 titles. The first text is a list the incomes and expenses (1818). There is a list which contains the incomes and ceremonial expenses, and the requirements of worshipping the buddhas (1821-31, 1832-1841), written in Tibetan. As the titles of the texts indicate Awdiiin Donchid ceremony was surely held and eternal butter-lamp (mönkh zul) had been lighting in the aimag. The aimag had camels. There is a list, written in Tibetan, about the incomes dedicated to build a chapel (gonkhon dugan) to house the sculpture of the aimag protector (1884). Moreover, there is a leporello without date on the incomes and offerings of ceremonies and name and number of those lamas who participated in the ceremonies in Dashchoimbel datsan, as well as resident lamas (dewsgerten lam nar) of the aimag.

The catalogue (A-90) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 47 titles. Düütsen jas, Danjuuriin jas, Ikh jas, and Baga jas are mentioned. Many texts were written in Tibetan. Most texts list the herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, donations, and tea loans. There is a text on leasing camels (1916), on various properties (written in Tibetan, 1916), and there are announcements sent to many temples and monasteries in order to purify and consecrate their sculptures and sacred objects and to quantify the number of their lamas (1913, 1915, 1917). There is a list of Düütsenjaw’s livestock who belonged to the Düünkhor assembly (1918) (perhaps he lived in Toisomlin aimag and gathered in Düünkhor datsan). A leporello ordered the passing of the volumes of the Tanjur to the authorities (alban gazar) to help its Tibetan and Mongolian translation. There is a list of lamas (1918), a summary of the aimag’s incomes and expenses, and its herds and flocks (1920).

The catalogue (SKh-216) of the Modern Period enlists 47 texts dated between 1921 and 1932, focusing on herds and flocks, firewood and coal, flour and wheat. There are three interesting texts without date: a register of the aimag lamas, a list of the ceremonies of the aimag temple, and a register on its books and properties.
There is a register (Kh216/44) in the collection of the National Central Archives, which contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of all the 23 ceremonies which were regularly held in the aimag temple. Although the year is not determined in the text, most supposedly it was prepared in 1937 as it has the same structure as the registers in the case of other temples. However, headtitles are missing from the text which was written in very tidy writing. The ceremonies were the following: Sharjin Choijil, Lkham, Namsrai were held every day by an appointed lama. Dugiit (?) was held on the 27th of every month by 5 appointed lamas. Gungreg ceremony was performed on the 30th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Sandui was held on the 15th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Galii takhilga was performed on the 24th of the last winter month by 4 appointed lamas. 10 khangal dugiit danragtai was held for a day on the 19th of the last winter month with the participation of 20 lamas of the several aimag lamas. Tsedor Lkham ceremony with thanksgiving offering was performed for a day at dawn on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of 70 lamas of the aimag. Dalkhag Sanjin was performed on the 2nd of the first spring month for a day by 4 appointed lamas. Yeroluid maan was held on the 14th of the first spring month by 10 appointed lamas. Gongoriin bumba was performed for a day by 4 appointed lamas on the 13th of the middle spring month. Lkhamiin dordow was performed for four days in the middle spring month by 13 appointed lamas without fix date. Tsagiin magtaal ceremony was performed for 3 days in the middle spring month by 47 lamas without fix date. Namsrain bumba was practiced on the 15th of the first summer month by 4 appointed lamas. Gunregin dultsen had been preparing for 7 days in the middle summer month without a fix date. 17 lamas from the expected 37 came to prepare it. Gongoriin bumba was practiced for a day on the 13th of the middle summer month by 4 appointed lamas. 6 khangal ceremony with thanksgiving offering was performed for a day on the 18th of the last summer month by 10 appointed lamas. A ceremony in honour of the 10 wrathful deities, together with dugiit offering and thanksgiving offering (Arwan khangal shatag dugiit tei khoyor danragtai) was performed for a day on the 22nd of the last summer month. 220 lamas participated in this event (probably 22 instead of 220). Gongor Namsrai ceremony with thanksgiving offering was held on the 30th of the last summer month with the participation of 37 lamas. A special ceremony was performed by 4 lamas without interruption. Gongoriin bumba was practiced for a day on the 13th of the middle autumn month by 4 appointed lamas. A ceremony in honour of Lkham was held on the 15th of the middle autumn month for a day by all the 12 expected lamas. On the 12th of the first winter month the six wrathful deities were worshipped by thanksgiving offering (6 khangal shatag danragtai) (However, its duration is written for a day on the 15th of the first winter month). Arwaan khangal with thanksgiving offering on the last day was held for three days on the 3rd of the middle winter month. Gongoriin bumba was practiced for a day

132 Exact meaning unknown. M. šarsing /saying /sri /serjing. A similar Tibetan expression, T. shar byung is a kind of everyday reading in monastic schools, thus cannot be identified in the present context.
133 Exact meaning unknown. M. tøgeci t og an, T. drug bcu (?)
134 Exact meaning unknown. M. yöret čolumta, T. ?
135 Exact meaning unknown. M. dalh ay sangiin, T. ?
136 Exact meaning unknown. M. yöret-id mani nı cölyum-tai, T. ?
137 This ritual cannot be identified. M. čay-un maśayal ob mai ni čolum (?), T. ?
138 This ritual cannot be identified. M. 10 qangyal śaday-a diğeči-tei 2 dangray-tai, T. sha-khrag, drug-bcu, gáng-rag
139 This ritual cannot be identified. M. Jamčingman-a bümčin lüngdayači dalhax saqićin, T. ?
140 The type of the ceremony cannot be identified. M. Lhamo-yin dangdui śatag-a dangray cogčon-tai, T. lham-o, sha-khrag, gáng-rag
141 Its meaning is uncertain. M. 6 qangyal śatay-a dangray-tai, T. sha-khrag gáng-rag
142 After it there is no data on either the required or the participated lamas' number.
on the 13th of the middle winter month.

It is clear from the above-mentioned text that numerous ceremonies were performed in honour of the various groups of wrathful deities. One lama fulfilled the everyday reading (jasaā) which consisted of texts dedicated to the wrathful deities. Dügiijū was performed every month. Sandui ceremony was held on the 15th and Gungreg ceremony on the 30th of every month. Gongoriin bumba was practiced by 4 lamas on the 13th of every middle month. Moreover, Namsrain bumba was performed once a year as well. The sand maōða of Gūnreg was prepared in summer. It seems that the aimag had 37 resident lamas in 1937.

According to O. Pürew, the temple was situated on the west of, what is now, the Library of Sükhbaatar district. In this aimag 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 69 in 1938.

5. Düinkhorin aimag

Düinkhorin aimag (T. dus'-khor), marked with letter GA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the period of the 2nd Bogd according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 24.). The aimag was named after its main tutelary deity, Düinkhor (Kālacakra), while its main protector was Gombo. The following more than 10 financial units belonged to the aimag: Gol jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Khawrii arwanii jas, Öwlii arwanii jas, Namrii arwanii jas, Namsrain jas, Ayuushiin jas, Naidangiin jas, Dordowiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Khangaliin jas, Undesnii jas, Puntsaldulamiin (Puntsagdulamiin) bumbanii jas. The Manchu catalogue (M-105) of the National Central Archives does not mention Magtaaliin jas, Khangaliin jas and Undesnii jas, and says Pünsanshulmiin bumbanii jas instead of Puntsaldulamiin (Puntsagdulamiin) bumbanii jas.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 35 texts related to Düinkhorin aimag. The catalogue (M-105) of the Manchu period contains 13 texts dated between 1892 and 1911. These were composed mainly about the incomes and expenses of Düinkhorin jas (1892).143 There is a leporello which had come to prohibit the lay population to set up their yurts and courtyards near the monastic quarter (khüree), to forbid lamas to loaf in the layquarters (khoroo), and about the doubted questions of the building of Choijin lamiin süm (1902). Among the texts there is an evaluation of properties (ed khogshil), robes and costumes that were received as donations (1903). A list provides the total amount of tea property of the aimag with the gained profit (1903). There are leporellos about resident lamas of the aimag who came from countryside khoshuu, gathered in ceremonies in datsans (1908) or still resided in the aimag (1908). A document came ordering the retrieveness of the missing participants of some monastic schools (1911).

The catalogue (A-91) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains only four titles. There is a text informing about the fact that the Bogd khaan acknowledged Sodnomdarjaa, the vice abbot (ded khamba) of Ikh Khüree as a khutagt and presented his credentials (juukh bichgiig shagnakh) and seal (tamga) (1913). Again, a summary of incomes and expenses of Düinkhorin jas (1914). There are documents about the permanent ceremonies, as well as a prohibition of lamas to make commerce, and order to cover debts, and to pay customs duty on firewood (1912). In 1918 the total quantity of the four kinds of livestock belonging to the aimag’s property was recorded.

The catalogue (SKh-210) of the Modern Period contains 18 texts dated between 1922-1937. Many of them are without date. Gol jas is frequently mentioned in titles. The texts talk mainly about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, and loans with interest. As interesting materials from the 1930s there is a document of official ranks (alban tushaal)

143 Probably texts like this refer to Düinkhor datsan, instead of Düinkhor aimag.
and regulations of the aimag lamas (1934). There are lists, without date given, of each lama of the aimag, those people who had right to vote (songuuliin erkhtei khümüüs), of the the withdrawal of the right to vote from each lama, and a register of lamas who had studied Mongolian script. The latest document is a register of people with official ranks from 1937.

Pürew claims that the aimag had a square shaped temple building. It was situated near, what is now, the Sükhbaatar district Hospital. In this aimag 400 lamas lived in 1855 and 155 in 1938.

6. Tsetsen/ Setsen toinii aimag

Tsetsen toinii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: tshe-tshe thos-ni), marked with letter NYA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 25.). It was probably founded by Tsetsen toin. Its main tutelary deity was Sandui Jamdor/Jamdar and its main protector was Jamsran. According to Sereeter and the catalogue (M-119) of the National Central Archives the following more than 18 financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Dar’ ekhiin dültsengin jas, Dültsengin magtaaliin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Khuuchin Ganjuuriin jas, Namsrain dordowiin jas, Lkhamiin dordowiin jas, Dar’ ekhiin nünnain jas, Sereeterin Günregiin jas (M-119: Ekhner Sereeten Güngeregiin jas) Awidin chogiin jas, Demchogin/Demchigii donchidin jas, Mintügiin dültsengiin jas, Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas. The cataloge of the archive adds Satsogiin jas, Pogin jas, Dültsen yerööliin jas, Mintüwiin jas, Dürwed khamba lamini khuriiliin jas (?), Mandal Gandansünseriin jas (?), Manaliin jas.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 402 documents related to Setsen toinii aimag. The catalogue (M-119) of the Manchu period lists 284 or 285 titles dated between 1819 and 1911. The ranking lamas of the aimag were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the offering preparer, the nyaraw, and the cook. The first text is about tea (1819) and other loans (1820). There is a register indicating that the number of lamas’ courtyards increased 10 within the aimag (1823). An inventory of silver accessories and other articles were compiled in 1850. There is a list determining the worshipping order of ceremonies (1881). Another discuss the costs of sacrificial cake offerings (balin takhil) and ceremonies (1883). Möngö, tea, bulls and other goods having lent were listed in 1889. There is a list of offerings dedicated to a proper rebirth of the old disciplinary master of Tsetsen toin aimag, who had passed away (1890). There is a list which notify the profit on tea capital (ekh tsai) of some ceremonies’ financial units which were independent from the aimag and its other financial units (1868, 1894). Several talks text about tea which was lend, and camels, milk, flour, wheat, möngö, and tea which were sold (1898). There is a leporello about donations (1906), while another one provides data on tea which was sold to cover the catering of the lamas participating in ceremonies (1908). A leporello notices the name of resident lamas of the aimag and those lamas who participated in ceremonies in monastic schools (1908).

The catalogue (A-92) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 67 titles. Ikh jas, Dültsen jas, Mintügwaa khural are mentioned, and dozens of texts deal with incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and other issues.146

The catalogue (Kh-206) of the Modern Period contains 50 titles dated between 1922 and 1939. Ikh jas, Dültsen jas, and Magtaal jas are mentioned in titles. Numerous texts discuss the livestock’s progeny. As interesting pieces of material there is a list on the rules and permanent ceremonies of Tsetsen toinii aimag (1925), a register of resident lamas

144 Exact meaning unknown.
145 Exact meaning unknown.
146 The catalogue was not thoroughly surveyed by the author.
(1926), and a list of resident lamas and their home area in the countryside (khoshuu nutag) (1929). An order arrived to levy military tax on lamas of Tsetsen toinii aimag in 1932. There are further registers of lamas (1932). Although in most case the latest sources relevant to the aimags of Züün Khüree are from 1937 it is interesting that there is a text about Setsen toinii aimag from 1938, which is a register of its resident lamas. Moreover, there is another text which was written in 1939 about tea property of the aimag put out on interest. These two texts confirm that the aimag had lamas and was inhabited after 1937 as well, and still had continued its tea loan activity till 1939.

According to O. Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped aimag temple was situated near, what is now, the University of Fine Arts, called SUIS (Soyol Urlagiin Ikh Surguul’). The old photo of the temple is available in the Film Archives (K24083) and in Tsültém’s book (picture 28). In this aimag 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 154 in 1938.

7. Amduu/Anduu nariin aimag or Andaugin aimag

Amduu nariin aimag (T. a-mdo, Tibetan transliteration by Gonchig lama: ang-dwo-nar), marked with letter NGA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 26.) as dwelling of Tibetans from Amdo (a north-eastern Tibetan district) who came to Mongolia with Öndör geegen to spread Buddhism. Its main tutelary deity was Jalwajamts/Jalbajamts (T. rgyal-pa rgya-mtsho, a form of Avalokiteśvara) and its main protector was Lkham. According to the Bilgii melmii article, Janraiseg was also worshipped here, which must refer to the above mentioned Jalwajamts form. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Shagitüwiin dültsengiin jas, Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Mönkh Gombiin dordowiin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Buman Itgeliin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Mönkh Günregiin jas, Mönkh Düdbiin jas or Tüdewiin jas, Mönkh Jambiin chogiin jas, Olog khünii mönhölsön buman Nogoon Dar’ekhiin jas. The catalogue M-99 of the National Central Archives adds Gongor Namsrain tsawiin jas, Jasiin Namsrain jas, Mönkh zulii jas, Dörwön lamiin Günregiin jas, Naiman lamiin Jawiin chogoo (?).147 Shagitüwiin dültsengiin jas, Jasiin pogiin jas, Otog nyamiin Buman Nogoon Dar’ekhiin jas, Rentsen nariin buman Dar’ekhiin jas, Genden nariin148 buman Nogoon Dar’ekhiin jas.

The collection of the National Central Archives contains 352 sources about its operations. The catalogue (M-99) of the Manchu period contains 262 titles dated between 1805 and 1910. According to the introduction of the catalogue the aimag was firstly initiated in 1651 and was called Anduu nariin aimag. Its operation was dedicated to the benefit of the Yellow Sect. Permanent ceremonies were held here. The very first text is about the möngö and tea of the aimag, its livestock and other incomes and expenses (1805). Lamas of the aimag were registered in 1821. Among the numerous texts a supervision of different equipment and property (1827), the establishment of Magtaaliin jas initiated by several lamas (khuwrag) of the aimag (1836), goods that were offered by donators to the newly established jas (1837), möngö and tea of every financial unit of the aimag (1841), accessories of the aimag temple (1851), the establishment of a jas initiated by believers and ordering its permanent ceremonies (1851) were all recorded. There is a list of milk and other dairy products that were gained from herds and flocks being herded by others (1855), a list of tea, fat and other products which were sold to cover the costs of ceremonies and offerings (1871), a list of donations dedicated to the newly established jas (1885), and a list of bulls and camels that were leased out to others have remained (1897, 1909). There is a notice about the incomes and flowing in from donators, going through the

147 Exact meaning unknown.
148 Probably Gelen nariin buman Nogoon Dar’ekhiin jas, i.e. financial unit supporting the recitation of the Green Tārā, 10000 times by the fully-ordained monks.
hands of the bookkeepers (1909). Lists of the 4 kinds of animals that were herded in the north, and a list of goods of Khuwilgaan tsorj’s external treasury (1910) are also available in the collection. The collection contains a plenty of leporellos as well. One of them was issued by the 5th Bogd in 1835 in order to hold healing rituals (gürmiig unshuulakh), while another one to forbid women to settle in the monastic part of Anduu nariin aimag (1837). Many sources serve data of the number of livestock, incomes and expenses (1868), and names of resident lamas of the aimag (1874). A leporello contains the command of the Bogd on the design of robes (1884). There is a list of property and worshipping objects which were handed over and taken over by the nyaraw (1892), and a register on the bequests of deceased ones (1885). Registered lamas and the lamas, who had been going to participate in the ceremonies of Dashchoimbel datsan were listed in 1890. Lists of möngö, tea, robes and other properties offered by lamas and laymen to the aimag assembly were written in the 1890s. There is a leporello containing regulations of lamas (1910).

The catalogue (A-94) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 37 texts, discussing mainly the herds and flocks of the aimag. There is a list indicating the leased out tea of permanent ceremonies, and additional offerings (1913). Further texts talk about religious accessories, loans; and goods which burnt in fire, etc. (1913, 1916, 1918). Other leporellos came to the aimag in order to fundraise for official religious usage (1915, 1917, 1918, 1921).

The catalogue (Kh-202) of the Modern Period contains 53 texts dated between 1921-1937. They account loans, number and profit on livestock (1927), incomes and expenses of sacrificial cake offerings (1928). There is a calculation of all herds and flocks and incomes on them (its half was written in Tibetan in 1930). Lamas were listed in 1933, 1934, and 1936. In 1937 a register of lamas who were 26-50 years old, and a list without date containing the names of the lamas who knew Mongolian script were composed.

Pürew claims that the aimag had a wooden square-shaped temple building (Töriin golomt, p. 19.). On its site there is now a Honda repair garage (this area on Ikh toiruu has many garages). Ts. Tserenpuntsog lama (born 1914), who once lived here, confirmed that the aimag had a square-shaped temple. Its photo is available in Tsültem’s book (p. 42). In this aimag 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 209 in 1938.

8. Dashdandarlin/ Dandarlin aimag

Dashdandarlin aimag (T. bkra-shis bstan dar gling, ‘monastery of spreading the auspicious Teaching’), marked with letter HA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1892 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 27.) or in 1897 according to Pürewjaw (Khuv'sgal, p. 19.). Following the command of the 8th Bogd this aimag became separated from Makhamayaagii aimag. It housed Luwsankhaidaw’s yurt-palace (Lawran tugdum/tugdam), who was the third younger brother of the Bogd and later became the state oracle known as Choijin lam. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Tümet sakhiusni jas, Günregiin dültsengiin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Danshigiin khangaliin jas. Its main tutelary deity was Makhamayaav (T. sgyu-ma chen-mo, Skr. Mahāmāyā) and its main protector was Jamsran or Jagonjamsran (a form of Jamsran, Gonchig lama’s transliteration: tsha-kang (? ) lcam-sring, which Tibetan form also seems erroneous) (Bilgiin melmiit).

In the collection of the National Central Archives 155 written sources are available about Dashdandarlin aimag. The catalogue (M-101) of the Manchu period contains 49 texts composed between 1892 and 1911. According to its introduction the aimag was founded in 1892 separating from Makhamayaagii aimag. It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies, and own financial units, such as Ikh jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Tümet sakhiusnii jas, Danshigiin khangaliin jas, Günregiin dültsengiin jas which are
the same as mentioned above. The first text is a request which was sent to the Bogd asking for sculptures (burkhan) and books when the aimag was established (1892). There is a roll of days of permanent ceremonies (1892), a list of sculptures and books which were received from Deerkhiin gegeen (probably Dar’ ekiin gegeen), when the aimag separated from Makhcamaya and became independent (1892, 1893), a list of donators and their offerings dedicated to the foundation of the aimag (1892), and a leporello forbidding the lamas to trade on market place (zakh zeeliin gazar) (1895). Furthermore, there is a leporello which came to determine the rules of ceremonies (1897). A document is kept here, which was sent by the khamba nomon khan, the erdene shanzaw, and other executives about the nomination and dismiss of ranked lamas and other authorities of the 29 aimags, the monastic schools, the Erdene Shanzawiin Yaam, and the palaces (1898). It also laid the base of studying Mongolian script. In 1902 a leporello was sent to the aimag to forbid the setting up of private yurts and courtyards (khuwiin khashaa) nearby and around the monastic districts and to forbid lamas and novices to loaf in lay quarters (khoroo kharchuudiin gazar) or wear paradeous robes and stuff (1902). There is a list of necessassaries required by the Khamba nomon khan and Choijin lam when they visited the meeting of the governors (amban) in 1903. In 1905 a leporello was issued to permit women for a while to visit the monastic places on special occasions like düütsen khural, Tsam dance, wrestling, and other spectacular events. Documents indicate social problems as well, for example one says that the representatives of the aimag are unsociable to each other and there are big confusions in the lists of properties of the jas (1906). Another one counts the cash of the jas (1906), and there is a leporello which orders to make Buddhism strengthen as many lamas steal and robe, escape, fight, and incite other lamas (1907). There is a list of the aimag’s lamas who were gathered in monastic schools or lived in the countryside (1908), and a list of notice on stealing and lying (1909). A leporello came ordering the novices who were studying at monastic schools to settle in the monastic district. It also talks about the monastic duties and exemption from lay obligations (1911). A leporello was issued to order the increase the number of lamas gathering in the newly established monastic school (1911). A very interesting document is a request written by a man who did not have relatives so wanted to adopt a child to bequeath his properties to him (1911), A list of the number of families and livestock of lamas of Dashdandarlin aimag, and a leporello containing the ranks and titles of the executives of the aimags are also kept in the archives. 

The catalogue (A-95) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 62 titles. Düütsen jas, Günregiin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Tümet sakhiusnii jas, Danshi giin khangaliin jas, Khangal Tümet magtaaliiin jas are mentioned sometimes. Among the texts there is an announcement of lamas who were accepted to live in the aimag (1911), a honour of the people with important tasks (1912). There is a document about the restauration of sculptures and the prohibition of playing cards, domino, and other games (1913), while other documents prohibit gossips and employment of native Tibetans in aimag duties (1915). Another prohibit the collecting/recovering of loans by poverty-strickens. Incomes and expenses of permanent jasa ceremonies of the aimag were recorded in 1917. Inventories of sculptures, accessories were compiled in 1920.

The catalogue (Skh-220) of the Modern period contains 44 titles dated between 1921-1937. The texts are mainly about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses of the aimag and its Khangaliin jas. Interesting materials are also available such as the proposal of Tserendorj gishiin about ceremonies and economic questions (1923). There is a detailed register and a White List (tsagaan dans) of each lama belonging to the aimag

149 The register of lamas is named as White List only in this catalogue. Other registers do not have any distinctive names.
(1934). A register of lamas, who were in military age and from whom military tax was planned to be collected in 1936 (1935), and another White List counting the lamas (1936) are also available. In 1937 permanent ceremonies of the year and names of ranked lamas were listed as well as lamas and women, lamas who had to pay additional military tax. An estimation of incomes and expenses of the aimag was compiled on the 30 December 1937.

According to O. Pürew the wooden square-shaped aimag temple was situated on the east of Bayanbūrd (N 47° 55.664’, E 106° 54.424’). However, as Bayanbūrd is far to the west, very near to Gandan, is seems impossible that one of the aimag temples was situated there. The photo of the temple is available in the Film Archives (K24088) and in Tsültem’s book (picture 40-41). In this aimag 270 lamas lived in 1915 and 115 in 1938.

9. Mayaa or Makhamayaagiin aimag

Makhamayaagiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: ma-ha ma-ya), marked with letter YA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1741 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 28). Its founder was the father of the 2nd Bogd, Chin wan Dondowdorj, who moved his temple into Khüree. The aimag was named after its main tutelary deity, Makhamaya (T. sgyu-ma chen-mo, Skr. Mahāmāyā) and its main protector was Jamsran or Jagonjamsran (according to the Bilgiin melmii). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Makhamayaagiin dültsengin jas, and Dashnyam arawnain jas. Dashdandarlin aimag separated from this aimag in 1892.

The National Central Archives preserves 46 texts relevant to the operation of the aimag. The catalogue (M-174) of the Manchu period lists 7 texts dated between 1822 and 1910. There are data on the tea property of the aimag, and the regulation of lamas (1910). A register of its lamas with rug to sit (dewsgerten lam) and ordinary lamas (engiin lam), and an announcement to catch Jamsran who had stolen something are also available in the collection.

The catalogue (A-96) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 13 titles. For instance, an inventory of sculptures, books and other artifacts and accessories of the aimag was compiled in 1914. A very significant source is a document ordering the lamas of the aimag to participate in gawjiin damjaa exam and in the ceremonies of the monastic schools (1917, 1921). Many documents refer to the connection between the aimag and Dashchoimbel datsan.

The catalogue (SKh-213) of the Modern Period contains 26 texts dated between 1922 and 1937, mainly about the incomes and expenses of the aimag. However, registers of lamas (1936, 1937), documents on calculation of expenses (1936), property and livestock are also available.

According to O. Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 22.), the wooden yurt-shaped aimag temple was situated near, what is now, the School No. 5 (10n jiliin 5-r dund surguul’, N 47° 55.513’, E 106° 54.917’) on Ikh toiruu. However, he represents the temple in his sketch (p. 19.) as a wooden quadrangular building and Tsültem in his introduction (Tsültem, Mongolian Architecture, Ulaanbaatar 1988) also mentions this temple as a remarkable example of a pyramid temple building. In this aimag 500 lamas lived in 1855 and 22 in 1938.

10. Jasiin aimag or Puntsogtegchenlin aimag

Jasiin aimag or “Puntsogtegchenlin” aimag (T. spyi-gsog, ‘public accumulation/reserves’, or phun-tshogs theg chen gling, ‘monastery of the excellent Mahāyāna’), marked with letter CA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 29.). As one of the first seven aimags of Örgöö the lamas who were responsible for the
administrative units settled here. Its main tutelary deity was Damdin Sandüw / Damdin Sandow (probably T. rta-mgrin gsang-sgrub (?), ‘Hayagrīva secret sādhana’) and its main protector was Jamsran. According to Gonchig lama and the Bilgiin melnii article, Lowanrünaa/Lowonrünaa (T. slob-dpon sku lnga or slob-dpon rigs-lnga?) and Damjan/Damjin were also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Tsagaan Dar’ ekhiin donchidiin jas, Tarwaachembiin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Ikh Tiimet sakhiusnii jas, Baga Tiimet sakhiusnii jas, Awidin chogiin jas, Tsedewiiin jas, Dordowiiin jas, and Mintügiin chogiin jas.

The National Central Archives has 200 texts about the operation of the aimag. The catalogue (M-106) of the Manchu period enlists 152 texts composed between 1815-1901. According to its introduction Ikh shawiin Jasiin aimag was firstly initiated in 1651. It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies, own financial units, own property, own incomes and expenses. There were 5 positions in the staff of the aimag: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, shrinekeeper and nyaraw. 15 financial units belonged to the aimag, such as Ikh jas, Morpeliin Mönkh dültsengiin jas, Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas, Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas, Otoch Nyamiin Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas, Otoch Nyamiin Buman Itgeliin jas, Zakhiragh Galsangiin Lamiin chodowin chog, Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas, Awidin chogiin jas, Morpeliin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas, Gelengüüdiin jas, Naidangiin jas, Ikh Tangargiin jas, Janraisegiin jas, Dar’ ekh nügneen jas, Jasa Mandalshiwaagiin jas, etc. Magtaaliin jas, Dültsen jas.

The first text is about the aimag’s costs to finance ceremonies and other issues (1815). There are texts about the four kinds of animals belonging to the aimag’s property, möngö put out on interest to others (1855), incomes and expenses of ceremonies (1898), names of herdsmen and number of livestock (1901), and registered lamas of the aimag (1901).

The catalogue (A-97) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 29 titles dated between 1915 and 1919 (?). Some of them were written in Tibetan. The texts discuss mainly the incomes and expenses of ceremonies and all kinds of property of the aimag, such as artifacts, decorations, accessories, sculptures, decorations, benches (jawdan) with 5 pillows, etc. (1915) Cash and tea (belen baigaa) and möngö with interest were also recorded (1915). Incomes and expenses of the ceremony dedicated to Gürgil Lkhamiin bumba khorol büteekhed (to practice the vase and wheel meditation of Kurukullā) were recorded in 1915. Flour was gained by leasing the agricultural field of the aimag (1918). Income and salaries of people participating in the renovation of the aimag temple (1919) show its importance.

The catalogue (SKh-215) of the Modern Period bearing the title Ikh Khüreenii Chogchin jas aimgiin fond contains 19 texts which are dated between 1921-1937. They provide data mainly about the herds and flocks, quantity of fat, wheat, milk and other products which were under the responsibility of the bookkeeper (1925). There is a summary of the aimag’s livestock (1926), about profits and income. In 1928 the livestock of many monasteries, and financial units were sold to pay the tax. There are registers of lamas with more or less details (1934, 1936, 1937).

Pürew claims that the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple, situated on the left of, what is now, Dölgöön nuur Hotel (N 47° 55.735’, E 106° 54.832’). In this aimag 500 lamas lived in 1855 and 46 in 1938.

11. Nomchiin aimag

Nomchiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: nom-chi), marked with letter CHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd, as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 30.). It was founded by a disciplinary master of the main assembly hall who came from
Sönöd khoshuu of Shiliin gol territory (present Inner-Mongolia). As the disciplinary master had the honorary title ikh nomch lam (i.e. ‘the one who is expert in the Teaching’), and he had gelen vow, this aimag was called as Nomch gelen gesgüin aimag in that time. Its main tutelary deity was Gürgül Ikham or Gürügülii (T. rig byed-ma or ku-ru kul-li/le, Skr. Kurukullā) and its main protector was Dürteddagwa (T. dur-khrod bdag-po, Skr. Citpati). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Dordowiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Ömnö arwanii Magtaaliin jas.

The National Central Archives owes 137 documents related to Nomchiin aimag. The catalogue (M-114) of the Manchu period contains 104 titles. The texts were composed between 1830-1909. Its introduction says that the aimag had financial units as Ikh jas, Dordowiin jas, Ömnö arwnii jas, Magtaaliin jas, etc. The very first text is about the heads of the 10-10 courtyards of the aimag (1830). Other texts are about herds and flocks, pastures in the north and in the east, tea expenses, and leasing of horses and bulls. There is also a list of the aimag’s lamas (1904). The catalogue (A-98) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 8 texts about the incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, horses herded on east and north pastures. The catalogue of the Modern Period (Kh-207) contains 22 (or 24) texts dated between 1921-1937. Among the texts with usual content as herds and flocks, there is a list of bulls (shar ükher) which were leased out (1921), a register of the lamas of the aimag (1931), a list of incomes and expenses of the aimag’s ceremonies (1934), and again register of each lama of the aimag (1936), and a register of lamas of the aimag with the right to vote (1936). A document of the internal rules of Nomchiin aimag and ranked lamas of its ceremonies (1935-7), and another survey register of lamas (without date) were also compiled.

According to O. Pürew, the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple with metal roof. It was situated on the right of Dölgöön nuur Hotel (N 47° 55.725’, E 106° 54.832’). In this aimag 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 48 in 1938.

12. Sangai(n) aimag

Sangai aimag (Tibetan transliteration: sang-gas), marked with letter JA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 31.). It was one of the first seven aimags of Örgöö, the lamas who were responsible for the treasury of Öndör gegeen settled here. The aimag’s original name, Sangiin aimag (‘aimag of the treasury’) became distorted to Sangain aimag during the years. Its main tutelary deity was Nyambawiin dulam (T. rnying-ma-pa’i (?) sgrol-ma, ‘The Tārā of the Nyingmapa sect’(?)) or according to Gonchig lama and the Bilgiin melmii article, Nürshinbawuu Dolma/Dulma (T. myur zhi dpa’-po’i sgrol-ma (?)) and its main protector was Jamsran. According to Gonchig lama and the Bilgiin melmii article, Daragshad (T. tra-kshad) was also worshipped here.

The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Zurkhaiich Mönpeleen münkholösön dültsen jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas, Tümet sakhiusnii jas, Ganjuur Danjuuriin jio, Otoch Nyamiin münkholösön Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas, Buman Igeliiin jio, Zakhiragch Galsangiin münkholösön Lamiin chodwiin chogo, Zakhiragch Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas.

The National Central Archives houses 319 sources related to Sangain aimag. Its Manchu catalogue (M-115) contains 195 (or 197) texts dated between 1835-1911. According to its introduction the aimag (temple?) was firstly initiated in 1851. It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies. The aimag’s executives were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the doorkeeper, nyaraw, and the cook. 14 financial units belonged to the aimag, such as Avidiiin chogiiin jas, Mörpeleen Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas, Gelengiüüdiin jas, Naidangiin jas, Ikh Tangargiin...
jas, Janraisegiin nügnein jas, Dar ekhiin nügnein jas, Jasaa Mandalshiwaagiin jas, Morpeliiii Mönkh dültsengiin jas, + Dültsen Güngereg, Bumdorjiin jas (?) 150. Texts discuss mostly the incomes and expenses, and number of the livestock. There are registers about worshipping accessories (1887), as well as bulls and horses leased out, and accessories used on jasaa khural every year (1895). There is an announcement about the result of the debate of the Bogd and wan Dorjpalam when Wan Dorjpalam was defeated (1891). There is a leporello listing the Buryat lamas and that lamas who had been participating in ceremonies at Gandan (1908). There is a leporello on the recruitment of lamas as the number of datsan lamas had decreased (1911).

The catalogue (A-99) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 42 texts. Names of financial units as Günreg jas, Naidan jas, Dültsen jas, and Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas are mentioned in titles. There is a list of goods which were gained as profit on the leased out bulls (1912). An interesting text provides information about the decoration (yamba olokh) of the chief lama of the aimag called Puntsog, as khamba nomon khan. Further texts are about the incomes and expenses such as silken scarves, milk, airag, and other products, and agricultural fields (1916). As an interesting document there is a leporello ordering to make those lamas residents who firstly initiated the aimag temple of Sangai aimag, and to establish a religious school (khural nomiin surguul') (1917).

The catalogue (Kh-205) of the Modern Period contains 82 texts dated between 1925-1937. They were composed about the incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and leased out bulls of the aimag. There are lists of tea profit gained by work animals (ajliin mal) (1924), lists of expenses of ceremonies (1924), möngö of the nyaraw (1927). Goods which were sold to cover the costs of renovation of the aimag temple (1928) and to worship the buddhas (1928). A register contains the names and location (aimag, khoshuu) of the aimag’s herders of cattle (1930), while and another lists its artifacts and books (1931). A register about the participation of poor lamas in ceremonies (1927), and the a list of each lama of the aimag are also available (1936). There is a document levying military tax for lamas of the aimag (without date). There is a detailed register of aimag lamas (1926 or 1936), a withdrawal of the right of election from lamas of the aimag (1936), a list of each lama of the aimag (1936), and the costs of ceremonies (1937). Lamas, who knew Mongolian script, thus were able to teach were also recorded (without date).

The sculpture of Namsrai from Sangain aimag is presently kept in Gandan monastery (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist Conference, pp. 285-286.). According to O. Pürew, the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple covered with felt. There is a car garage on its site today (N 47° 55.748’, E 106° 55.010’). In this aimag 1000 lamas lived in 1855 and 317 in 1938.

13. Zoogoin(n) aimag

Zoogoin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: tso-gas), marked with letter TA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 32.). It was one of the first seven aimags of Örgöö. This aimag developed from the place where the dishes of Öndör gegeen were prepared. The aimag’s original name, Zoogiiin aimag (‘aimag of meal/dishes’) became distorted to Zoogoin aimag during the years. Its main tutelary deity was Chagsh Gombo (T. phyag bzhi mgon-po), the four armed Mahākāla and its main protectors were Gombo and Chagsh Lkham (T. phyag bzhi lha-mo), the four armed Črídeví (Gonchig’s manuscript says simply Lkham). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: İkh jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Dültsengiин jas, Dülbiin jas (?), 151 Dordüwiin jas, Ündesnii

150 Exact meaning unknown. T. ? ’bum rdo-rje. The names of the financial units mentioned in the catalogue are very similar to the financial units of Jasiin aimag.

151 Exact meaning unknown. T. ?
jas, Mönkh zuliiin jas, Tsogt sakhiusii jas,\textsuperscript{152} Gongor Namsrain jas, Danshigiin khangaliin jas, Derged(iin) sakhiusii jas, Gelen lam nariin jas. Instead of Dülbiin jas, Úndesnii jas, Mönkh zuliiin jas, and Gongor Namsrain jas the Manchu catalogue (M-109) refers to Tüntew jas\textsuperscript{153}.

The National Central Archives has 324 documents related to this aimag. The Manchu catalogue lists 170 texts dated between 1809-1911. According to its introduction the aimag, founded in 1651, had all in all 12 financial units. The following positions were fulfilled: chief lama, vice lama, chanting master, disciplinary master, shrinekeeper, offering preparer, vice offering preparer, bookkeeper, cook. The cattles of the aimag were herded by different herders, and from the herds cattles were leased out by interest. The first text lists the möngö which was lent by the aimag to certain people (1809). There are lists of herds and flocks of the fully-ordained lamas (gelen) of the aimag (1902, one of them is written in Tibetan, remark: lamas are not allowed to have properties according to the Vinaya), a list of sheep which were sold, a leporello which came to prohibit the setting up of private courtyards in the monastic areas (1902), and a leporello ordering to make way for Japanese executives who were going to Russia through Mongolia (1907).

The catalogue (A-100) of the Bogd khan’s reign contains 86 texts. Pogiin jas, Ganjuur jas, Khangal jas, and Dergediiin sakhiusii jas are mentioned in titles. Texts account the 3 kinds of animals of the aimag’s fully-ordained lamas (1911), ceremonies held by fully-ordained lamas, as well as the livestock on pastures in the east and west, and horse property of such places like the bondsmen (khamjilaga) of Gün lam, and Ekh dagina oto (1915). Further documents summarize the accessories, ornaments, and other equipment of the financial units (1918). There is a list of incomes gained at the occasion when Darkhan tsorjiin khuwilg aan Denbereldorj visited the aimag (1919, written in Tibetan). Expenses of Baatar wangiiin khushuu of Tüsheet khan aimag were listed in 1920 (written in Tibetan), and a contract was drawn with laymen to lease out cattles, and möngö. Lists of loans, flags, ceremonies, lamas, the livestock, etc. are available in the collection, too (1918, 1919).

The catalogue (SKh-209) of the Modern Period mentions 68 texts. All were compiled between 1921-1937. Name of some financial units are mentioned in titles such as Ganjuur jas, Ikh jas, Dergediiin jas, Sakhiius jas, Gelen lam nariin khuriin jas, Tsogt sakhiusii jas, Gongor Namsrain jas, and Dordowiin jas. There is a list which contains the price of felt, leather and livestock which were sold from the herds and flocks of Gelen lam nariin khural (1921). Cattles of the aimag were herded in the east and west. Lists of goods to worship on ceremonies required by fully-ordained lamas who lived in the aimag were written is 1921. Three kinds of animals of the fully-ordained lamas were counted in 1928. A document makes clear that the aimag rented an area with contract. There is a list of felt and cattle that were sold from the property of the fully-ordained lamas (1922). Offerings (örgö) to Dergediiin sakhius (1925), a data sheet registering the lamas (1934), a register of lamas who had turned 18 years of age (1936), a list with the status of lamas’ duties (tushaal), and money income of the financial unit (1936), and a data sheet of fulfilled positions and permanent ceremonies of the aimag (1937) are all available in the collection. Internal rules, names of lamas, registers of those lamas who were familiar with Mongolian script, incomes and expenses of financial units (without date) can be surveyed in the archives as well.

There is a register (Skh209/66) in the collection of the National Central Archives, which contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of

\textsuperscript{152} It is not clear who the expression ‘tsogt’ refers to.

\textsuperscript{153} Exact meaning unknown. T. ?
those 29 ceremonies which were regularly performed in the aimag temple in the 27th year (1937). The ceremonies were the following: Danshigiin khangal ceremony was held for 5 days from the 3rd of the middle winter month with the participation of about 100 lamas from the numerous lamas of the aimag. Lkham Namsrai sakhius were worshipped for a day on the 25th of the last winter month by about 100 lamas from the many lamas of the aimag. Dergediin khangal was held for at the end of the middle winter month by about 100 of the many lamas of the aimag. Lüibdem čog (T. bde-mchog lu’i yi-pa, Luyipa mahāsiddha’s tradition of Cakrasañvara) was held for a day on the 25th of the last winter month by 4 appointed lamas. Gal takhikh was held in the last winter month by 4 appointed lamas, without fix date. Khuuchin nom ceremony was held for a day on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of 10 lamas instead of the appointed 21. Tsedor Lkham was held for a day on the first day of the first spring month with the participation of about 100 lamas from the many lamas of the aimag. Yerööl was held for a day on the 14th of the first spring month with the participation of about 100 lamas from the many lamas of the aimag. Tsedor Lkham was held for a day on the first day of the first spring month with the participation of about 100 lamas from the many lamas of the aimag. Yerööl was held for a day on the 14th of the first spring month by about 20 lamas from the several. Tünkhia ceremony was held for a day on the 19th of the first spring month by all the expected 12 lamas. Šakhiusnii ündes, Dar’ ekhiin ündes (?) were held for 4 days in the middle spring month without fix date. Nimbidorj,154 Sandui Demchog, Denyog (?)155 Günreg, Manal (?)156 was held for 7 days in the middle spring month with the participation of all the expected 77 lamas. Daichud yerööl157 was held for a day on the 17th of the first summer month by 18 lamas of the aimag. A special ceremony158 was held for a day on the 16th of the middle summer month by all the expected 21 lamas. Demchog garwu ceremony was held for a day on the 4th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas. Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by about 50 lamas of the aimag’s lama community. Jangor düitsed ceremony (?)159 was held for a day on the 20th of the last summer month by 30 lamas of the aimag. Tümed sakhius was held for a day on the 21st of the last summer month by 56 lamas from the numerous lamas of the aimag. Gongor Namsrai ceremony was performed for a day on the 30th of the last summer month by about 20 of the numerous lamas. Lamiin chodwiin chogo was held for a day on the last autumn month by all the expected 8 lamas. Naïdan chogo was held on the 10th of the first autumn month (although its date is not determined) by all the 16 expected lamas. Sachog had been prepared for 7 days on the 12 of the first autumn month by all the expected 12 lamas. Dültsen was prepared for 7 days on the 19th of the first autumn month by all the expected 20 lamas. Jambaldorj (T. ‘jam-dpal rdo-rje, Skr. Vajra Mañjuśrī), Mintüüg, Ayuush, Sandui, Günregiin ündes ceremonies were held for 5 days in the first autumn month, when 77 lamas were expected to celebrate.160 Sakhiusnii ündes ceremony was held for two days in the last autumn month without prescribed date. 14 lamas were expected to come. Dar’ ekhiin ündes was held for a day in the last autumn month, too, and 21 lamas were expected to come. Nünnaï was performed for 3 days on the 22nd of the last autumn month, when 8 lamas were expected to come. Sakhiusnii dordow was held for 3 days in the first winter month without fix date. 20 lamas were expected to come. Ganjuur ceremony was held for a day in the first winter month, too, without prescribed date. Many lamas were expected to read. Lkham sakhiusnii tsogchid was held every month by 4 lamas. As it is clear from the text Dergediin khangal ceremony was held

154 Exact meaning unknown. T. ? rdo-rje
155 Exact meaning unknown. M. Dengyöö, T. ?
156 Probably Manal. M. yosil manglai, T. ? sman bla
157 Exact meaning unknown. M. Dayičud irigil, T. ?
158 Exact meaning unknown. T. Gedüngdoyibi-yin dungg,or (?), T. dge’- ‘dun ? stong-‘khor
159 Exact meaning unknown. M. jangg,or düing,ed (?), T. dkyil- ‘khor dus ?
160 After this ceremony there is no data about the number of participants.
in this aimag as well as Lamiin chodwiin chogo, Naidan chogo, Ündes, and Ganjuur ceremony. Jasaa consisted of 4 lamas, while bigger ceremonies were held by all the monks.

According to Pürew the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple covered with felt. It was situated where the University of Production and Art stands today (Üildwer urlagiin deed surguul’, N 47° 55.912’, E 106° 55.010’). In this aimag 1000 lamas lived in 1855 and 80 in 1938.

14. Dugariin aimag

Dugariin aimag (T. gdugs-dkar), marked with letter THA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 33.). The aimag was named after its main tutelary deity, Dugar (or Tsagaan shükert, T. gdugs dkar, Skr. Sitātapatrā). Its main protectors were Gombo and Damjan Choijil. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas, Dordüwiin jas.

The National Central Archives has 307 texts relevant to the operation of Dugariin aimag. The catalogue (M-104) of the Manchu period contains 156 titles dated between 1851-1911. It lists the following financial units: Ikh jas, Sakhiusnii or Khangaliin jas, Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas, Dorduwiin jas, Düütsen jas, Magtaal jas, Namsrain jas, Sanjid jas, and Günreg jas. The first text dated in 1851 is a list of herds and flocks of Sakhiusnii jas. There is a text of articles and materials of Namsrain san (1868), and the bulls of Düütsen jas, Magtaal jas and Khangal jas (1873) which were lent. There are lists of the livestock herded on northern pastures (1881, etc.) and southern pastures (1881), bulls which were lent (1884), felt and fat brought by herders (1891), profit on bulls leased out to someone (1894), the total expenses of the aimag (1905), and usual loans (1907). Tea loans with percent were recorded in 1911. Further lists are also available on the profit on livestock of the financial units, rental of the aimag’s agricultural field, residential lamas, and worshipping offerings. A document sent to the aimag requiring lamas as they were in lack in Yadgaachoijinlin datsan (1911).

The catalogue (A-101) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 57 texts. Sakhiusnii jas, Dugariin jas, and Ikh jas are mentioned in titles. Accessorries, equipment and decorations, property and tea lending activity in some ceremonies (1912), livestock in the northern and southwestern pastures are listed. There is a document about the nomination of Luwsantseren as da lam (1912) (Note: his name is not mentioned by Sereeter though he gives an account about all the da lamas (Ikh Khüree, pp. 132-143.). An order was issued to make the lamas’ ceremonies strengthen and to settle (aimaglakh) the subordinated people of Dariganga in Dugariin aimag (1912). There is a leporello about the capture and sentence of thieves who used to steal people’s properties (1918).

The catalogue (Kh-208) of the Modern Period contains 94 texts which were composed between 1921-1930. Texts are about Ikh jas and Sakhiusnii jas, herds and flocks herded in the north and southwest pastures, money of financial units coming in 1926 and 1927, and money income of ceremonies (1931). There is a register of that lamas of the aimag who had to pay military tax (1932). Calculations of the selling price of herds and flocks are also available (1933) in the catalogue. A data sheet surveyes the exact number of lamas who belonged to the aimag in 1934. Accessories, flour, tea, money and other goods to be sold were also listed (1934). There is a register about military tax to be collected from lamas of the aimag (1934), a list of money income and expenses of the aimag, and a contract about herding the livestock by contract (1935 and 1936). Registers of each lama of the aimag (1936), a list of annual permanent ceremonies (1937, see below), a register of all kinds of occupation (ajil töröl) that were fulfilled in the aimag (1937) and a contract of
herding the livestock of the financial unit (1937) are also available in the collection. There
is another register with the number of each lama together with their moveable and
immoveable properties (without date). As an interesting pieces of material there is a
register of that people who were sent to the election (without date, probable 1932) and a
document about the internal rules of Dugarin aimag (without date, probable 1925).

Among these texts the register (Kh208/73) containing the name, date and the
number of expected and appeared participants of the 14 ceremonies which were
permanently performed in the aimag temple before 1937 is the most significant. These
ceremonies were the following: Jasiin galiin takhilga took place on the 14th of the last
winter month by 4 appointed lamas. Dugarin ündes ceremony was held on the 25th of
the last winter month with the participation of all the expected 21 lamas. Khuuchin nom
recitation was held on the 29th of the last winter month by all the expected 12 lamas.
Tsedor Lkham recitation was performed on the 30th of the last winter month by 87 lamas
from the numerous aimag lamas. Yerööl ceremony was held for a day on the 14th of
the first spring month by 22 lamas from the numerous lamas of the aimag. Sakhius ceremony
was performed for two days from the 1st of the middle spring month. 174 lamas gathered
from the numerous lamas of the aimag. Magtaal was held for three days from the
10th of the middle spring month by 84 of the several lamas of the aimag. Jasaa Ganjuur
was held on the 8th of the first summer month by 65 from the many lamas of the aimag,
Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month with the
participation of 125 lamas of the aimag. Toniin ündes ceremony (?) was performed for 7
days from the 1st of the first autumn month by all the expected 51 lamas. Gombiin dorduw
was held for four days of the last autumn month as a jüd ritual. Danshig khangal was held
for four days from the 1st of the middle autumn month. Jamsran (Jödamba in the
document) was held for a day in the middle summer month by 60 lamas from the
numerous. Tsedew was held for a day in the middle summer month by 60 lamas from the
aimag. We can conclude that Dugarin ündes ceremony refers to Dugar, the main tutelary
deity of the aimag. Gombiin dorduw was dedicated to the main protector, Gombo. Ganjuur
was read which refers that Ganjuur was available in the aimag. There is no data about the
participants from the last autumn month, so the list had to be written before that time. 174
lamas were the most who came to celebrate, which shows the population of the aimag.

According to Pürew the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Narlag Hotel
stands on its site today (N 47 55.337', E 106° 55.039'). In this aimag 500 lamas lived in
1855 and 102 in 1938.

15. Choinkhorlin aimag

Choinkhorlin aimag (T. chos-’khor gling, ‘monastery of the wheel of Teaching’), marked
with letter SHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1877. As Sereeter claims (Ikh
Khüree, p. 34.), this aimag broke away from Mergen khambiin aimag. Its main tutelary
deity was Demchog lkhanaa (T. bde-mchog lha lnga, the five deities of Cakrasāvara) and
its main protector was Shalsh. According to Gonchig lama and the Bilgiin melmii article,
Jamsran was also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the aimag:
Ikh jas, Dorduwiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Khuuchin nomiin jas.

The National Central Archives has 45 documents related to Choinkhorlin aimag. Its
catalogue (M-120) from the Manchu period contains 10 texts dated between 1877-1908.
The catalogue’s introduction confirms that the aimag was established in 1877. It had
permanent and impermanent ceremonies. Its ranking lamas were the disciplinary master,

161 Exact meaning unknown. M. tono-yin üngdüsi, T. ? rgyud
the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the main and vice offering preparer and the cook (chief lama and vice lama seems to be omitted by chance). Dorduwiin jas is not mentioned in the introduction, but the above-mentioned other five are. The very first text is a register of offerings given by numerous aimags of Ikh Khüree and lay patrons to the smoke-offering ritual at the establishment of the aimag (1877). There is a document being sent to the aimag from the given khoshuu to determine and order to keep the rules and disciples of lamas who were responsible for the operation of the financial units (1880). A leporello was issued to forbid lamas to wander in the countryside and trade in the market (1895). Lamas who gathered together on ceremonies were listed in 1908. A leporello was issued to forbid lamas to wander in the layquarters, and to depart to the countryside without asking for permission, or to return in late, to live together with a woman, and to forbid daughters and wives of a laymen to wear red or yellow cloths (robes), and to strictly protect the rules and traditions of the Yellow Sect (1902).

Choinkhorlin aimag’s catalogue (A-102) from the Bogd khaan’s period contains 12 texts. They are mainly supervisions of the livestock from the 5-9th year (1915), and the total (1915), three (1915, 1916, twice in 1917, 1921) or four kinds (1918, 1919, 1920) of animals of the aimag. However, there is a text about necessaries of ceremonies, interruption and coming of incomes and expenses (1912).

Choinkhorlin aimag’s catalogue (SKh-225) of the Modern Period contains 23 texts dated between 1921-1937. They mainly focus on incomes and expenses, property, herds and flocks of the aimag, or that of financial units as Sakhiusnii jas, Ikh jas and Baga jas. There is a list registering every lama and people belonging to the aimag (1934), while another one list only lamas (1934). A register of the lamas who had paid military tax was also compiled and a document about the forecast of incomes and expenses of the financial unit, and a description of the staff were also prepared (1933-37).

Dashtseren lama belonged once to Choinkhorlin aimag, which had a square-shaped wooden temple building. The temple abbot (or aimag head) lived in his own yurt. The aimag had an abbot (head), a tsorj or lowon, 2 chanting master, 2 disciplinary master, a cashier, and a bookkeeper.

According to Pürew, the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. However, Dashtseren lama said that the aimag had a square-shaped temple building. The present School No. 3. (10n jiliin 3-r dund surguul’) on Ikh toiruu stands on its site today. (N 47°55.771’, E 106°55.150’). In this aimag 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 30 in 1938.

16. Mergen khambiin aimag or Khambiin aimag
Khambiin aimag (T. mkhan-po), marked with letter DA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd. As Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 35.), its founder was mergen khamba (‘wise abbot’) Baitaw or Baidüw, who was one of the seven great khutagts of the subordinated areas. Choinkhorlin aimag separated from this aimag in 1877. Its main tutelary deity was Chagsh Janraiseg (T. phyag bzhi spyan-ras gzig, the four armed Avalokiteśvara) and its main protector was Gombo. More correctly, according to the Bilgiin melmii article, Chagsh Gombo, the four-armed emanation of Mahākāla, and Shalsh, the four-faced emanation of Mahākāla were worshipped here. Gonchig simply says Gombo and Shalsh. The following financial units belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Zuiliin jas, Ündesnii jas, Nünnain jas.

To study the administration of this aimag 165 texts are at the researchers’ disposal in the National Central Archives. The catalogue (M-112) of the Manchu period contains

162 For further information on him see Dashbadrakh, D. Mongoliin khutagtuuđii namtriin oilloogo /XVII-XX zuun/, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 167.
120 texts composed between 1803-1911. Its introduction says that the first initiation of the aimag is unknown. It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies. The financial units were supported from the alms of donators and the aimag had its own incomes and expenses. Its ranked lamas were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the nyaraw, and the offering preparer. At least four financial units surely belonged to the aimag such as Ikh jas, Ganjuur jas, Zuliin jas, and Nügnein jas. There are a lot of texts about herds and flocks, progeny of the livestock, gaining of flour, wheat, felt and leather. The first text originates from 1803 counting the livestock. A list of felt, fat, milk, and leather is available from 1869. A leporello came about the proper wearing of special ceremonial robes (1896), and another one laid the base of compiling accounts (1897). In 1900 a leporello was issued to forbid the settlement of private courtyards in the monastic district, while another one was issued to capture and draw under discipline the lamas who set up yurts or built courtyards in the layquarters (khoroo kharchuud), or wandered in paradeous robes. A leporello was issued in 1908 in order to make those lamas sit to ceremonies who instead of participation used to make disruptive quarrels, and a command of the Bogd also came to punish the disturbance of peace (1909). There is a text about the private livestock of Mergen khamba lam (1909). A leporello ordered to send lamas to the newly established datsan, and have children sit in the monastic district to widespread Buddhism (1911).

The catalogue (A-103) of the Bogd khaan’s period reflects 24 text. Some of them was written in Tibetan script. There are texts about the four kinds of animals of the aimag, and the three kinds of animals of Mergen khamba lam’s treasury (1918). Documents prohibiting hazard games, drinking alcohol, smoking, and entertainment with women were issued in 1913 and 1916.

The catalogue (SKh-218) of the Modern period lists 21 texts dated between 1922-1937. There is a diplomatic letter (khariltssan bichig) by the Erdene Shanzodwa addressed to the abbot and the informer (medeechin) of the aimag (1922), and two texts about Dalai khamba lam’s artifacts, stūras, objects of worship, robes, book coverings, etc. (1924, 1926). A list of lamas of the aimag (1934), and a register of permanent ceremonies that were held in the year (1937) are also kept in the collection. The latest one (Kh218/18) contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of those 12 ceremonies which were regularly performed in the aimag temple. The text was written on the 22nd of the 9th month of the 27th year, i.e. 1937.

According to the source, Düitsen unshlaga was held on the 25th of the last winter month by all the appointed 4 lamas. Khuchin nom ceremony was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 9 lamas from the expected 26. Tsedor Lkham ceremony was held on the 30th of the last winter month with the participation of 18 lamas instead of the expected 26. Yerööl ceremony was held on the 14th of the first spring month with the participation of 11 lamas from the expected 26. Magtual ceremony was held on the 12th of the middle spring month with the presence of 9, 12, 18 (all the three numbers are written under each other) lamas from the expected 26. Jadalarslasai ceremony was held on the 12th of the last spring month by all the 4 appointed lamas. Sojintoi Manal was held on the 8th of the first summer month by all the 4 appointed lamas. Ündes ceremony was held on the 10th of the first summer month by the presence of 8, 12, 21 lamas (all the three numbers are written under each other) from the expected 26. Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month by 13 from the expected 26 lamas. Danshig khangal

163 The ceremony commemorating Tsongkapa is always held on the 25th of the middle winter month. Supposedly there is a mistake in the present text.

164 Exact meaning unknown. M. jidaraslasai, T. ?
sakhius ceremony was held on the 3rd of the middle winter month.165 Dörwön tsagin nünnaï, i.e. 4 seasons fasting practice could not be take place in this year due to the poverty of its financial unit. Jasaa Sakhius ceremony was held every month with the participation of the appointed 2 lamas.

There is no reference to everyday ceremony. Jasaa Sakhius ceremony was held every month by 2 lamas. Nünnaï fasting ceremony was originally held seasonly but was not held in 1937 having not enough property of its treasury. Usually 26 lamas were expected to visit the ceremonies which reflects the total number of aimag lamas. However, 4-18 lamas participated in ceremonies.

According to Pürew, the aimag had a felt yurt temple and he also states that presently Kameleon Centre (Khameleon töw) stands on its site today, thus the exact place cannot be identified. In this aimag 400 lamas lived in 1855 and 12 in 1938.

17. Biziyaagiin aimag

Bizyaagisin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: be-za-ya, Sanskrit origin: Vijayā, T. rnam rgyal-ma), marked with letter NA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1750. Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 36.) that its initiator was Darkhan gün Möngö, the zasag noble of Tüsheet Khan aimag. The aimag was named after its main tutelary deity, Biziyaa or Jügder/Jügdor namjil (T. gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal, Skr. Udravijayā), and its main protector was Gombo. The following financial units belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Danshigiin khangal jio.

28 texts are preserved in the collection of the National Central Archives relevant to this aimag. There is no data from the Manchu period. The catalogue (A-104) of the Bogd Khan’s reign contains five texts dated between 1914-1919. They are about the artifacts and ceremonial accessories of the aimag (1914), catering (manz) of its Khangal ceremony (1914), the three kinds of animals belonging to the aimag (1918), the costs of sacrificial cake offerings (1912), and incomes and expenses of the treasury (1919). The catalogue (Kh-198) of the Modern Period lists 23 texts dated between 1921-1938. Among them there are registers of the aimag’s incomes and expenses (1921), livestock, property, lamas (1931), and donations (1935). A very detailed (77 pages) register of lamas of the aimag was prepared in 1937. A list, composed in 1938, makes clear the incomes and expenses of the aimag.

According to Pürew, this aimag had a felt yurt temple. The National Sports University, Oyun College and Khan-uu College (situated in the same building) on Ikh toiruu stand on its site today. (N 47° 55.736’, E 106° 55.124°). 300 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 43 in 1938.

18. Khüükhen noyonii aimag or Noyonii aimag

Noyonii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: no-yon-ni), marked with letter PA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651. Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, 9. 37.) that, as one of the first seven aimags of Örgöö, this aimag was founded on the initiation of Öndör gegeen’s wife (gergiï), Khüüken noyon, the noble lady. Its main tutelary deity was Demchig/Demchog Ikhanaa and its main protector was Gongor, the White Mahākāla. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Dordowiin jas, Ur’dakh arwanii Magtaaliin jas, Khoidokh arwanii Magtaaliin jas.

Considering this aimag 206 texts can be surveyed in the National Central Archives. The catalogue (M-118) of the Manchu period describes 115 texts which are relevant to the operation of the aimag. Although the aimag was established in 1651, the texts are dated

165 No data about the number of lamas.
between 1867-1911. The aimag had permanent and impermanent ceremonies. Apart from the above-mentioned financial unit names the catalogue adds Mairad jas, and Naidan jas. In the beginning the operation of the aimag was based on four financial units which covered the costs of ceremonies. The ranked lamas of the aimag were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the main and vice offering preparer, and the cook. 10-10 courtyards of the resident lamas of the aimag was governed by a leader (darga). This system operated without change till 1911. The financial units leased out working animals, bulls, and camels with interest. The first source in the collection is an inventory of sculptures, books and accessories (1867). Leporellos forbidding the lamas to visit the layquarters (1873), and to wander and play domino there (1874) were issued. A leporello enlists the lamas who had been participated in ceremonies (1874). Another one orders to call back the lamas who went to the countryside without permission and did not returned, and to keep and prevent ceremonies from any interruption (1876). A leporello sentenced the lamas who had thrown the officer of the Russian Consulate by stones, and stopped the ravage of lamas who started to form groups (1878). A leporello instructed women not to wander in monastic sites and determined the order of their visits for official tasks or worship (1887). Another one stopped lamas’ turbulence, playing of various games, wearing of paradeous robes, and other affairs which were incompatible with the religious tradition, such the formation of groups (1890). A leporello came about the debate of Wan Dorjpalam and the Bogd in 1891, and another one which ordered to increase the number of lamas participating in ceremonies dedicated to the health of the Bogd, and ordered the financial units to finance the ceremonies (1894). A leporello was issued to stop lamas trading, quarreling, and fighting in the layquarters (1895). There is a document about the collection of leather of the died livestock of the financial units (1898). A leporello came to order the high-ranking lamas to wear their honorific robes and equipment permanently (1898). Leporellos forbidding the useless wandering of lamas in layquarters (1902), and on people’s disapproval in connection with paying the costs of Zankhan süm’s building dedicated to Luwsankhaidaw, the brother of the Bogd (1901), were issued as well as a command to stop otrading, quarells, throwing official people by stones (1908), to make strengthen the vows of lamas (1908 and 1909) were also issued in the beginning of the 20th century. Number and names of the resident lamas of the aimag, who participated in the ceremonies and who went to the countryside were recorded in 1908. Necessaries of worshipping the buddhas (burkhan takhil), incomes and expenses of the financial units, and alms offered by people were listed in 1908. In 1909 a leporello came to draw the attention to conflagration. In 1911 it was ordered to add young children to the newly established temple (Idgaachoinzinlin datsan) considering the small number of its lamas. There is also a summery of the aimag’s incomes and expenses (1911). A document, without date, orders the lamas to live in accordance with religious traditions, and to keep strictly their religious vows. It forbade (tseer) to wear paradeous robes in public places, and asked young children to join the newly established temple due to the small number of its lamas. Most probably it was issued in 1911, too.

The catalogue of the Bogd khaan’s reign (A-105) contains 64 texts 1919 (?) -1928 (?). Financial units like Dordowin jas, Magtaalin jas, Arawnain jas are mentioned. There is an interesting text written in Tibetan, about the officers (tūshmel) of the aimag (1913), a document coming from the khamba nomon khan, the erdene shanzodwa, and the da lam seriously prohibit the lamas to play domino, cards, chess, football, to curse and swear (khararal khelekñ). It also ordered the restoration of statues, the wearing of shawl (orkhimj) and proper robes on ceremonies (1913). The erdene shanzodwa, and the da lam sent a letter to the four aimag executives (chuulgan darga) and to the heads of all the subordinated monasteries (tushaasan bichig) to supervise the nobles, officers, assemblies.
and lamas of their territories (1915). There is a documents in the collection exempting the subordinated people (shaw’ nar) from relay-station service (örtöö), sentry duty (kharuul), and military services (tsereegiin alban), and to make them participate in religious affairs. A text talks about the exemption from loans and leasings costs (1916). The Erdene Shanzawiin Yaam issued a command to stop the use of the letters of the Tibetan alphabet as branding irons, and to prevent Gandantegchenlin kхийд from fire danger, theft, and to prescribe Dambachoimi molom\(^\text{166}\) to be recited every day in every monastery and monastic complex (1916, 1918).

The catalogue (Kh-221) of the Modern period contains 27 texts dated between 1921-1937. It contains texts describing the financial position and the livestock of the aimag. There is a text about the increasing rights of progression oppose lamas (1922). A source says that a 15 chin agricultural field being from Tüsheet khan aimag’s pastures was given to the aimag for 15 years (1924). A document about the livestock and mөngө dedicated to the renovation of the aimag was written in 1926. Registers of the lamas (1928, 1936-1937) are also available.

According to Pүrew, the aimag had a yurt-shaped temple building (p. 19.). The present building of Öнөөdөör Newspaper’s Office, known as Ardiin Erkh (after another newspaper which had its office there previously), stands on its site today. (N 47° 55.732’, E 106° 55.257’). In this aimag 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 27 in 1938.

19. Darkhan emchiin aimag

Darkhan emchiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: dar-hang ‘em-chi), marked with letter PHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as one of the first seven aimags. Sereeter claims that this aimag was founded for a honorable Tibetan doctor (emch), who was invited by Öndөr gegeen (Ikh Khүree, p. 38.). Its main tutelary deity was Düizechalba/Dü dziichilba (T. bdud-rtsi dkyil-ba’khyil-pa, ‘Amrita Pooler’) and its main protectors were Gürdagwa (T. gu-ru drag-po, ‘Wrathful Guru’) and Gombo. According to Gonchig lama, Tsamba was also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Dültsengiin jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Sakhiusnii jas. According to Dendew (Nawaan, Öwgөn Dendew, p. 11.), who also claims that the aimag was named after a very famous doctor, some of his famous medicine (mankhagtai em, T. sman khug, ‘medicine bag’) hung in a bag from the smoke hole of the yurt-shaped temple of the aimag.

About this aimag 191 texts are kept in the National Central Archives’ collection.

The Manchu catalogue (M-102) contains 159 titles dated between 1799-1909. Its introduction confirms that the aimag was firstly initiated in 1651. All its four financial units had their ceremonies, incomes and expenses. Later, Pogiiin jas was also formed as it is clear from texts. Ranking lamas in the aimag bore the titles of chief lama, vice lama, chanting master, disciplinary master, offering preparer, bookkeeper, and cook. The very first text is a notification of loans which the aimag received from others (1799). There is a nomination of leaders (darga) as heads of every ten courtyards of the aimag (1833). Registers about the accessories of Ikh jas (1842, 1844), the livestock and progeny of the four kinds of animals belonging to the aimag, a notification of sacrificial cake offerings, dedicated to the ceremony of Gombiin dordow (1883) were issued. A leporello contains the names of that people who rented bulls from the aimag (1894). A list of horses and sheep of Pogiiin jas (1908), the flour, wheat, fat, meat, and other products which were sold for religious purposes are also available in the collection (1909).

The catalogue (A-106) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 13 titles. Beside the texts of the 3 kinds of animals of the aimag and its Ikh jas, there is a document about the

\(^{166}\) Exact meaning unknown. T. dam-pa chos ? smon-lam
costs of various ceremonies of the aimag (1915). The catalogue (SKh-214) of the Modern period contains 19 texts dated between 1922-1939. Besides incomes and expenses, herds and flocks there are registers, such that one containing the tax share of lamas of the aimag (1933). There is a source about the ceremonies of the aimag (1935), and a last register of lamas and other people who belonged to Darkhan emchiin aimag (1931-1939). It is interesting that its final date is 1939.

According to Pürew, the aimag had a wooden square shaped temple building. The Customs Bureau (Gaaliin yerönkhii gazar) east of the present Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery, on the right, stands on its site today. (N 47° 55.692', E 106° 55.257'). 400 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 99 in 1938.

20. Erkhem toinii aimag

Erkhem toinii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: ‘er-khem), marked with letter BA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated after 1737 during the reign of the 2nd Bogd according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 39.). He claims that Rampildorj, the third son of Tsembeldorj, a zasag noble from Tüsheet khan aimag, became a lama in 1737, a decade after inheriting his father’s charge, which he could not fill anymore as he became ill. When he became a lama his name changed to Danzanyarimpil. He unified the tutelary deities in the lineages inherited from his uncle, Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, his grandfather Sijir and his father Tsembeldorj, and established a temple. The 2nd Bogd awarded him the title of Erkhem toin and named his temple Erkhem toinii aimag’s temple. The aimag’s main tutelary deity was Dorjpagam (T. rdo-rje phag-mo, Skr. Vajravārāhī) and the main protector was Tsambashadag/ Tsambashidag (T. tshangs-pa gzhi bdag ?). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Tsogiin jas, Sanduin jas, Nünnain jas, Garawchogchidiin jas, Günreg Mintügwaagiin jas, Olon khuwragiin jas, Mönkh zuliin jas. At the beginning of the 20th century, it had about 300-400 lamas and more than ten small financial units such as Sanduin jas and Nünnain jas. According to Oyuunbileg (Tüükh soyol, p. 265.), the wooden yurt-shaped temple was built in 1778. During the reign of the 5th Bogd it had about 300 lamas.

The National Central Archives owes 473 documents related to this aimag. The Manchu catalogue (M-123) contains 383 texts dated between 1796-1911. Ikh jas and Mönkh nügnein jas surely belonged to the aimag. In the west and north there were pastures. The aimag leased out bulls to others. The pastures of Mönkh nügnein jas were situated near Tuul River. The first text from the Manchu period is a supervision of the livestock’s progeny and loss (1796). There is a list of leaders of the ten courtyards (1823), a list of möngö and tea which were under the responsibility of Rentsen, Galsanchoimbol, and Lkhasüren nyaraws in 1825. Artifacts and accessories were listed in 1825, sculptures and pictures of buddhas and books in 1838, golden and silver objects, ornaments, decoration and other equipment in 1849. There is a document prescribing the proper distribution of dishes to high-ranked lamas, lay officers (tüshmed), and ordinary lamas. A document says that the Yonzon lam gave initiation (wan) in this aimag in 1863. There is an invitation to the young Bogd to visit the aimag, and a determination of ceremonic rules to be follow by lamas and nobles (1876). A leporello was written on the quarrel about loans among people (1890), and a register of lamas residing inside and outside the aimag (1900) is available, too. A list of offerings dedicated to the proper rebirth of Baldandorj¹⁶⁷ (1898), and a list of properties inherited from the deceased ones of the aimag to develop ceremonies and religious life (1901) are sources from the turn of the century.

The catalogue (A-107) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 34 texts. There is an

¹⁶⁷ He had to be a high-ranking lama of the aimag.
interesting text, written in Tibetan, about the various books that the aimag bought (1911). A list, written in Tibetan script as well, includes tea loans, firewood and coal of Khangalin jas of the aimag (1913). Necessaries of ceremonies and worship, number of livestock progeny, and lamas participating in Khailan ceremony (1921) were listed, too. A document without date describes the families and areas (otog khoshuu) which sent lamas to Erkhem toinii aimag.

The catalogue (TsKh-227) of the Modern Period describes 51 texts dated between 1921-1937. They are mainly about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, and horses and camels of the aimag or its Ikh jas. However, there is a text encountering the incomes and expenses spent on the renovation of the temple, its top ornament (ganjir), and its courtyard (1926). Costs of the renovation of the aimag temple and offering hall (? belgiin örgöö) were recorded in 1929. Religious accessories (1930), lamas of the aimag who had to pay military tax (1933), each lama of the aimag (1934 and 1936), costs of permanent annual ceremonies (without date), executives (erkh barigchid) of the aimag, and lamas living in Khüree and familiar with Mongolian script (1936) were listed in the 1930s. A register of permanent ceremonies of the aimag was composed in 1937.

It (TsKh227/48) contains the name, date and the number of participants expected and appeared on the more than 23 ceremonies which were yearly performed in the aimag temple. These recitation of Jasaa Pagam ceremony held for one-one day on the 10th and 28th of every month by 6 appointed lamas, Khuuchin nom with special Sakhius reading for a day on the 29th of the last winter month by 20 appointed lamas. Tsedor Lkham’s recitation was held on the first day of the spring month with the participation of 50 lamas from the expected 110. Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl was performed on the 14th of the first spring month by all the 20 lamas who were expected to come. Jasaa Magtaal was recited for four days from the 20th of the first spring month. 40 lamas from the expected 100 participated in the ceremony. Jasaa Tümét sakhius recitation was performed for a day on the 15th of the middle spring month. From the 100 expected lamas 45 appeared. Jasaa Manaliin chogo was recitation was performed on the 8th of the first summer month for a day with the participation of all the expected 40 lamas who were expected. Jasaa Awdiin donchid was held for a day on the 15th of the first summer month by all the expected 40 lamas. 8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was recited for a day on the 17th of the first summer month by 30 lamas from the expected 35. Jasaa Tümét sakhius recitation was held for a day on the 15th of the middle summer month by 45 lamas from the expected 100. Pagma yadamiin sachog (T. sa mchog) was performed on the 7th of the middle summer month by 10 appointed lamas while Pagma yadamiin dültson chogo ceremony was held by all the 20 expected lamas. Dültson taslakh ritual was performed on its next day when the sand maðala was demolished by 50 lamas from the expected 110. Ganjuur recitation was performed for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by 30 lamas from the expected 60. Gongor Namsrai sakhius ceremony took place for a day on the 30th of the last summer month by 25 from the expected 50 lamas. Jasaa Tümét sakhius ceremony was held for a day on the 15th of the middle autumn month by 25 from the expected 100 lamas. Jasaa Jasiin dallaga Düünkhor recitation was held for a day in the last autumn month. Its day was undetermined and 12 lamas were expected to come. 8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was read for a day on the 3rd of the first winter month. 10 lamas were expected to come. Bogd lamiin düitsen yerööl was recited for a day on the 25th of the first winter month. 10 lamas were expected to come. Gongserborlekh yonzon khambiin düitsen yerööl was recited for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by 30 lamas from the expected 60.

168 The texts indicates the duration of ceremonies lasting for 1 day as well as lasting for more days.
169 Düünkhor has an attribute, the meaning of which is unknown. M. lüngdayaw-graph, T. ?
170 The number of participants of the following ceremonies are not indicated.
171 Exact meaning unknown. M. g.ongserborlekü. T. ?
day on the 7th of the middle winter month. 20 lamas were expected to come. Danshigiin khangal, which was a ceremony for several sakhius, was held for 5 days in the middle winter month. Its exact date was not determined and 100 lamas were expected to come. 7-r bogdīn düitsen yerööl unshlaga was held on the 12th of the middle winter month. 20 lamas were expected to come. Jasaar Tümet sakhius recitation was held on the 15th of the middle winter month when 100 lamas were expected to come.

Pagam yadam was the main tutelary deity of the aimag. Her sand mačula was prepared by lamas in summer. Jasaar Tümet sakhius recitation was held every season on the 15th of the middle month. Ganjuur recitation was held which indicates that the volumes of the Ganjuur were available in the aimag. In some cases 110 lamas were expected but at most 50 lamas came to ceremonies.

400 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 37 in 1938. Its wooden yurt-shaped temple survived the purges. According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 114.), during the purges, it was decided around the 10th of the first summer month in 1938, that all the intact sculptures, artifacts, books and other belongings from the datsans, temples and aimag temples throughout the country, were to be collected and transported to a central storage place. So it was that, for over a year, carts and wagons delivered a stream of religious objects to the three remained aimag temples, namely that of Erkhem toinii aimag, Ekh Daginiin aimag (see below) and Wangain aimag (see below), and their courtyards until a decision on their fate was finally decided: the piles of objects were either kept and transported to museums, annihilated, burnt or transported to Russia for other uses.

Thus, the temple building of Erkhem toinii aimag survived and was used as a storage of the nearby Circus, which was operating in the remained temple of Ekh Daginiin aimag. The temple building is now used as the Temple of the Protector deities (Sakhiusnii dugan) of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery (N 47° 55.657’, E 106° 55.247’).

21. Ekh daginiin aimag

Ekh daginiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: er-he tā-ki-ni (?), marked with letter A of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1903 according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 40.). Several books contain sporadic data about it. Rinchen marked this aimag temple separately on his map (R-926) even though it was one of the 30 aimag temples and he did not mark the others. Sereeter claims that in 1903 the 8th Bogd founded the last of the 30 aimags, called Ekh daginiin aimag in honour of his wife, Dondogdulam. She was given the following honorific names or titles: Achlalt noyon in 1890, Erdene tsetsen/setsen noyon in 1905 and Ulsiin Ekh dagina (‘the mother dākini of the country’) in 1911. Consequently, this aimag was also known variously as the aimag of Achlalt noyon, the aimag of Erdene tsetsen noyon and the aimag of Ekh dagina in order. The main tutelary deities of the aimag were Jadar and Jüdenee/ Jüdenaa or Jigdor jüdenaa/ Jigdor jüdenee. (T. kye-rdor rgyud sde lnga) Its main protector was Jamsran, though Gonchig lama’s list says it was Jigjid, who, according to the Bilgii melmii article (15/57 February 2005, p. 3.), was also worshipped here similarly to Gombo. According to Oyuunbileg (Tüükh soyol, p. 265.), about 1,000 lamas gathered here to worship Choinkhor deity (T. chos-’khor, Skr. Dharmacakra). Pozdneev claims (Mongols, p. 52.) that 830 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 40.) 52 lamas lived here in 1938. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Öndör gegeenii jas, Dordowiin jas, Ekh daginiin sakhiusnii jas, Shambaliin jas.

Dendew (Nawaan, Öwgön Dendew, p. 42.) accounts that when the Ekh daginiin aimag was founded, many talented masters were gathered to create the three-dimension mačula palace (loilan or loilon, T. blos bslangs) of Kālacakra (Dūinkhorīn loilon, T. dus-’khor blos bslangs). Tsogtζandezan tζorj was responsible for its creation, working together
with Tawkhai bor from Anduu nariin aimag, Chülemsüren from Wangain aimag, Dugarjaw from Shüteenii aimag, layman Lojoo, Tsagaan Jamba from Sangain aimag and others. The loilan’s measure was 20 chii (1 chii = 32 cm) in each side. At the top of its main temple the small masterpiece of the Prajñāpāramita sūtra in Eight Thousand Verses (Jadamba) made by Shagj was placed. This huge Kālacakra relief image or three-dimension maōdala for meditation was displayed in a building in this aimag, presumably in a temple located behind the main yurt-shaped temple. According to B. Daajaw, this large white temple building where it was displayed was called Burkhadiin oron (‘the palace of the deities’). There was also a wooden carving of Shambala (Shambaliin khot), the mythical realm in the temple. There are some photos of this Düinkhor loilan in the Film Archives (Box 93: 24057, 24024, 24055, 24058). According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 40.) other buildings, which also can be seen on Jügder’s painting, were also situated here, including Öndör gegeenii süm (‘the Temple of Öndör gegeen’), Baruun lawran tugdum/tugdam (‘the Western yurt palace’), and Khoit ikh nogoon lawran (‘the big green northern palace’).

196 documents are kept in the National Central Archives about this aimag. The catalogue (M-124) of the Manchu period contains 44 texts about Erdene ssetsen noyonii aimag, dated between 1884 and 1911. Ganjuur jas, Dültsen jas, and Öndör gegeenii jas are mentioned in titles. The first text is about the incomes and expenses of ceremonies (1884). Other texts talk mainly about herds and flocks that were herded on eastern and western pastures. There is a register on möngö, tea, and other offerings dedicated to the establishment of the temple building (süm) in 1903. A list of möngö and profit on the livestock gained from subordinated families (otog) (1904), and a list of incomes and expenses of the aimag to be paid to Maidar, Lamrim and other monastic schools in 1910 are also available in the collection. A command was issued in 1908 to stop and prohibit the aversion of religion and ceremonies, and the fight with Chinese. A summary of the livestock of the jases and that of the khamba nomon khan together with names and number of their herders were recorded in 1908. A document coming from the Erdene shanzaw prohibited the mixture of lamas and women in the monastic district, and any kind of resistant (zörchid) (1910). Drawing attention for the prevention of the temple from conflagration came in 1909 as well as a call of each lama to appear in ceremonies in the aimag temple (1909).

The catalogue (A-108) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 66 texts. Financial units as Öndör bogdiin jas, Deed sakhiusnii jas, Dültsen jas, and Ikh jas are mentioned in titles. There are lists containing möngö, tea, and other offerings given by devotees in the countryside Baruun Khüree, to create Düinkhorin loilon in the capital city (1913). A list contains the value, in tea of offerings which were offered by lamas and laymen at the consecration of Düinkhorin loilon (1913). Furthermore, there is a register about the foundation of the Loilon temple listing the accessories and religious implements of Düinkhor burkhan (1913). A document summerizes the livestock which was dedicated to the initiation of the separate Düinkhorin loilon jas by the subordinated areas (shaw’) and the four aimags (1914). Thus, from these titles it is clear that the loilon was created in 1913, sponsored by the Ikh shaw’ areas. A separate temple was built to house it and a separate financial unit was founded from the support of the four aimags and the Ikh shaw’ areas. There is a document in the archives prescribing the non-stop recitation of Banzragch, Nogoon Dar’ ekh, and other holy texts in (1914). A leporello lists the necessities of the ceremony being held for the longevity of the Ekh Dagina (1915). Offerings of devotees were also listed, and orders of the punishment of that ones who were wearing lewd cloths (1915) are also available. Another document mentions the moving of the temple of Düinkhorin loilon, the repair of the image of Ekh Dagina, and prohibition
the usage of letters of the Tibetan alphabet in branding irons (1917). The livestock of the aimag was herded on the east and west. The accessories of the temple were listed in 1920. The catalogue (SKh-226) of the Modern Period contains 85 texts dated between 1922-1937. They discuss mostly on the progeny of the livestock, incomes and expenses, möngö with interest, and felt quantity of the aimag. In 1922 names of the stablemen who were responsible for the horses (unakh joroo alag züsiin mor’) of the Bogd, the Ekh Dagina and Manzshir khutagt were registered as well as each lama of the aimag. Some documents were written in 1923 concerning the building of temples, planning of pictures and drafts, necessities of the army, and other administrative and financial issues. In 1923 a register of lamas of the aimag living in the countryside was conducted, too. Incomes and expenses, artifacts, books, golden and silver equipment were registered in 1926. Summaries by the bookkeepers were composed in 1931. There is a document on the internal rules and duties written in 1935. Ranked lamas (1935), and each lama of the aimag were registered in 1931, 1934, 1936.03.17.–1936.12.28, 1937.02.21.– 1937.03.20.

The operation of the wooden yurt-shaped aimag temple was closed in 1938. The building was not burnt during the purge but was used as a circus from 1940. Its wooden yurt-shaped temple building survived, but has been re-built and refurbished many times. Today it is used as the Circus College (N 47° 55.609', E 106°55.177', elevation 1325 m) situated on the right of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery, near Baga toiruu, Sükhbaatar düüreg, 8th khoroo.

22. Wangai(n) aimag

Wangain aimag (Tibetan transliteration: wang-gas), marked with letter MA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1757 as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 42.). Zorigt wan Sanzaidorj, a zasag noble from Tüsheet khan aimag, established a temple in Khüree in 1740. The 2nd Bogd accepted it as a real aimag in 1757 with the name Wangin aimag or Wan guain aimag (‘aimag of the prince’), as it had been initiated by a person with the jün wan rank. Later, its name became pronounced in a distorted form, so it became known as Wangain aimag. The main tutelary deities of the temple were Ochirwaan’ and Dorjnamjim (T. rdo-rje rnam-joms, Skr. Vajravidhāra). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Naidangiin jas, Düdbiin jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Tsanidiin jas, Ikh Dar’ ekhiin jas, Dar’ ekhiin baga jas, Jasaa Gürmiin jas, Namsrain dordowiin jas, Gawj nariin Günregiin jas. According to the Manchu catalogue (M-100) of the aimag it had 12 financial units. To the above-mentioned ones the following should be add: Dordowiin jas, Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas, Dültsemiin jas, Namjomiin jas, Yadam Dorjnamjiliin jas (probably Dorjnamjim).

The National Central Archives owes 91 documents related to Wangain aimag. The Manchu catalogue (M-100) includes 57 texts related to the aimag. They are dated between 1819-1908. The introduction of the catalogue says that the date of foundation of the aimag is unknown. It had its own livestock, incomes and expenses. The very first text is a list of möngö which was lent to others (1819). There is a list about the tea property which was lent with percent by Dordowiin jas (1874), and another one which contains the name and paying percent on tea which was lent at Magtaal ceremony (1873). A list of tea donations (1882), and tea which was lent at Yadam Dorjnamjiliin chogo (correctly Dorjnamjim) and by Dültsemi jas (1886) are also listed. As an interesting material there is a register clarifying the incomes dedicated to the correction of the Danjuur (1890). Offerings in Buman Dar’

---

172 Text No. 2. is surely dated in 1922. The date of text No. 1. is not known by the author.
ekh ceremony (1891), expenses of Gongoriin bumba ceremony (1892), necessaries of offerings of Noyontii ikh shüteen (1903.10.08) were also recorded. Stallions and flocks of Yadam Dorjnamjiliin jas were recorded in 1904. A list of möngö and tea which were lent to others with percent (1910), and a leporello on herders, and resident lamas of the aimag, and the lamas who belonged to Dashchoimbel datsan have remained in the collection, too (text without date).

The catalogue (A-109) of the Bogd khaan’s period lists 12 texts, mainly on the livestock, incomes and expenses. There is a list of the aimag’s artifacts, accessories, and other properties (1916), and a leporello counting the lamas with gelen and getsel vows (1920). The catalogue (Kh-200) of the Modern period contains 22 titles dated between 1921-1937. There are lists of incomes and expenses, herds and flocks. Artifacts and other accessories of the aimag were listed again in 1921. There is a long list of tea that was divided to people (1926). Registers clarify the wealth of the aimag lamas (1930), and the names of lamas of the aimag (1932, 1937). The internal rules of Wangain aimag (without date) were determined, too. There is a list of lamas with their tax shares (1933), and a list of ceremony names of the temple (1937).

This latest register (Kh200/21) contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of those 48 ceremonies which were permanently performed in the aimag temple before the register was written on the 30th of the 2nd month of the 27th year (1937). The ceremonies were the following: Jasaa Manaliin bumba together with a kind of recitation was performed on the 8th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Sakhius recitation, called Jasaa arwanii Sendom was performed on the 10th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Sakhius recitation, called Jasaa and Gürem were held every day by 4 lamas. Jasaa Jasini unshlaga recitation was performed every day by one lama. Jasaa Lkham Ayuush recitation was held on the 29th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Jasiiin galiin takhilga was performed on the 23rd of the last winter month by 4 appointed lamas. 2-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was performed on the 17th of the last winter month by all the 25 expected lamas. Sakhius recitation, called Khuuchin nom was held for three days from the 27th of the last winter month with the participation of all the expected 25 lamas. The sakhius of the new year, Tsedor Lkham was worshipped on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of 45 lamas from the expected 50. Öndör bogdiin düütsen yerööl was held on the 14th of the first spring month by all the 25 expected lamas. New year ablution and consecration ritual of the statues (Shine jild burkhan shüteend tüi rawnai örhkökh) was held on the 15th of the first spring month by 4 appointed lamas. Jasaa Magtaal recitation was held for three days in the beginning of the middle spring month. 105 lamas appeared from the 249 expected ones. Jambalan norjib recitation (?) was held on the 15th of every middle month of the four seasons by 11 appointed lamas. Damjan sakhius and Dalkhaa were worshipped on the 15th of every middle month of the four seasons, too, by 4 appointed lamas. Jasaa Namjom yadamiin chogo was recited on the 16th of every middle month of the four seasons by 16 appointed lamas. Jidor and Shalsh sakhius were worshipped on the 8th of the last spring month by all the 25 expected lamas. Wachirwaan’ yadamiin nnainai was held for three days from the 6th of the first summer month by 4 appointed lamas. Jasaa Manaliin donchid was held on the 8th of the first summer month by all the 25 expected lamas. Thanksgiving offering on the 15th to the wrathful deities (sakhius), called Arwan tawnii danrag was held on the 15th of the first summer month with the participation of all the appointed 25 lamas. 8-r bogdiin düütsen yerööl was read on the 17th of the first summer month by all the expected 25 lamas. Namjom yadamiin chogo was performed for 7 days in the beginning of the middle summer month. All the 16 expected

173 Exact meaning unknown, as can be hardly made out in the text. M. kingdondoibi (?) g.orlo. T. ? ‘khor-lo
174 Exact meaning unknown. M. jambalan qorčim-a-yin ungšily-a, T. ?

114
lamas participated. namjom yadamini dültson chogo was held for 7 days in the middle summer lamas. All the expected 29 lamas participated. namjom yadamini dültson chaglan (T. rdul-tshon phyag-len) was held for a day in the middle summer month. All the expected 249 lamas participated. Ikh Dar ’ekhiin khural175 was held for a day in the middle summer month. All the expected 249 lamas participated. jalkhanz lamini düitsen yerööl was held on the 9th of the middle summer month by 4 appointed lamas. Jasaa Naidan chogo was recited on the 4th of the last summer month with the participation of all the 25 expected lamas. Gongorin bumba was performed on the 15th of the last summer month with all the expected 19 lamas. Consecration of the sculptures (Burkhan shiiteend Dashnyam arawnai örgök) was held on the 25th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected 25 lamas. Gongor Namsrai were worshipped for a day on the 30th of the last summer month. 105 lamas appeared from the expected 249. Sakhiusnii tüdging176 offering was held on the 30th of the last summer month by all the expected 12 lamas. An offering177 was held on the 30th of the last summer month by appointed 4 lamas. Dar ’ekh yadamini dültson sachog was held for 15 days in the last autumn month (without fix date) by all the 21 lamas who were expected. Myangat (M. mingyatu, probable Mintüg) sakhius ceremony took place for a day on the 15th of the last autumn month when 120 lamas participated from the total 249. The ceremony called 3-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 21st of the last autumn month by 10 appointed lamas. Jasaa Naidan chogo was held on the 15th of the first winter month by all the 25 expected lamas. Naidan chogo was held again on the 16th of the first winter month by 4 appointed lamas. 5-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was performed on the 3rd of the first winter month by 10 appointed lamas. 6-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 20th of the first winter month by 10 appointed lamas. Bogd Zonkhoin düitsen yerööl was performed on the 25th of the first winter month by all the 25 lamas who were expected. Yonzon khambiin düitsen yerööl was performed on the 7th of the middle winter month by all the 25 lamas who were expected to come. Ikh sakhiusnii dordow offering was performed once a year for four days in the first winter month without fix date. All the 20 lamas who were expected gathered. Meditative practice (nyamba) reading called Ikh sakhiusnii nindob178 was held for 7 days in the first winter month. Its exact date was not prescribed, but all the expected 13 lamas gathered. Namsrain dordow offering was held once a year without fix date in winter for four days and all the 21 expected lamas participated in the ceremony. Danshigiin khangal, which is a recitation and offering for several protectors was held for 5 days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. 201 lamas participated from the total 249. Ikh sakhius offering (takhilga) was held for a day in the middle winter month, when 220 of the total 249 lamas participated. 7-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl ceremony was held on the 12th of the middle winter month by all the expected 25 lamas. Ikh sakhiusnii tüdgen takikh179 was held on the 15th of the middle winter month by all the 13 expected lamas. 4-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 16th of the middle winter month. 4-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 16th of the middle winter month. 16 lamas came instead of 15. From the number of lamas who were expected to participate in ceremonies it is evident, that the aimag had 249 lamas in 1937. 48 ceremonies were permanently held. Among the lists registering the annual ceremonies of the temples one by one it is clear that the most ceremonies were held in Wangain aimag. Thus, we can conclude that it had the most vivid religious life right before

175 The ceremony has an attribute which cannot be identified in the given context: M. mön takiyatan-yin degere-e.
176 Exact meaning unknown. T. thugs dangs (?)
177 Its name in the text is not readable. Its meaning is unknown. M. dodba takiqu ba kidüdibi-yin (?) g.orlo. T. bstro-pa and ? khor-lo.
178 Exact meaning unknown. T. snying stobs (?)
179 Exact meaning unknown. T. thugs ?
the purges. According to Oyuunbilig (Tüükh soyol, p. 265.), the temple of Wangain aimag was built around 1790 and later 500-600 lamas belonged there. 600 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 121 in 1938.

Wangain highstreet (Wangain örgön gudamj) leading east from the Shar ordon, on which this aimag temple was situated, was one of the principal streets in Züün Khüree. The wooden yurt-shaped temple of the aimag survived, and became use as a storage of the nearby Circus which was operated in the remained temple of Ekh Daginiin aimag. Nowadays the temple of Wangain aimag operates as the main assembly hall (Tsogchin) in Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery (N 47° 55.628’, E 106° 55.240’) which opened its gates in 1990. According to its lamas the aimag was famous for its 12 volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtra written in vermilion or red colour ink (Ulaan yuüm, T. yum), and lots of unique and precious religious artifacts. Eminent scholars like Agwaantüwden (T. ngag-dbang thub-bstan, 18-19th centuries), known as Wangain rawjambaa, lived in this aimag and compiled numerous books, biographies and chanting texts, all of which they wrote in Tibetan. According to Dendew (Nawaan, Öwgön Dendew, p. 11.), a talented sculptor, Minjüür agramba lived in Wangain aimag, too.

23. Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag/ Khuwilgaanii aimag

Khuwilgaanii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: hwu-bil-kaang), marked with letter TSA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1736. Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 43.) that its founder was Erđene khuwilgaan lam Minjüürdorj, who was one of the seven great khutagts of Ikh shaw’ (for further information see Dashbadrakh, Mongoliin khutagtud, p. 168.). Its main tutelary deity was Chagdor khorchin (T. phyag-rdor ‘kor-chen, Skr. Vajrapāñi with his attendants) and its main protector was Damjan/Damjin. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Magtaaliin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Khangaliin jas, Möñkh zuliiin jas, Dorduwiin jas, and Dar’ ekhiin nünnain jas (or Nügnee jas).

The National Central Archives has 295 texts related to the aimag. The Manchu catalogue (M-122) contains the titles of 224 texts about this aimag dated between 1806-1908. The first text was written in 1806 and contains information on möngö and tea which were gained from the selling of the part of the livestock. There are texts relevant to Ikh jas, Magtaaliin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Nügnee jas, Yerööl and Nügnee khural, mainly about their möngö, tea, herds and flocks. A list of the leaders of every ten courtyard is available in the collection (1857) as well as a list of offerings which were received from families to renovate the aimag temple in 1911. The catalogue (A-110) of the Bogd khan’s period contains 26 texts, discussing mainly the incomes and expenses, and the livestock. Khangaliin jas is mentioned in titles. A register of lamas was compiled in 1920 with Tibetan letters. The catalogue (SKh-223) of the Modern Period contains 45 texts. They were all composed between1926-1938 and give account mainly about the incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and silver accessories (1930). A document about the united tax and a list about the livestock which were given to the lamas who had disrobed (1930) are also kept in the archives. Moveover, there are yearly registers of lamas from 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938.

According to Pürew, the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. Chinggis Khaan University (Chingis khaan deed surguul’) stands on its site today. (N 47°55.593’, E 106°55.331’). 400 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 25 in 1938.

24. Bargiin aimag

Bargiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: wa-rko), marked with letter TSHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in the turn of 18th century as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 44.). Nobles, a contemplative lama (dayanch) named Dondom of Ilden wangii khoshuu of
Tsetsen khan aimag, and other barga people (an ethnic group living in the area of present east Mongolia and Inner Mongolia) who lived within and out of the Mongolian border established it. Its main tutelary deity was Dorjdażal toiwonagwa (T. rdo-rje drag-rtsal khros-pa nag-po, ‘Wrathful Vajra Power’, ‘the black wrathful one’, the wrathful form of Padmasambhava, worshipped by the Karma Kagyü Sect), and its main protector was Bernag Gombo (T. ber-nag mgon-po, Mahākāla ‘with the black cloak’). According to Gonchig lama and the Bilgiin melmii article, Nyamabiiyugdorjpagam (T. rnying-ma-pa’i ? rdo-rje phag-mo, Vajrārāhi of the Nyingmapa Sect), and Lkham Shaljirmaa (T. lha-mo zhal sbyor-ma ? / lha-mo zhal ‘gyur-ma ?) were also worshipped here. According to G. Dewaasambuu, the current tsorj lama of Gandan monastery, the majority of lamas of this aimag belonged to the Karma Kagyü Sect. Some of the above-mentioned deities are worshipped especially by Karma Kagyü followers. Pürew claims that this aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. According to L. Dashdorj (born 1918), who lived as a lama in Bargiin aimag, 500 lamas belonged to it. Its temple was made of wood and was decorated by a golden top ornament (ganjir). Its main protector was Gombo. The following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Khangaliin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Dorduwiin jas, Khuuchin nomiin jas, Nomon khanii sakhiusnii jas, Khuwilgaan toin tsorjiin san.

75 texts are available in the collection of the National Central Archives about Bargiin. Its Manchu catalogue (M-171) contains only 6 texts related to Bargiin aimag. They were composed between 1888-1894, and serve data mainly about the number of livestock (1888, 1894), sheep and goat progeny (1891), and the expenses of ceremonies. A leporello was composed on the ranked lamas (alban tushaaltan) of the aimag. The catalogue (A-111) of the Bogd khan’s period lists only 5 titles dealing with the number of flocks of the aimag. A list of believers with ew connection was compiled (1911-1921). Documents clarifying the necessaries of ceremonies, incomes and expenses of the financial unit and the number of resident lamas (1911) are also available in the collection. The catalogue (Kh-199) of the Modern period contains 64 titles dated between 1921-1937. There are texts of incomes and expenses, herds and flocks being in the north and east, of the temple’s five kinds of animals, and three kinds of animals that were herded by the people living in Bayanzürkh Mountain (1921). A register of lamas of Bargiin aimag was composed in 1930. Documents ordering the collection of the missing money of the united tax levied in 1929 are available in the archives as well as the the taxation case of the lamas who disrobed (1930), and a list of the lamas who were literate (1934). There are texts without exact date, about implements of ceremonies, and number of lamas. A list of the people who were subordinate to abbots and reincarnations (without date) is also kept in the archives.

Annual ceremonies of the temple was registered on the 22 of the 9th month in the 27th year (1937). This register (Kh199/55) contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of those 7 ceremonies which were annually performed in the aimag temple. These were the following: Khuuchin nom ceremony was held for 7 days from the 23rd of the last winter month when 15 lamas gathered from the 40 who were expected. Tsedor Lkham ceremony was held for a day on the 30th of the last winter month. Each lama of the aimag was expected to come to celebrate the Lunar New Year but finally 12 of them participated. Magtaal ceremony was held for 3 days from the 17th of the middle spring month. Holding together with Namdollin aimag (see below) each lama of the two aimags were expected to participate. All in all 80 lamas gathered together. (The description of the same ceremony in the text of Namdollin aimag says that the ceremony was held for 3 days from the 23rd of the month together with lamas of Bargiin aimag and total 100 lamas participated.) Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held for a day on the 30th of the last summer month together with Namdollin aimag. Every lama was expected to come. All in
all 70 of them gathered in the ceremony. (The list of Namdollin aimag mentions another Gongor Namsrai ceremony which was held in a different time by the lamas of only Namdollin aimag.) Khangal ceremony was held for three days in the middle winter month. Many lamas were expected to come (number of lamas who appeared in the ceremonies are not mentioned). Sakhius ceremony was held for a day on the 15th of the middle winter month. Numerous lamas were expected to come. Sakhius ceremony was held for a day in the middle winter month and numerous lamas were expected to come. (The list of Namdollin aimag claims that Sakhius ceremony was held for a day in the middle winter month with the participation of a lot of lamas together with the lamas of Bargiin aimag).

As it is clear from the above-mentioned list Lunar New Year was celebrated normally. Due to the lack of lamas (or perhaps the tradition as some ceremonies were visited by lamas of the neighbouring aimag) certain ceremonies were held together with the lamas of Namdollin aimag (see below).

The Faculty of Design of the National University of Mongolia (Dizain Surguul’), on the present Baga toiruu, stands on its site today (N 47°55.488’, E 106°55.327’). 300 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 38 in 1938.

25. Namdollin or Dashilin aimag

Namdollin (or Namdalin, Namdellin, T. rnam-grol gling, ‘monastery of complete liberation’) or Dashilin aimag (T. bkra-shis gling, ‘monastery of auspiciousness’) marked with letter LA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1836 as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, Gandan, p. 45.). Nomch nonom khan lam Rinchinjaw of the subordinated areas and Tsorj Ikharamba lam Agwaanbaldan established it. The 5th Bogd gave it its name. According to Pozdneev (Mongols, p. 52.), Dashilin aimag was established in the autumn of 1877 with 300 lamas. Pürewjaw claims (Khuw’sgal, p. 30.) that Dashilin aimag and Namdollin aimag are different names of the same aimag. The aimag’s main tutelary deity was Mintüg Sandui (T. mi’khrugs gsang-dus, Skr. Aksobhya and Guhyasamāja) and its main protectors were Gombo and Jamsran. The following financial units belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Mintügiin jas, Sanjidmolomiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Khangaliin jio, Tsinidchiniin jio, Diwaajingiin jio, Sanjidiin jio, Jiin chogchdiin jio (?),180 and the treasury (san) of Nomch nonom khan.

257 sources related to this aimag are available in the National Central Archives. Its Manchu catalogue (M-113) contains 179 titles. They were composed between 1828-1911. The introduction of the catalogues says that the aimag was firstly initiated in 1811. It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies, and 18 financial units, such as Manaliin Donchidiin jas, Agrambiin Khangaliin jas, Ikh jas, Sanjidiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Tsinichdiin jas, Tüdewiin jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Mintüwiin jas, Dorduwiin jas, Awidin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Danjuuriin jas, Gamgaanii Maaniin jas, Gongor Namsrain jas, Mandalshiwaagin jas, Toiwiin Chogdogiin jas.181 Nomch nonom khani san is mentioned in titles, too. Considering the above-mention financial units listed by Sereeter and the introduction of the catalogues only some of them are the same which can mean that the aimag had less financial units in the last years. Even the date of the foundation of the aimag is not clear as contradictory dates are mentioned in the three above-mentioned sources. The very first text in the catalogue is a supervision of the livestock (1828). There is a list of people who were in ew connection with the aimag (1836) (remark: Sereeter claims that the aimag was initiated in 1836.). A list of implements required to hold permanent ceremonies of the aimag was compiled in 1868 as well as a list of offerings

180 Exact meaning unknown. T. ? tshogs mchod
181 Exact meaning unknown. T. khros'?
given by devotees (1876), and a list of sacrificial cake offerings and other necessaries of the everyday ceremonies (1880). There is a document on the incomes and expenses of the initiation and consecration of the aimag temple in 1887. Leporellos for the invitation of the Bogd (1888), and about the debate of wan Dorjpalam and the Bogd (1890), about the quarrel of wrong order of lamas in ceremonies (1891) are also available in the archive. A leporello came in 1891 to prohibit the follow of religious views different from Buddhism, and the wearing of paradeous robes. A leporello came about the usage of rug to sit and other distinctive objects (1898), while others were issued on the development of duties of the tsorj lamas and flourishing of religious affairs (1898), or about teaching various languages and scripts to people (1899). There are lots of accounts of herds and flocks, incomes of ceremonies (1903), and combustible of the temples (1908). Lamas participating in ceremonies of monastic schools and residing in the aimag were listed in 1908. A leporello were sent in 1910 to stop lamas visiting the lay quarters, while another came to order filling of the gaps in lamas’ empty seats from other temples as there were lack of lamas in some datsans (1911). The catalogue (A-112) of the Bogd khan’s period contains 37 texts, dealin with its herds and flocks. Some of the texts were written with Tibetan script, such as a list of loans (1916), or möngö and tea which were lent (1917). A leporello on the impossibility of intimidation of lamas and novices, on loans, regulations of aimag lamas, and the determination of the order of safe in Niislel Khüree are also available in the archives.

The catalogue (SKh-212) of the Modern Period contains 41 texts composed between 1921-1937, mainly about herds and flocks again, and economy (sankhüü) of the aimag. There is a text which was issued about holy books to be recited to keep the longevity of religious dignities (1922-1924). Registers of lamas were compiled in 1931, in 1934, and in 1936, and a forecast of incomes and expenses to develop the clerical duties (1934), and a register of permanent ceremonies of the aimag (1937), too.

This register (SKh212/38) was compiled on the 22nd September of the 27th year. It contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of the 26 annual ceremonies which were held with fix date in the aimag temple. These were the following: Bogd lamiin donchid chagchid (T. stong mchod phyag mchod ?) was held on the 29th of the middle winter month. 20 lamas from the expected 50 particapted in the ceremony. Tukhain (?) 182 yadam Mintügwaagin chogo and Gombo sakhius ceremonies took place for three days from the 15th of the last winter month and for three days from the 27th of the middle spring month. Every day 10-20 lamas gathered together from the expected 30. Jasiin galiin takhilga was held on the 24th of the last winter month by all the 5 appointed lamas. Tukhain (?) yadam Jigjidiin chogo with chogar (?)183 was held on 25th of the last winter month with the participation of all the 13 appointed lamas. Khangal yonzog gargalt (?)184 called Khuuchin nom was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 15 lamas from the expected 30. Tsedor Lkham ceremony was held from the 30th of the last winter month till the 1st day of the Lunar New Year with the participation of 70 lamas of the aimag’s lama community. Düitsen yerööl was held on the 14th of the first spring month, on the 17th of the first summer month, 12th (?) of the first winter month, and 7th of the middle winter month with the participation of about 15 lamas. Magtaal yonzog (?) was performed for three days from the 23rd of the middle spring month. About 100 lamas a day

---

182 In the text tuqai-yin yidam is mentioned. Tukhai (M. tuqai) means ‘a certain…’ in Mongolian. It can be a word with Tibetan origin as well, for example thugs… etc. However, its meaning and useage are uncertain.
183 Exact meaning unknown. M. čog.or-tai/chong.or. Chogar (T. chos gar) is a sacred dance, but here this meaning is not appropriate.
184 Exact meaning unknown. M. qangyal yongjöy yaranta-tu, T. yongs rdzogs ?, ‘complete wrathful deity ceremony’ (?)
were expected to gather from Namdollin and Bargiin aimag as it was a common ceremony of the two aimags. Sanjid ceremony was held on the 26th of the middle spring month by about 20 lamas from a lot. Mintügwaa yadamii nünnai was held on the 14th and 15th of the first summer month by all the appointed 4 lamas. Mintügwaa yadamii dültsen jinkhor düwchid (T. rdul tshon dkyil-khor sgrub mchod), i.e. the sand maðala offering to Akåobhya, took place for 15 days from the 2nd of the middle summer month with the participation of about 10-20 lamas from the expected 15-30. Tukhain (?) Gombo sakhius was honoured with different practices185 on the 29th of the last summer month by 15 lamas from the expected 18. Bumbiiin takhilga was held on the 8th of the first autumn month by 15 lamas from the expected 18. Naidan chogo was held on the 30th of the middle summer month by 4 lamas from the expected 16. Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held on the 8th of the last summer month together with the lamas of Bargiin aimag. About 70 lamas participated in this ceremony. Jasaa Gongor Namsrai was held on the 30th of the last summer month by all the appointed 5 lamas. Choijoo dügiüü was performed on the 29th of every month by 4-4 lamas. Manaliin donchid was held on the 4th of the last summer month by 15 lamas from the expected 20. Dar’ ekiin mandalshiwaa was performed on the 15th of the first autumn month when about 30 lamas of the aimag gathered together. Jasaa sakhius unshlag was performed every day. Although this ceremony should be performed by at least 4 lamas this obligation had to be reduced due to the fact that so many lamas became homeless that it was impossible to find anybody who could have gather permanently. Thus, the recitation was held by only one lama. Tukhain (?) yadam Mintügwiiin chogo with Sakhius was held on the 3rd of the last autumn month. 30 lamas were expected to come. Awidiin chogo ceremony was held on the 22nd of the last autumn month, when 13 lamas were expected to come. Maidariin chogo was held on the 3rd of the first winter month. 13 lamas were expected to come. Khangal ceremony was held for three days from the 3rd (the number cannot be make out) of the middle winter month. A lot of lamas were expected to come. Sakhius ceremony was held for one day in the middle winter month together with the lamas of Bargiin aimag. Numerous lamas were expected to come. Gombiin dordow was held for 4 days in the first winter month when 13 lamas were expected to participate.

From the list above we can conclude that Jasaa sakhius unshlag was performed every day by 1 lama as it was difficult to find others who were able to come permanently. Mintügwaa yadam, Gombo, and Jigjid sakhius had main role in the ceremonial circle. Chogo rituals were held as well. Some ceremonies were held together with Bargiin aimag’s lamas. Anyway, there were various ceremonies held in this aimag. Maximum 30 lamas might belong to the aimag as the number of lamas who participated in ceremonies increased only when the celebrations were held together with Bargiin aimag’s lamas. There is no data about the number of participants from the 15th of the first autumn month. Most probably the register was compiled before the 3rd of the last autumn month. According to the document it was compiled on the 22nd of the 9th month (or September?) of 1937 so it is quite possible.

The aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Zaluuchuud Hotel on the present Baga toiruu stands on its site today. (N 47°55.463’, E 106°55.333’). 300 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 49 in 1938.

185 Exact meaning unknown. M. dukgday takily-a qarayalta-tai. T. ?
26. Bandidiin/ Pandidiin aimag / Bandidiin lamiin aimag

*Bandidiin aimag* (Tibetan transliteration: pa-nthid, Sanskrit origin: paścita), marked with letter JA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 1st Bogd as Sereeter claims (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 46.). *Bandid khuwilgaan* (a reincarnated lama from a ducal family from the subordinated area of the *Ikh shaw*) founded this *aimag* where his subsequent reincarnations lived. Its main tutelary deity was *Danag/ Darnag Shinjishid* (*T. dgra-nag gshin-rje-gshed*, ‘the black sworn enemy of the lord of death’, Yāmāntaka) and its main protector was *Jamsran* or *Jagonjamsran* (*Bilgiin melmii* article). The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Danjuuriin jas*, *Jasaa Tsogiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Sanduin jas*, *Namsrain dorduwiin jas*, *Jamsrangiin Dorduwiin jas*. *Baga jas* is mentioned in the Modern Period, too.

The National Central Archives houses 20 documents about *Bandidiin aimag*. The Manchu catalogue (M-173) of the National Central Archives have only two documents related to *Bandidiin aimag*. The first lists the livestock and and its herders (1897), while the second is about articles and robes offered on ceremonies (1902). Catalogue of the *aimag* from the Bogd khan’s reign was not available. The catalogue (Kh-197) of the Modern period contains 16 texts mainly about the four kinds of animals (1922, 1924). A summary of the immovable and movable properties of the *jas* (1926), and texts about the properties of its *Ikh jas* and *Baga jas* are also available. There is a contract which was conducted about herding the livestock of the *jas* by informer (*medeechin*) and people’s representatives (*ardiin tölöölögchid*) of *Bandidiin aimag* (1930). Registers of names, ranks and properties of lamas (1935, 1937, 1938), and lists of lamas and collection of military tax (1936, 1937) were recorded in the latest records. In the *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 35 in 1938.

Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. It stood just north of the present site of the Second Building of the Mongolian National University (N 47°55.414’, E 106°55.315’).

27. Jamiyaansüngiin/Jamiyaansürengiin or Choiyonsüngiin/Choinsürengiin aimag or Sünghiin aimag

*Sünghiin aimag* (T. ‘jam-dbyangs gsung’, ‘voice of Mañjuśrī, the Gentle voiced one’ or T. ‘jam-dbyangs bsrong’, ‘protected by Mañjuśrī’, or T. chos-dbyings bsrong, ‘protected by dharmadhātu, the ultimate sphere’, or chos-dbyings gsung, ‘Teaching of the dharmadhātu’), marked with letter WA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated between 1781-1819 as Sereeter claims (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 47.). Nobles of Mergen wangin khoshuu of Tüsheet khan aimag initiated its foundation to dedicate it to the 4th Bogd. The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Jamiyaansü(re)n* or *Choiyonsü(re)n* according to the contradictory data in sources. The main protector of the *aimag* was *Lkham*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Dültsengiin jas* and *Nünnain jas*. *Lkham* was its main protector deity and two khamba (one lowon and one tsorj), two disciplinary masters, two chanting masters, one treasurer or bookkeeper (*nyaraw*) and some *duganch* belonged to the temple and the aimag had 100 lamas. According to Dendew (Nawaan, Òwgon Dendew, p. 11.), there was a *loilan* (T. blos bslangs) or meditational mañjuśrī in this temple, which was made by Junai, the talented master of *Sünghiin aimag*. Hariimaa claims (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 97.) that Junai was the layman smith, who created and dedicated the *loilan* to his *aimag* in 1924, in his old age. It was a casted and guilded golden
jinkhor (maðkala), one of the last great artifacts which were made before the purges. It was placed to a small two-storey wooden temple.

The National Central Archives owes 175 documents related to this aimag. The catalogue (M-108) of the Manchu period contains 134 texts dated between 1793 and 1908. In the introduction it is claimed that the aimag was named after its founder, Jaminyaansuren, which is an opposite statement of Sereeter. However, the exact date of its first initiation is unknown. Names of financial units mentioned in titles are totally different from the ones claimed by Sereeter. They are Ikh jas, Awidiiin jas, Mandir jas (probably Manzshir?), Dulitsen jas, Myantug jas (probably Mintüg), Jan-düd-sansüm jas (?).\textsuperscript{186} The first texts originated from 1793. They were issued to prohibit lamas to trade on market, and to forbid the old ladies to live inside the monastic district. In 1793 the 80th birthday of the Manchu emperor, Tenger tetgesen was celebrated. On this occasion each lama were forbidden to approach the border and trade. In 1795 lamas were forbidden again to visit the layquarters. Several leporellos ordering the arrangement of countryside lamas to aimags and monasteries to study Buddhism were written in 1794 and 1807. Lamas were forbidden to petty offense, to steal, and trade. A leporello prescribing the titles of healing rituals (gürim) had to be recited for the recover of the Bogd was issued in 1811 and aimag lamas without property (tsaigii lam) were listed in the same year. There is a register of the aimag lamas who came from the countryside areas (shaw’ khoshuu) in the year of 1821, and a leporello about the nomination of people as train of the 5th Bogd (1831). Leporellos came in 1832 and 1834 to forbid lamas to drink alcohol, to play archery (sur kharwakh), and to use paradous articles. Moreover, a leporello came in 1836 to forbid lamas to invite women to the monastic district. There is a list of people who participated in the renovation of the courtyard fences in 1835. Names of lamas who made private commerce were recorded in 1838. Lamas coming from countryside khoshuus were ordered to settle, and divided to aimags and datsans (1842). Income gained from selling animals were recorded in 1855. A leporello came in 1865 to prohibit women to enter the monastic districts. As a very interesting piece of material a leporello came on the establishment and giving the name to Ikh Tsogchin, Ambarayasgalant, Dashchoimbel datsan, and Dambadarjaalin monastery in 1873 (the content of the text is not clear as these religious institution were established earlier). In 1873 another leporello came to forbid women to enter the monastic district, while another issued in 1874 which discusses the loans and debate among people. Lamas living in the aimag and in the Gandan area were listed in 1874. In 1880 a leporello was sent in order to not to allow people to leaf and wander in the monastic districts. There is a notification which contains the names of the train of the Bogd when he visited Erdene zuu in 1888 (it is not clear why this text like was classified as related to this aimag). A leporello came in 1890 to forbid lamas to archery, to wear paradous robes, and to wear hanging cuff (1890). Leporellos were sent here about the debate of the Bogd and wan Dorjpalam in 1891, and about the order to move back the aimag lamas from other aimags (1897). Aimag lamas living in Gandan were listed in 1898, and lamas with rug to sit and pillows were listed in 1901. A leporello contains the number of lamas with rug to sit and without, whilst another one about alms beggars were composed in 1908. The catalogue (A-113) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 8 texts, mainly about the number of the livestock. There is a text, written with Tibetan script on möngő put out at interest (1921). A leporello listing the accessories of ceremonies, and another dismissing the disciplinary master from his duty are also available from the year of 1915. The catalogue (SKh-211) of the Modern period contains 33 texts dated between 1921-1938. There is a text, written in Tibetan, about the profit of the livestock (1921). Güngereg jas and Ikh jas are mentioned in

\textsuperscript{186} Exact meaning unknown. T. ? gsum
some titles. There is a document in order to give the herds and flocks of the aimag into the responsibility of a communal handicraft co-operative (artyel) (1930). Lists of lamas and laymen of the aimag, and a data sheet of livestock and moveable and inmoveable properties of the aimag were composed in 1931. A register of lamas who had to pay extra military tax was compiled in 1932. Registers of every lama of the aimag were compiled in 1934, and 1936. A chart of permanent ceremonies, a list of ranks and duties, and names of lamas who should be erase from the lamas’ register (1936), a list of aimag lamas, written in Tibetan (1937) are the latest documents. There is a list summary of the expenses of Güngereg jas (i.e. Günreg jas) in the period of 1930-1938 written in Tibetan, and another list without date which makes clear the aimags and khoshuus of the aimag lamas, and the names of lamas who paid tax and were familiar to Mongolian script.

The register (Kh211/18) of ceremonies was compiled on the 9th month of the 27th year, i.e. 1937. It contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of the 25 ceremonies which were performed with fix day in the aimag temple in 1937. This register is very significant among the others, as it contains details and purpose of certain ceremonies. According to the register all the appointed lamas appeared in the ceremonies which were the following: Choinsüren ceremony was held in every season with the participation of 12 lamas aiming at increasing the knowledge and wisdom of lamas and novices. Sakhius ceremony was held on the 15th of every month with the participation of a lot of lamas in honour of Lkham to protect every sentient being and the whole lama community from any obstacle. Mandalshiwaa was also performed on the 15th of every month by 4 lamas to increase lamas’ meritful and virtuous deeds. Jasa ceremony was held by 4 lamas every day in honour of Lkham to protect from obstacles. On the 26th day of the last winter month Jasis galiin takhil ceremony was held by 12 lamas to purify the financial unit and the treasury. Khuuchin nom ceremony with the reading of Khangal texts was held on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of 12 lamas to clear away every obstacle of the coming new year. With the participation of numerous lamas Tsedor Lkham ceremony started on the 30th day of the last winter month in honour of Lkham to remove away obstacles of the coming Lunar New Year. Tsedor ceremony continued at dawn of the 1st day of the New Year. Gongorin tsogchid was held on the 8th of the first spring month by 10 lamas to increase the merits and fortune of the treasury, jas and the lama community. Öndör gegeenii düitsen yerööl ceremony was held on the 14th of the first spring month with the participation of many lamas to pray for him and to commemorate his beneficial deeds. From the 23rd of the first spring month Magtaal ceremony was held for three days with the participation of numerous lamas commemorating and praying for the benefits of eminent masters (shashniig barigch deedes) of the past. Lkham sakhiusnii dordow was held for three days from the 24th of the middle spring month by 12 lamas, with offering of sacrifical cake to Lkham who increases the merits and fortune of religion, the financial unit and the treasury. Jidar, Shalsh ceremonies were held on the 8th of the last spring month by ten lamas. Gongorin tsogchid was held on the 10th of the first summer month by 10 lamas, for the same purpose described above. Günreg ceremony was held on the 14th of the first summer month by 10 lamas to lift sentient beings from bad rebirth to a good one, and to save them from every inconvenient rebirth. On the 17th of the first summer month the 8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl ceremony was held by numerous lamas to commemorate his benefitial deeds. Ikh sakhius ceremony was held in the middle summer month by a lot of lamas when Lkham’s text was recited with special melody encouraging her to fulfill her duties and remove obstacles in the middle of the lunar year. Mandalshiwaa ceremony was held by four lamas on the 4th of

187 This document looks different from the others. The name of Gandan is not mentioned but headtitles are.
the last summer month for the same purpose mentioned above. Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held with the participation of numerous lamas on the 30th of the last summer month to collect merits and good luck. Gongoriin tsogchid was held on the 25th of the first autumn month by 10 lamas for the same purpose which was described above. Lkhawawiin düitsen yerööl ceremony was held on the 25th of the last autumn month by numerous lamas. Its purpose was the same as it was described in the case of the above-mentioned düitsen yerööls. Zulii düitsen was held on the 25th of the first winter month by 10 lamas for the purpose described above. Danshigiin khangal was held for three days from the 3rd of the middle winter month worshipping the wrathful deities to protect every sentient being from obstacles. Khachin bagshiin düitsen yerööl was held on the 7th of the middle winter month with the participation of lots of lamas (as described above).

It is clear from the document that Choinsüren was celebrated four times a year as the main tutelary deity of the aimag. Lkham as the main protector has significant role as well, for example her texts were recited on the everyday ceremony. Besides other protectors such as Gongor, Namsrai, Jidar and Shalsh were also celebrated. It is interesting that Gongoriin tsogchid was held in every first month. Düitsen yerööl ceremonies were held in honour of Buddha, Tsongkhapa, Öndör gegeen, the 8th Bogd, Khachin bags and other eminent masters of the past. Usually 4, 10 or 12 lamas participated in the ceremonies but the majority of lamas came to gather only at bigger events. The total number of the lamas who belonged to the aimag is unclear as the text mentions a lot of lamas in every case. Number of participants are not mentioned from the 25th of the first winter month as it was compiled in September, 1937. Nünnai and Loilon are not mentioned in the text at all.

According to Pürew, the aimag had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Second Building of the National University of Mongolia stands on its site today (N 47°55.359', E 106°55.350'). Choisüren lama (born 1916), who lived in Süngiin aimag and studied in Dashchoimbel datsan until 1937, also claims that Süngiin aimag had a yurt-shaped wooden temple. 600 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 123 in 1938.

28. Lam nariin aimag

Lam nariin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: bla-ma nar), marked with letter SA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd as Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüreee, p. 48.). The khamba nomon khan who was invited from Tibet, and other lamas with the title of lowombo (T. slob-dpon-po?) founded the aimag, which got its name from the 2nd Bogd. Its main tutelary deity was Ayuush or Tsegmid / Tsewegmed and its main protector was Lkham. According to Sereeter and the introduction of the Manchu catalogue (M-110) of the aimag it had the following financial units: Ikh jas, Dorduwiin jas, Naidan chogiin jas, Ganhuiin jas, Gachin khambuin jas, Lkhamiin shalshimiin jas, Zunii Sakhisnii tsawin jas, Öwlii Sakhisnii tsawin jas, Khürdnii jas, Khangaliin jas, Tüdewiin jas, Dültsengiin jas (M-110: Ikh dültsen jas), Maidariin jas (M-110: Jambiin chogiin jas), and Jamgan Renbuuchiin jas (M-110: Zemgüin rimbüüchniin jas). It is not clear who Jamgan / Zemgüin rinpoche was. Sereeter also mentions Yerööliin jas, Danjogiin jas (?), probably Danshigiin jas), Sanjidiin jas, Ayuushiin donchidiin jas, and Khamba nomon khani san. The introduction of the Manchu catalogue adds Mönkh zuliin jas, Nügniiin chogiin jas, Mintüwiin jas, Pogiin jas, Gachin khamba lam nariin jas, and khuwilgaan Luwsanjants.

252 texts are available in the National Central Archives related to Lam nariin aimag. The Manchu catalogue (M-110) bearing the title Ikh lam nariin aimag contains 141
texts composed between 1798-1911. According to its introduction the aimag was firstly initiated in 1781, when 5 Tibetan lamas initiated it with their deliberation, and offered the painted-scroll showing Naidan jüdüg, the painted-schroll and a sculpture of Lkham, and several accessories of worship, a bell and other equipment. Therefore, the name of the aimag became Lam nariin aimag. It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies, own financial units, incomes and expenses, and livestock. The following duties were fulfilled in the aimag: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, shrinekeeper, bookkeeper, offering preparer, and doorkeeper. The oldest text, composed in 1798, lists the properties of the lamas. Leporellos were issued during the reign of the 5th Bogd laying the regulation of lamas in 1827 and in 1838. There is a list of lamas’ offerings to create the object of worship (shüteen) of the aimag (1870). A leporello on the regulation of forbidding intercourse between lamas and women came to the aimag in 1873. A leporello informing about the nomination and initiation of Baldanchoimbel as Yonzon khamba lam came in 1875. (According to other sources he was actually nominated in 1865). In 1891 a leporello containing the names of people who had to direct the otog and shaw’ areas of Yonzon khamba nomon khan Baldanchoimbel came. An inventory of sculptures and worshipping objects was compiled in 1890. There is a leporello prohibiting lamas to wear paradeous robes on monastic sites (1891), and another one from 1892 prohibiting lamas again to wear various paradeous robes, to curse and swear. A list written in Tibetan script makes clear the believers who had ew connection (1895). There is a leporello about the learning various scripts and carving in lamas’ school (1899). Leporellos supervising the number of herds and flocks of Yonzon khamba lam, with names of herders, incomes and expenditures of Yonzon khamba’s treasury (1903), on New Year greetings to the Yonzon khamba nomon khan, Balam ded khamba, and Gün da lam (1908) are also kept in the archives. A leporello calling to collect lamas from other datsans as the number of lamas participating in the temple (probably of Idgaachoinzinlin) was handed over in 1911.

The catalogue of the Bogd khaan’s period (A-115) describes 59 texts about Lam nariin aimag, mainly about its incomes and expenses. Some of them are in Tibetan transliteration. Ikh jas, Dültsen jas, Baga jas, Dordowiin jas, Dechingülsengiin jas (?) are mentioned in titles. There is a document supervising Dechingülsengiin jas, and other documents requiring the inhabitants of the related khoshuu to sit lamas on the newly established temple (1917, 1919).

The catalogue (Kh-204) of the Modern period about Lam nariin aimag contains 52 texts dated between 1922 and 1936. They inform about the herds and flocks that were herded on north and east pastures. However, there is a command as well which came to the aimag’s lamas in 1922 (it was written with typewriter). Summaries of the livestock and property, document to discipline the lamas of the aimag (1923), and summaries of moveable and immovable properties of Yonzon khamba lam’s treasury (1926, 1927) are also kept in the collection. The Bulletin of Lamas (Lam nariin setgüül) which was published in 1926 is also available in the collection (80 pages). Incomes and expenses of ceremonies were documented in 1927. Documents registering the ceremonies which were held, and surveying lamas and people living in the aimag (1935, 1936-9) were written, too.

According to Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped aimag temple stood to the north of where the National University of Mongolia now stands (N 47°55.415’, E 106°55.210’). 300 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 47 in 1938.

188 Exact meaning unknown. T. bde chen ?
189 According to the catalogue this bulletin was issued in 1926. However, Lam nariin setgüül existed only for a year in 1936.
29. Mergen nomon khanii aimag, Ikh Mergen nomon khanii aimag, Nomon khanii aimag

*Mergen nomon khanii aimag* (‘aimag of the wise lord of religion’, Tibetan transliteration: *no-mong khaang*), marked with letter ZHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd as Sereeter claims (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 49.). Tseweendorj *lamtan* initiated it. He was the 3rd incarnation of *nomon khan khutagt* of Bereiwen (T. ‘bras-spungs) monastery (in today’s Khentii aimag), who was one of the seven great *khutagts* of *Ikh shaw* (for further information on him see Dashbadrakh, *Mongoliin khutagtuud*, p. 162.). Its main tutelary deity was *Demchig garaw* (T. *bde-mchog dkar-po*, a white form of Cakrāsaṃvara) and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas, Dültsengiin jas, Mergen nomon khanii lamiin san*. The National Central Archives has 130 texts related to the operation of the aimag. According to the introduction of its Manchu catalogue (M-111) the first initiation of the aimag is unknown. Chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, offering preparer, shrinekeeper, *nyaraw*, and cook were the appointed staff of the aimag. Registered lamas were divided into the assembly of the aimag and to *datsans*, thus, permanent and permanent ceremonies were held. Among the 71 texts dated between 1826 and 1911 *Ikh jas, Gombiin dordowiin jas, Magtaaliin jas,* and *Dültsen jas* are mentioned as well as *Mergen nomon khaanii Khüree*. The very first text talks about selling tea in 1826. There is a register of tea and *möngö* incomes and expenses of the *jas,* founded by Luwsan and Tserenдорж *nyaraws* (1859), and an inventory of accessories of worship (1883). There is a list of offerings given by donors for the foundation of the aimag (most probably that of the aimag temple) in 1893. In 1908 resident lamas (dewsgerten lam) and ordinary lamas were counted (1908), while in 1910 a leporello was issued ordering to help to cover the costs of Tümen gelengiin khailan ceremony. In 1911 the livestock of the aimag was counted.

The catalogue of the Bogd khan’s period (A-114) lists 18 texts, which deal with the number of livestock, incomes and expenses. In 1915 the costs of the ceremony dedicated to the longevity of the Ekh dagina were recorded, while in 1917 the livestock of the *khamba nomon khan* was counted. The catalogue (SKh-219) of the Modern period contains 41 texts composed between 1921-1936. In 1924 the accessories of the temple were invented. From the 1930s registers were prepared several times. In 1930 the aimag lamas were registered based on their occupation, property and family ties. In 1931 the male and female inhabitants of the aimag were counted. In 1932 lamas and the military tax they had to pay were recorded and ceremonies were listed. Lamas were listed in 1936 again, and another list without date is also available about lamas’ names and titles.

According to Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped aimag temple stood to the north of where the National University of Mongolia now stands (N 47°55.415’, E 106°55.119’). 300 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 60 in 1938.

30. Örlüüdiin/ Örlögüüdiin aimag

*Örlüüdiin aimag* (Tibetan transliteration: ‘ur-lu-de), marked with letter ‘A of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651, as Sereeter claims (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 50.). It was one of the first seven aimags of Örgöö. The origin of the name is not clear: it could have been named after the nanny or nurse (*örlög ekh*) of Öndör gegeen or after his general (*örlög*). Its main tutelary deity was *Sosorbaram or Baraishir* (T. *so-sor* ’brang-ma, Skr. Mahāpratisarā) and its main protector was *Lkham*. Gonchig lama’s list adds *Gombo* protector. According to

---

190 Probably Mergen nomon khaan had a monastic city in the countryside.
Sereeter the following financial units belonged to the aimag: Ikh jas, Khangaliin jas, Magtaaliiin jas, Zunii jas (?), Nümnain jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Dorduwiin jas. Concerning Örlüüdiin aimag, the catalogue of the Manchu period (M-117) lists six financial units, which are the same as the above-mentioned ones, except from mentioning Nügnein jas as a name variant of Nümnain jas, Zuliin jas instead of Zunii jas which have to be incorrect (zun means summer, unfamiliar as name of a jas). Dorduwiin jas is not mentioned in the introduction. Probably it was initiated later or only missed from the introduction. 400 lamas lived in this aimag in 1855 and 47 in 1938.

Although this aimag was initiated during the lifetime of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar only very few individual texts (15 in number) about its operation are available in the National Central Archives. The catalogue (M-117) of the Manchu period contains 4 texts dated between 1888 and 1893. According to the introduction of the catalogue permanent and impermanent ceremonies had been held in the aimag since 1891 (supposedly this is the year of the foundation of the aimag temple). It had permanent and impermanent ceremonies. A chief lama, a vice lama, chanting master, disciplinary master, offering preparer, doorkeeper, and bookkeeper had responsibily in the aimag. The very first text is a list of the livestock belonging to the aimag (1893). There is a leporello listing the resident lamas of the aimag (1888), together with its herds and herders. The catalogue (A-175) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 2 texts. They are about ceremonies, equipment and möngö put on an interest (1913, 1921), and livestock. The catalogue (SKh-224) of the Modern Period contains 11 texts dated between 1926 and 1937. Some of them list the moveable and immovable property of the aimag (1926), its livestock and courtyards (1927). Ikh jas is mentioned in a few title. There is a list including the names of lamas of the monastic authorities (1929). A list of the property, occupation, and family members of each lama of the aimag (1930), a list of all the lamas (1936), and a chart with titles and ranks of lamas and that of permanent ceremonies (1936-37) are the latest texts in the collection. The internal rules of the aimag were also determined in this period (text without date, probably in 1925 as all the others).

The register (Kh224/9) of ceremonies contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of the 16 ceremonies which were regularly performed in the aimag temple before the end of 1937. According to the register there weren’t any ceremonies being interrupted that time. The ceremonies were the following: Yerööl ceremony was held on the 14th day in the first spring month with the participation of 20 lamas from the expected 50. Ganjuur ceremony was held on the 30th day of the middle spring month with the participation of 30 lamas from the expected 100. Sosorbar amiin chogo ceremony was held on the 15th of the middle spring month by 13 lamas of the expected 100. Manal ceremony was held on the 8th of the middle summer month by all the expected 8 lamas. Chogo was held on the 15th of the middle summer month by all the expected 13 lamas. Gongor Namsrai ceremony was held on the 30th of the first autumn month when 30 lamas appeared from the expected 100. Khangal ceremony with thanksgiving offering (danrag) was held on the 1st of the first autumn month with the participation of 20 lamas from the expected 50. Sakhius ceremony with thanksgiving offering was held next day, on the 2nd of the first autumn month when 40 lamas from the expected 100 appeared. Magtaal was recited on the 3rd of the first autumn month with the participation of 40 lamas from the expected 100. Chogo ceremony took place from 4-10th of the first autumn month with the participation of all the expected 13 lamas. Namsrai ceremony was held on the 15th of the last autumn month with the participation of all the expected 8 lamas. Dordow ceremony took place from 1-4th of the first winter month by all the expected 12 lamas. Khangal ceremony was held from 3-6th of the middle winter month by all the expected 20 lamas. Sakhius ceremony was held on the 16th of the middle winter
month with the participation of 40 lamas from the expected 50. *Magtaal* took place on the 19th and 20th of the last winter month with the participation of 30 lamas from the expected 50. *Tsedor* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last winter month when 30 (or 20?) lamas of the expected 50 participated.

As an interesting feature *Sakhius* and *Khangal* ceremonies are distinguished in the text twice. It seems that the most ceremonies were held in the first autumn month. *Sosorbaramin chogo* refers to the main tutelary deity of the *aimag*. *Magtaal* was received several times. However, everyday and monthly ceremonies are not mentioned at all. In many cases 100 lamas were expected to come but at most 40 came. For *Chogo* ceremony 13 lamas’ coming was prescribed. *Ganjuur* ceremony was held which supposes the existence of the volumes of the *Ganjuur* in the *aimag*.

According to Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple stood where the National University of Mongolia now stands (N 47°55.372’, E 106°55.131’). The sculpture of *Baraishir* from *Örlüüdiin aimag* is presently kept in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286).

Besides the above-mentioned *aimag* temples, many significant buildings were situated here. According to Dendew (Nawaan, *Öwgön Dendew*, p. 12.), in addition to the lamas’ dwellings there were dwellings of the nobles (*noyon*), holy persons and reincarnations (*khutagt*, *khuiwilgaan*), courtyards and private dwellings of lay and ecclesiastical feudal persons. Later from the 1920’s and 1930’s commercial small shops, taverns and co-operative units (*khorshoo*) also stood here.

**Current situation (30 *aimags* of Züün Khüree)**

GPS: N 47°55.620’, E 106°55.255’, elevation 1304 m (*Züün Khüree Dashchoilin khiiid*)

GPS: N 47°55.609’, E 106°55.177’, elevation 1325 m (Circus college)

All *aimag* temples were closed in 1938 and most were burnt. The only extant buildings of the thirty *aimags* are three yurt-shaped wooden temple halls (that of *Wangain aimag*, *Erkhem toinii aimag* and *Ekh daginiin aimag*), and two small wooden buildings which were used as *jas* buildings next to the *aimag* temple of *Erkhem toinii aimag* in the old times. According to Darimaa (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 114.), during the purges, after all the *datsans*, temples and *aimag* temples had been emptied out, it was decided that the artifacts, books and other belongings that remained intact were to be collected and transported to a central storage from around the 10th of the first summer month in 1938. For over a year carts and wagons delivered these religious objects to these three *aimag* temples and their courtyards until it was decided what to do with them: the piles of objects were either kept and transported to museums, annihilated, burnt or transported to Russia for other uses.

It was due to their use as temporary storage for the confiscated objects that these three *aimag* temple buildings survived the destruction. Later they were used for a variety of purposes such as circus (temple of *Ekh daginiin aimag*) or warehouse and stable for circus animals (temples of *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*). The temple of *Wangain aimag* was also used as the Mongolian Architects Union exhibition hall (*Tsültem*, picture No. 29.). In 1971 all the three surviving temples came under the protection of the city. After a survey to evaluate the condition of the remaining yurt-shaped temples in Ulaanbaatar in 1975-1976, the buildings were renovated in 1981-1982. In 1994, after the democratic changes, the buildings came under national protection.

In the remained temples of *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*, *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* (*T. bkra-shis chos gling*) monastery has been operating since 1990. *Wangain aimag*’s temple is today the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*), while *Erkhem toinii*
aimag’s temple is the Temple of the Protector deities (Sakhiusnii dugan), and. As Zuün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery was established in these two old temple buildings, it has ‘inherited’ and still uses the honorific name Zuün Khüree. Two smaller yurt-shaped buildings of jas or financial units, that are joined together, also survived and stand just on the right of the temple of Erkhem toinii aimag. Today, they serve as the library and the monastery tailors’/embroiderers’ workshop. A long rectangular building with an octagonal shaped structure at either end, and another longish part between them also survived. This stands at the courtyard of the monastery on the east and is used as a kitchen and warehouse. The lamas in this monastery are endeavouring to revive many forgotten rites and traditions to reintroduce them into present religious practice. One example of the revived special ceremonies now held is the ritual circumambulation (Maidar ergekh) of the future Buddha, Maitreya. This tradition was broken in 1937 and was revived in 1993.¹⁹¹

The most significant event in the monastery’s ritual year is the masked ritual dance, Tsam, which attracts many people. Prior to this revival, the last Tsam was performed publicly in Mongolia in 1937. Zuün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery first performed it again in the old traditional manner in September 2003 - on the 9th of the last summer month. The main tutelary deity of the monastery is Jigjid, and the main protectors are Gombo and Lkham.

The wooden yurt-shaped temple building of Ekh daginiin aimag survived but has been re-built and refurnished many times. It was used as a circus from the 1940’s becoming the Circus College in the 1950s where new generations of circus performers were and are still trained. This building remains today and is still used by the Circus College. Several extensions have been added to the original building which are used for different purposes for example a night club, a bar and a food shop. Despite of these changes to the outer appearance, the round shaped interior with its red supporting pillars still resembles a temple hall and retains the atmosphere from the old time. It is more spacious than the other two temples of Zuün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery, which has plans to buy this old temple building and to establish a religious monastic school in it.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Today Maidar ergekh is only performed in large monasteries such as Gandan and this monastery in Ulaanbaatar, and every few monasteries in the countryside.
¹⁹² A more detailed description of the site and its ceremonies is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.
GANDAN HILL, THE WESTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT

The name of this district of the city became Baruun Khüree (‘western monastic district’) or Gandan (T. dga’-ldan, Skr. Tuṣṭa). It was the place of monastic education and pure morality in the city. As for the origins of its formation in the 19th century as a district in the capital, Pozdneev claims (Mongols, p. 76.) that tsanid rites (T. mtshan-nyid, philosophical studies) were introduced to the Khüree by Tibetan lamas, who arrived during the time of the 2nd Bogd with the leadership of Namjal gawj (T. mam-rgyal dka’-bcu) and Rinchindorj gawj (T. rin-chen rdo-rje dka’-bcu). When their number reached fifty, the Bogd established a separate aimag for them in Erdene zuu (probably Lam narin aimag). In 1756 he founded a temple for the study of tsanid (philosophy) in the area of Khüree and ordained Donkhor Mañjúračlama as its head. Those who completed the course and took the examinations could receive a degree, which only the Bogd had the right to grant. Pozdneev adds that as Urga began to become a government and trading centre, the life in the Khüree began to bear down on the learned lamas. After their request to the 4th Bogd he established in 1809 a large and a small temple for philosophical studies. The 5th Bogd enlarged the small temple and named the two philosophical temples, Dashchoimbel and Güngaachoilin datsan. He also built his winter residence (Didinpowran) on Gandan hill in 1838 on the terrace of Dalkh (Dalkhiin denj) as well as the main assembly hall (Tsogchin) called Gandantegchenlin (R-912), which later became the name of the whole temple complex: Gandantegchenlin khiid or Gandan khiid (or Töw Gandan, GPS: N 47°55.242’, E 106°53.689’, elevation 1309 m).

In 1838, when Züün Khüree was moved to Tolgoit, some of the datsans were settled in Gandan (Pürew, Töriin golomt, pp. 23-24.) behind the fenced area, namely Dashchoimbel datsan (originally founded in 1756), Güngaachoilin datsan (1809) and Badma yogo datsan (1806). Later the temples of Lamrim datsan (1844), Idgaachoinzinlin datsan (1910) and Migjid Janraiseg datsan (R-913, built in 1911) were also established in Gandan. It was usual for the lamas of the three philosophical monastic schools to participate in the ceremonies and lessons of their home-datsan.

Its a fenced area of the main assembly hall along with the Didinpowran and the three temples housing later the stupas for the relics of the 5th, 7th and 8th Bogds was located in the first courtyard, whilst education institutes or monastic schools were situated within the outer fence each within their own wooden fenced area.

According to Banzragch (Khüree khiid, p. 15.), the territory of Gandan was 371×348 ald (1 ald=1.6 m) – around 1,200sq ms. Jügder's painting represents its extension, imposant temple buildings and the surrounding yurt-quarters (aimags) in the year of 1913. Gandan had around 2,000 lamas and numerous eminent Buddhist scholars graduated from its Buddhist Institutes.

Residences of high-ranking lamas andnobles were also situated in Gandan. According to Pürew (Uls töriin töw, p. 55., Pürew, Töriin golomt, p. 18.), to the west of the Gandan main gate there was the fenced-off residence of Dilow khutagt Jamsranjaw (1884-1965) and Manzshir khutagt Tserendorj (?-1926), while on the north-west side of Gandan there was the residence of Sereenen otoch (Doctor Sereenen, M. otači), the 8th Bogd’s doctor.

Women were not allowed to enter the whole area neither were laymen or merchants. The only date when devotees and laypeople could enter Gandan district was on one of the festival days of the Buddha - 15th of the first summer month - when they were

193 According to Oyuunbilig (Tüükh soyol, p. 251), the first temple in this area was called Yellow temple (Shar süm) being a philosophical temple built in 1809.
allowed to visit the temples and datsans for worship and prayer.\textsuperscript{194} According to Dashtseren lama four policemen stood on either side of the Gandan complex to enforce the law against women or merchants entering this part of the city. If a woman relative came to visit a lama, she had to shout out his name or call him from the gate, as they could only meet outside the complex fence or, if inside, in the presence of the policeman.

As it was described in Züün Khüree, the lamas lived in aimags depending on from where they came. As numerous people moved to the capital, the districts became crowded in Züün Khüree and new districts with the same names as the Züün Khüree aimags had to be formed around Gandan to admit more people. (In the new Gandan aimags, the practice of settling incomers in the aimag inhabited by lamas from their locality continued). According to Pürew, 22 aimags (Shüteenii, Dondowlin, Jadariin, Düinkhoriin, Tsetsen toinii, Anduu nariin, Dashdandarlin, Jasiin, Nomchiin, Sangain, Zoogoin, Dugarin, Choinkhorlin, Mergen khambiin, Bziyaagiin, Khüükhen noyonii, Erkhem toinii, Ekh daginiiin, Wangain, Khuwilgaanii, Bargiin, Örlüüdiin aimag) where the lamas lived, were situated around the central temples of Gandan and its monastic schools. All the aimags were inside their own fenced-off area although they were of different sizes, with different number of lamas in each. In fact, the aimag names were the same as the first 22 aimags in Züün Khüree with the lamas who lived in them, belonging to one of the Züün Khüree aimags. In Gandan, the aimags had no temples. The lamas went every day to Züün Khüree to their aimag temple or to one of the monastic schools, if they belonged to one.

The area occupied by Gandan can be seen in Jügder’s painting in detail. As it shows there were several stūpas in the north of the Gandan complex. As Pozdneev claims (Mongols, p. 76.), there were 28 stūpas on the west and north sides of Gandan sponsored and built by devotees. According to Dendew (Nawaan, Övgön Dendew, p. 11.), these stūpas and prayer wheels surrounded Gandan with the White Stūpa assembly, called Tsagaan suwragiin khural / Jarankhashor (NR-960) in its northwest and the eight types of Buddha stūpas in its northeast.

In 1938, the government closed the monastery and the datsan buildings, mostly wooden constructions, were burnt and the artifacts destroyed or taken away. However, the stone buildings in the first courtyard and the temple building of Janraiseg survived. According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 73.), the stūpas of the 5\textsuperscript{th}, 7\textsuperscript{th} and 8\textsuperscript{th} Bogds were destroyed in 1938. The relics, however, were saved and placed in the stūpa built for Abbot Gombojaw (1901-1980), which was erected around 1980 in the north-west corner of the court, next to Zuugiin süm.

**Partial reopening in 1944, complete revival in 1990**

After the purge in 1937-1938 Gandan monastery was closed. In 1944 prior to the visit of the American vice president Henry Wallace, who had expressed a wish to see monasteries and temples in his Mongol visit being completely ignorant of the conditions there, a petition signed by N. Erdenepel and other ex-lamas was handed in to the Parliament to request the re-opening of Gandantegchenlin monastery. The partial reopening of Gandan, the only ‘functioning’ monastery was in fact forced upon Choibalsan by Stalin, who was himself forced by the request of the US delegation of President Roosevelt. So the authorities allowed it to re-open as a ‘Temple of Worship’ (Mörgöliin süm) in the summer.

From this time Gandan monastery was a state-dependent establishment with a couple of lamas, and the only functioning monastery in the whole territory of Mongolia until the democratic change in 1990.

On its reopening in 1944, gawf N. Erdenepel (1887-1960) became the new abbot.

\textsuperscript{194} This day commemorates three events in Buddha’s life on the same day: his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he died (parinivrāna).
(khamba lam). Others, like gawj T. Gombodoo, R. Garamsed, and O. Dagwajianzanz became its first lamas. According to Pürew’s book (Töriin golomb, pp. 73-74.), the leader of the communal handicraft co-operative set up for ex-lamas (lam narin artel’), Erdenepel, became the abbot and its chief accountant, Gombodoo the disciplinary master (gesgüi). R. Garamsed became the lowon lama and angi gewsh G. Bat-Ochir and Luwsangsüren lamas the chanting masters (unzad). Gewsh M. Galaaraaid, Jinlaw, L. Luwsan, Naidan lamas also joined in the first years after the re-opening. According to Soninbayar (Gandantegchenlen khiid, pp. 14-15.) in 1924 he was elected to be the representative of Ikhi shaw’ and in 1944 he became the disciplinary master of the reopened Gandan.

From 1950 a steady trickle of other lamas joined, such as gawj, agramba, Ts. Luwsangombo who became the main chanting master (ikh unzad), S. Rinchindorj who became the disciplinary master (gesgüi), and gewsh S. Shadüw, angi gewsh Sh. Lkhamaajaw, gawj T. Danigal, gawj G. Osor, gewsh Sh. Ishtawkhail, rawjamba T. Danzan-Odser, gewsh G. Dontor and the artist D. Danzan.

After the re-opening of Gandan in 1944, Parliament decreed that Buddhist texts should be recited in Mongolian language, as one of the conditions made for the partial reopening. Thus, the most important texts of the everyday chanting were translated from Tibetan. The first text was recited in Mongolian in 1947. By 1951 and onwards more than ten texts recited in the daily chanting were in Mongolian. According to the article in Bilgiin melmii (p. 5.), in 1951 the abbot N. Erdenepel, the chanting master Ts. Luwsangombo, Yadamstüre, T. Danzan-Odser and Sh. Ishtawkhai were appointed to carry out this ruling. In 1954, the chanting master G. Bat-Ochir, Khainzen, Sh. Lkhamaajaw and Ayuush lamas were involved in this work as well.

Through the efforts of N. Erdenepel and T. Gombodoo along with other lamas and believers, many old statues abandoned in the Choijin lamiin säm, Ikhiin Zuu, Ayuush or Tsewegmed / Tsegmid from Ganjuur Temple (Ganjuurin Ayuush), the Manal/Manla from Noyon shüteen Temple (Noyon shüteeniin Manla); Dar’ ekh from Dar ekh’ temple (Dar’ eikhin Dar’ ekh), the Ulaan Sakhius (Jamsran) from Baruu Örgöö, Baraishir from Örlüüdiiin aimag (Örlüüdiiin Baraishir), and Namsrai from Sangain aimag (Sangain Namsrai, R-910 and NR-942); the sculpture of Maidar, the masterpiece of Logshir Janraisseg (T. ‘jig-ten dbang-phyug, Skr. Lokeçvara, a form of Avalokiteçvara) from Dambadarjaadin monastery (R-939); Ochirdar’ with his consort from Shaddiülin monastery (R-937); the five protectors of the Öölds, namely Gombo, Namsrai, Choijoo, Lkham and Yansan yadam; the large sculpture of Choijoo made by Öndör gegeen from Dondowlin aimag, called also Zurkhai Choijoo, ‘Choijoo of the astrologers temple’ (R-910); the sculpture of Öndör gegeen made himself at the request of his mother. From the ten appliqués of wrathful deities, which decorated the old Tsogchin temple, the three

195 According to Soninbayar (Gandantegchenlen khiid, pp. 13-14.), Erdenepil lived in Sangain aimag and studied in Dashchoimbel datsan before the purges. He was the director of the State Library between 1927-28 and worked for the Ministry of Religious Affairs from 1929. He edited the Magazine of the Lamas (Lam narin setgüü) together with Shadüw és Rinchinkhorloo. In 1928 he became the disciplinary master of Sangain aimag and took gawjiiin danjaa in 1933 in Dashchoimbel datsan. He disrobed in 1938, then the abbot of Gandan on its reopening in 1944.

196 Gombodorj or Gombodoo (1886-1965), who became the disciplinary master of Gandan, before the purges lived in Dandarlin aimag, participated in the ceremonies of the main assembly hall and studied in Dashchoimbel datsan. He was a clerk (bicheech) in the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs (Shanzodwiin/Shanzawiin yaan). Later he became one of the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall.
remained ones (Shalsh, Gombo, Ochirwaan’) are also kept in Gandan.

In 1960 gawj S. Gombojaw (1901-1980), known as öwgön khamba (‘old abbot’) or nomch mergen khamba lam (‘wise abbot’) became the new abbot of Gandan (1960-1980). He made several improvements. Nowadays, Gandan monastery is the centre for Buddhists in Mongolia with its 9 main buildings and around 500 lamas belonging to the different temples and monastic schools in the complex. Tsogchin temple, Ochirdariin süm, Zuugiin süm, Didinpowran, the library has survived the purges and still stand in a fenced off courtyard. Janraiseg temple also survived. After the 1990 democratic change, Gandantegchenlin monastery has rebuilt the old Dechingalaw or Düünhkhor datsan (NR-942) which originally was part of Züün Khüree, and revived the tradition of the three Buddhist Philosophical schools, Dashchoimbel datsan, Güngaachoilin datsan, Idgaachoizlinin datsan. The huge 16m high statue of Janraisig has been reconstructed in the original temple building and Badma yogo datsan was re-established in a building in the former Geser süm complex nearby (R-914). Jüd datsan (originally in Züün Khüree, presently in a yurt next to the Zanabazar Buddhist university) and Manba datsan (originally in Züün Khüree, presently just outside the walls of the complex) have also been revived within Gandan.

Among the many thousand lamas who once belonged to the monastic schools of Gandan monastery some who survived the purges, became lamas again after the democratic change in 1990. Our main data provider, Dashtseren lama had studied in Idgaachoizlinin datsan as well as P. Luwsandanzan (born 1921) lama of Züün Khüree monastery. Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (ikh gesgüü) in the present Dashcoimbel datsan, once belonged to the old Dashchoimbel datsan together with Choisüren lama (born 1916 in the year of dragon) of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery in Zuunmod and S. Dagwa (born 1910) teaching master (gergen, T. dge-rgan) of Manba datsan. Ts. Tserenpuntsog (born 1914 in the year of tiger) lama of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery in Zuunmod once studied in Güngaachoilin datsan. Ts. Dorj (1901-2007), lama of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery, Zuunmod, belonged to Jüd datsan. These old lamas were all interviewed and provided data on their datsans.

Having always been the most important centre of Buddhist education and the only working monastery for decades after some years interruption between 1937 and 1944, and the remained buildings several books and bulletins contain data about Gandan. Many photos are available in books and in the collection of the Film Archives. Paintings and photos are available in books and in the collection of the Film Archives.

---

197 According to Soninbayar (Gandantegchenlin khii, pp. 16-17.), prior to the purges he lived in Örlüüdin aimag and studied in Idgaachoizlinin datsan where he became a gawj in 1935. From 1951-1960 he was the director of the Tibetan Collection of the State Library and also taught Tibetan language at the National University of Mongolia. The Union of the Religion (Nomiin niileg) was started in the 1960’s with the aim of training young lamas and preparing them for exams in philosophical studies. Gawj Damdinsüren, gawj O. Dagwajamtsan, Jigmed-Osor, D. Nawaandorj, gewsh Kh. Baldorj, Z. Pürewjamts, and Chogjaw participated as teachers, and, later, D. Tsermaa, Ö. Gündsambuu, Sh. Soninbayar, T. Bulgan and Yo. Amgalan. Furthermore, on the initiation of professor B. Rinchen, scientific activities began with the participation of the Gandan lamas with the aim of publishing Tibetan and Mongolian dictionaries, chronicles and other religious sources (Bilgin melmit). During this time, efforts were made to ensure more lamas had the full vows. Consequently the abbot of the Barga territory, dooroomboo Luwsangetsoog, and Garamsed lama gave gelen vows to eight lamas and the gelsei vows to many other lamas. In 1970 the Gandan abbot along with the Buryat abbot, Gomboyev, initiated establishment of the Mongolian Buddhist University to educate lamas.

198 There is also another courtyard, with small houses as lamas’dwellings, a bigger residential building and the building of The Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art inside. The yellow coloured two-storey administration building of Gandan with Zanabazar Buddhist University is to the left of Jüd datsan temple. The yurt of Jüd datsan is on the west of it.

199 Tsütém: intro. 21 (Güngaachoilin datsan), 28 (panoramic view from Janraisegiin dugan); 36 (Migjid Janraisegiin datsan, Lamrim datsan and Güngaachoilin datsan), 82, 91, 180, 182, 185; Maidar: 58 (Tsogchin dugan, Zuugiin süm), 61 (Tsongkhapa statue, Janraiseg datsan), 90 (general view), 95 (prayer
sketches help to imagine the arrangement of the old Gandan.

Hereby the descriptions of the temples of the old Gandan monastery is given together with a short summary on their present state.\textsuperscript{201} As Gandan was reopened and partially revived in 1944 and therefore could preserve many old ceremonies which are still performed.

**Temple buildings in the main courtyard**

**Gandantegchenlin, the main assembly hall**

Tsogchin (T. tshogs chen), Gandantegchenlin (T. dga’-ldan theg-chen gling, ’joyful Mahāyāna monastery’), Tögs bayasgalant ikh khölgniin süm, Bat Tsagaan

The main temple or the great assembly hall (Tsogchin) was called Bat Tsagaan referring to the style of the building (‘massive white’), similarly to the main assembly hall which was situated in the centre of Züün Khüree. It was, and still is, a low square shaped building with a gilded golden roof.

According to Oyuunbilig (Dashnyam, Tūükh soyoolin dursgal, p. 251.), the Tsogchin temple was built in 1839. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, pp. 75-76.), its main tutelary deity was Ochirwaan’ and its main protector was Gombo. According to Dashtseren lama, daily chanting was held here following the form set down by Öndör Geegen Zanabazar in 1654, which is based on texts used in Tashilhunpo Monastery in Tibet, although he made some changes and special rules to suit Mongolian discipline.

The great treasury of the Bogd (Ikh san) financed the economic affairs of the monastery. Thus there were no jas, financial units, belonging to the temple. From 1925, the Tsogchin jas and the three philosophical monastic schools financed their own operations.

Due to the fact that in the time of the Bogds Gandantegchenlin was subordinated directly to the main assembly hall, the National Central Archives does not owе individual catalogues about it from the Manchu period. However, some individual sources about Gandantegchenlin süm or khural is available from the Bogd khaan’s period. Its catalogue (A-228) contains two texts without date. One of them is a leporello informing about the proper day of the establishment of Khailangiin dugan, while the other one is about the renovation of the sculpture that was ordered by a command, and about the establishment of a new temple. Supposely, these two texts refer to Idgaachoinzinlin datsan and Migjid Janraisegin datsan which were built after 1911.

The National Central Archives keeps 11 texts related to Gandantegchenlin. Its catalogue (Kh-196) of the Modern Period contains 8 texts which were composed between 1921 and 1937. They are about costs, printing activity, and equipment which were received from the administration office of religious affairs (Shashnii khereg erkhekh gazar, 1927), and is a list about the properties and livestock of Gandan’s palace, and its incomes. Still, the most significant source is a register which lists the ceremonies that were held in 1937 (Kh196/8) containing the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of the 31 ceremonies that were performed with fix date in Gandan. The register was compiled

\textsuperscript{200} Film Archives K24226-K24240, some examples are: K24226 (general view from the north-west), K24228 (from the south-west), K24235 (Güngaachoilin datsan, Idgaachoinzinlin datsan), K24724 (eight golden stupas behind Gandan complex), K24735 (Dashchoibel datsan, Lamrim datsan, Janraiseg datsan)

\textsuperscript{201} A more detailed description of the present-day activities of those temples that had been revived is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.
on the 22th of September of the 27th year (1937). As its clear from the register the ceremonies of the inner courtyard of Gandan were performed in five places: in Gandantegchenlin temple, in the relics temple of the 5th Bogd, in the relics temple of the 7th Bogd, in the relics temple of the 8th Bogd and in the treasury (śan). The ceremonies of Gandantegchenlin temple were the following (the ceremonies of the other four places will be described in the relevant place): in Gandantegchenlin temple Tsogchin and Mandalsh iwaa were held every day with the participation of 10 lamas from the expected 24. Khangal ceremony was held on the 8th of every month by all the expected 28 lamas. Tsogchid was performed on the 15th of every month by 11 lamas from the expected 24. Baga Manal was held on the 22nd of the last autumn month. Tsogchid was offered on the 3rd of the first winter month. Mongolian Sandui was recited on the 25th of the first winter month and Tsogchid was offered on that day, too. Mongolian Sandui was read again on the 7th of the middle winter month, together with Tshogchid offering again. Tsogchid was held on the 27th of the last winter month by 9 lamas from the 24. Yerööl, Maan’, and Manal ceremonies were held from the 1-15th of the first spring month by all the expected 24 lamas. Maidar zalaach yerööl was recited on the 16th of the first spring month (to invite Maitreya), when each gawj was invited to celebrate. Thus, 78 lamas gathered in the ceremony. Nünnai was held from the 30th of the last spring month to the 16th of the first summer month by 4 lamas. Janraisegiin düi tsen had been prepared from the 17-30th of the first summer month by all the 10 expected lamas. A special ceremony was held on the 4th of the last summer month. Every gawj was invited, thus, 42 lamas participated in the ceremony. In all the 5 places Tüi was performed on the 15th of every month by 5 lamas.

In the Treasury (śan) the manager of the treasury (sangiin daamal) held recitation every day and the offering-preparer of the treasury (sangiin takhilch) recited texts every day, too.

At all the 3 stūpas Mandal örgökh was performed on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

The temple was crowded by religious artifacts. It ceased religious activities in 1938 after which it functioned as a stable for horses for a few years. Gandan monastery was partly reopened in 1944 and daily ceremonies were held in this temple once again. That time the chanting was done according to the old tradition, to the degree that the restrictions allowed. Presently, the special monthly and annual ceremonies of Gandan are held in the Tsogchin temple with the participation of not just the lamas belonging to this temple but also of young novices from the monastic schools.

Relics temple of the 5th Bogd

5-r bogdiin shariliin süm

This temple was built in 1840-41 as a palace for the 5th Bogd. After his passing away, his relics were placed here inside a stūpa. The building is made of earth and bricks and the roof is covered with green ceramic tiles with the top decorations being gilded in gold.

According to the above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) at the stūpa of the 5th Bogd the following ceremonies took place: Khajid was held on the 10th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Tüi was performed on the 3rd of every month by 2 appointed lamas. Gombo ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month. Tsogchid was held on the

202 Its type cannot be identified. M. todbung čamaradqaba qurqu-du (?), T. ?
203 An inventory of the artifacts of the temples, called “An inventory of icons and statuettes in the Gandan-tegčinelin and in the stūpas on the north of the Temple” was published by Rinchen (Rinchen, B. (ed.), Four Mongolian Historical Records. Çata-Piþaka Series, Vol. 11., New Delhi. 1959, pp. 14-58.)
17th of the first summer month by one appointed lama. Tïñlkha was held on the 8th of the last autumn month. Tsogchid was offered on the 3rd of the first winter month. Tüï was performed on the 15th of every month by 5 lamas. Mandal örgökh was held on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

In 1938 the stûpa containing the relics of the Bogd was completely destroyed. The temple was reopened in 1944. It was renovated in 1986. The present name of the temple is Ochirdariin süm (Vajradhara temple) and is still used for Gandan’s daily chanting. The main deity worshipped here is Ochirdar’, a statue of whom sits on the main altar. The statue, made by Zanabazar in 1683, was originally in the Ochirdariin süm in Züün Khüree before it was destroyed in 1938. However, the statue was found in Chojjin lamiin süm in 1945 along with other precious artifacts and taken to Gandan by Erdenepel and Gombodoo lamas. There are many other old statues and thangkas in the temple also brought here from various old monasteries destroyed in 1937-1938. For example, Logshir Janraiseg (T. ’jig-rten dbang-phyug, Skr. Lokeçvara, a form of Avalokiteçvara), the primary object of worship in Dambadarjaalin monastery (R-939) was also found in Chojjin lamiin süm.204

Relics temple of the 7th Bogd
7-r bogdiin shariliin süm
The temple was built in 1869 to house the relics of the 7th Bogd. Likewise, the building is made of earth and bricks and the roof is covered with green ceramic tiles with the top decorations being gilded in gold.

According to the above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) at the stûpa of the 7th Bogd the following ceremonies took place: Khajid ceremony was held on the 10th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Danjin (?) ceremony was held on the 12th of every month by 5 appointed lamas. Damjin ceremony was held on the 17th of the first spring month by 12 appointed lamas. Tsogchid was offered on the 12th of the middle winter month. Tüï was performed on the 15th of every month by 5 lamas. Mandal örgökh was held on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

In 1945 and 1946, shortly after the two temples were reopened, a connecting corridor was built between Ochirdariin süm and this temple. Sacrificial cakes and other offerings were prepared here. In 1986 the temple was renovated.

The present name of the temple is Zuugiin süm (Buddha temple). The images of Buddha (Zuu) and his main disciplines, and Ayuush or Tsewegmed / Tsegmid can be seen here. This is the place where the Jasaa is conducted i.e. where the lamas do the readings requested by individuals on a daily basis. Outside this temple, on the left side, there is the large plaster statue of Tsongkhapa (from Dambadarjaa monastery, R-939) surrounded by prayer wheels, and the stûpa containing the relics of Gombojaw, the famous abbot of Gandan. There are prayer-wheels surrounding it and the two temple buildings.

Didinpovran, Palace of the Blissful Emptiness
Didanpowran/Didan lawiran (T. bde-stong pho-brang, bde-stong bla-brang)
The two-storey palace made of earth and brick was built in 1838/1840 as the winter palace of the 5th Bogd. The 13th Dalai Lama, Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho (1876-1933) lived here in 1904/5 having fled from the invading British force led by Francis Younghusband. The

204 In front of the temple there is an old incense burner (boipor, T. spos-phor) from another monastery named similarly Dambadarjaa, which existed once in Dundgov’ aimag, Erdenedalai süm.
205 Exact meaning unknown. M. Dangjin, T. ?
sources do not tell anything about the further function of the palace as the Dalai Lama left in 1905.

The above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) lists the ceremonies of Gandantegchenlin, the 3 relics temple and the treasury (san). As Didinpowran is the only building which apart of the above-mention 4 has been standing in the courtyard, one can suppose that it housed the treasury. However, it is also possible that the treasury operated in a bigger yurt.

The building of Didinpowran still stands in front of Ochirdarin siim and today is used for reciting texts requested by individuals. Before starting the daily chanting in Gandantegchenlin or Ochirdarin siim, the high ranking lamas wearing their ceremonial hats, read morning prayers here, and then go into the shrine.

Relics temple of the 8th Bogd
8-r bogdiin shariliin siim

This temple is not shown on Jügder's painting as it was only built in 1925 (or 1926) to house the relics of the 8th Bogd. According to Darimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 109.), when the Bogd died on the 17th of the first summer month in 1924, Luwsan, the famous sculptor of Namdoljin aimag, made a gilded statue (giinda, T. sku-'dra) of him and put his relics in a golden stūpa in this temple. (However, according to Geleta (Forbáth, p. 214.), the embalmed and gilded body of the Bogd khaan could be seen in the late 1920s in the Choijin laimiin siim (R-915) behind glass.)

According to the above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) at the stūpa of the 8th Bogd the following ceremonies took place: Sangdui was performed on the 17th of every month by 4 appointed lamas. Gombo ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. Tüü was performed on the 15th of every month by 5 lamas. Mandal örgökh was held on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

In 1938 the relics of the Bogd were completely destroyed. Later, after Gandan reopened in 1944, the temple became a library. Today, it has a rich collection of philosophical, historical, and scientific sources and texts. The temple contains many thousands of sūtras written in Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit. The Derge-version (T. sde-dge) of the Kanjur is also kept in the library. Furthermore, the works of Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian scholars are in this library such as: Tsongkhapa and his two disciples Khaidiü Je (Khaidü je, T. mkhas-grub rje, 1385-1438) and Gyaltsew Je (Jaltsew je, T. rgyal-tshab rje, 1364-1432); the works of the Dalai Lamas; the Panchen Lamas; and famous Mongolian philosophers like Agwaanbaldan (T. ngag-dbang dpal-lidan, 1797-1864); Agwaantüdorj or Bar’ lam/ Bragriin gegeen (T. brag-ri bla-ma dam-tshig rdo-rje, 1781-1848); and Zawa lam Damdin (T. rtsa-ba bl a-ma rta-mgrin, 1867-1937). Some of the rare books have elaborately jewel encrusted front covers and are written in gold, silver or with inks made from the powder of the nine jewels. Moreover, there are numerous texts written in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. There are also some surgical instruments from the 16th century exhibited here. On the altar several old sculptures are placed.

Monastic schools

Monastic schools stood behind the above-mentioned courtyard. The curriculum in each of the three monastic schools was based on the philosophical handbooks or manuals (igchaa, T. yig-cha) written by different eminent scholars from famous Tibetan monastic universities. Thus, Dashchoimbel datsan follows the same philosophical texts as of
Gomang monastic school in Drepung monastery, while Güngaachoilin monastic school follows the same texts of Loselling in Drepung monastery, and Idgaachoinzinlin follows the system of Sera Jey (Ser Je, T. se-ra byes) monastic school of Sera monastery. The heads of the monastic schools bore the title of shunlaiw (T. gzhung lugs-pa/ gzhung las-pa).

According to Soninbayar (Gandantegchinlen khiid, pp. 66-67.) before the dom exam (domiin damjaa) in the three philosophical monastic schools, the lamas who studied in the dom classes were appointed to participate in the given feasts from the 4 great dom and the 3 small dom. The four great dom were the following: Lyankh dom which was held on the 4th of the last summer month, on the feastival day when Buddha turned the wheel of Dharma; the ‘Dom of the 22nd day’ (22-nii dom) which was held on 22nd of the last autumn month; the Dom of the 25th (25-nii dom) which was celebrated on the annual commemoration day of Tsongkhapa (zulin 25-n), and Jüshii dom (T. bcu bzhi ston-mo), which was held on the 14th of the middle winter month. The three small fests were held on the 19th, 20th and 21st of the middle winter month in Güngaachoilin datsan, and on the 18th, 19th and 20th of the middle winter month in Dashchoimbel datsan.

In the Gandan philosophical monastic schools the exams (domiin damjaa) were taken till 1938.

Although Badmayogo datsan and Lamrim datsan were also bearing the name monastic school (datsan, T. grwa-tshang) these were places of exorcism, recitations and healing rituals (gürem, T. sku-rim) performed by a few lama (50-200).

**Dashchoimbel monastic school**

*Dashchoimbel datsan* (T. bkra-shis chos-'phel grwa-tshang, ‘monastic school spreading Teaching of auspiciousness’), Zuün datsan (‘eastern monastic school’), Ölzii khutgiin nomiig arwijuulagch

Dashchoimbel datsan was established as the first Mongolian philosophical school by the 2nd Bogd and Manzshir khutagt in 1756 at Doloon nuur. It was named by the 5th Bogd and moved to the Gandan hill in 1837. The philosophical training and practice of the datsan is based on the handbook (igchaa, T. yig-cha) by Günchin jamiyaan shadaw (T. kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa, 1648-1721) which is the same as the system of Gomang monastic school (Goman datsan, T. sgo-mang grwa-tshang). This datsan produced many famous scholars from among the estimated six thousand lamas who have been educated there, such as: Linsrai Gavj Agwaanbaldan (T. gling-bsre'i dka'-bcu ngag-dbang dpal-lidan, 1794-1864); khamba nomon khan Agvaankhaidaw (T. ngag-dbang mkhas-grub, 1779-1838), who was awarded the rawjambaa degree in Tibet; Damtsigdorj/Damtsagdorj or Bar’ lam/ Bragiriin gegeen (1781-1848); Dandar agramba (1835-1916); Angi Shagdar (1869-1935); and Zawa lam Damdin (1867-1937).

The school’s head bore the title shunlaiw, as in the other monastic schools. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüreee, pp. 57-58.) the main tutelary deity of the temple was Jigjid, and its main protector deity was Gombo. Soninbayar mentions (Gandantegchinlen khiid, p. 65.) Sendom as well.

The curriculum was divided into 14 classes with each class in the five elementary and four intermediate stages requiring one year of study: the elementary classes covered the study of , the intermediate classes the topic of Paramita. After nine years study it was possible to take an exam, called domiin damjaa. Then, the lamas continued on to study the four advanced classes, one year for each, covering the Madhyamaka, Abhidharma and a part of the Vinaya. After this, the study of Vinaya, monastic discipline, was studied for a further five to ten years. Those who took a final exam in these special fields of study got
the rank of gawj. The names of the 14 classes were the following: elementary studies: khadag (T. kha-dog), shidiw/shidew (T. gzhi-sgrub), jumbarai/jumbri (T. rgyu’-bras), yuljin/juljit (T. yul-can), dondonju (T. don bdun-chu); intermediate studies: ok (gzhung) (T.’og-ma), gom (gzhung) (T. gong-ma), gawadamba (T. skabs-pa dang-po), dom (sdom); advanced: uma sarwa (T. dbu-ma gsar-pa), uma nínwa (T. dbu-ma rnying-pa), jod (T. mdzod), gargamba ok (T. bka’-rams-pa ’og-ma); professional level or gargamba: gargamba gom (T. bka’-rams gong-ma).

The National Central Archives contains 1233 sources related to the operation of this monastic school. The catalogue (M-90) of the Manchu period contains 907 texts dated between 1826 and 1911. Its introduction confirms that the temple was firstly established in 1756, as the first philosophical school (choir; gün ukhaan) in Mongolia. Döimiin damjaa and gavjiin damja were held here. The school had its own incomes and expenses, livestock and other properties. The monastic authorities of the monastic school were nominated by Ikh Chogchin. The following high-ranking lamas belonged to the monastic school: a chief lama, a vice lama with lowon rank (tsol), two disciplinary masters, three chanting masters, shrinekeepers, main and vice offering masters, cook (zam). The school had 16 financial units such as Ikh jas, Jänraasiin númnain jas, Donjiid jas, (Sereeter: Donchidiin jas), Mintügwiin/Mintügiiin númnain jas, Mönkh Gânjuuirin jas, Shiiini naimmii Gânjuuirin jas, (Mönkh) Erdeenii Gânjuuirin jas, Liidariin jas (?). 206 Sanjiid jas, Ikh pogiiin jas (Sereeter: Ikh chogiin jas), Megzemiin (buteeliin) jas, Duiiwiin chogiin jas, Döduwiin jas (probably Tüdewiin jas), Arwanii jas, Arwan gurawnii Gnünregiin jas, Gnünregiin jas, Dugan bureensii jas, etc. Sereeter mentions Datsangiin arwanii Gnünregiin jas, Datsangiin Gânjuuirin jas, Dordüwiin jas, Gurawnii Gnünregiin jas, Maidariin jas, Mönkh Dar’ ekhiin jas, too. Until 1911 the operation of the monastic school was without change.

The livestock of Mönkh númnain jas is listed as the oldest text (1826). Among the numerous texts about the incomes and expenses, progeny and loss of livestock, interesting texts such as lists of numbers of participant lamas on Dūitsen yerööl ceremonies of the datsan (1862, 1863), a list of stallions prepared by the datsan to military services (1871), a list of livestock and silken scarves being in the response of the disciplinary masters of the datsan (1876), a register of accessories of the datsan’s financial unit(s) (1876), and a list of tea which was sold to the financial units of the datsan in city price (1879) are available in the collection as well as a list of butter collected from herders (1880), and a register of selling the offerings which were given to the aimag lamas (1883). A leporello about the question of the allowance of taking the agrambiin damja in the datsan and giving alms to the lamas who participated in ceremonies was issued in 1880. Regulations of lamas (lam nariin dagaj yawakh deg juram) was determined in 1896 and 1898. Rules of the datsan’s ceremonies were determined in 1888. A list of goods which were sold by the financial unit to cover the necessities of ceremonies (1895), and a list of offering given by patrons (1901) are available as well as the incomes and expenses of domiin damjaa (1901). A list of tea flowing in to renovate the temple building of the datsan and that confirms that the temple building was renovated in 1901. Mönkö, tea and other properties, leased out camels of Migzemiin buteel jas (without date) which were leased out were listed, and there is also a leporello counting the lamas of the datsan (1903).

The catalogue (A-79) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 129 texts. Buteel jas, Ikh pogiiin jas, Gânjuuirin jas, Donchidiin jas, Ikh jas, Maidariin jas, Mintügwiin jas, Migzemiin buteel jas, Erdenii Gânjuuirin jas, Arwanii Günreg jas are mentioned in titles. Texts about mönkö, livestock, and tea which were put on interest enrich the collection (1916). A text indicates that toin Dowdon made the recitation of Erdenii Gânjuur eternal.

206 Exact meaning unknown.
and a separate jas was formed to finance it. There is a document from 1911 in order to send Jadamba, who took gawjiin damjaa in Dashchoimbel datsan to teach in the school. Other documents express the wish for allowance of taking the agrambiin damjaa in the datsan, listing the ranks and titles in the datsan, and postgraduating the lamas who wished to take gawjiin damjaa (1912). Many documents express the wish to educate further the fully-ordained lamas who wanted to take gawjiin damjaa in Dashchoimbel datsan (1913, 1914, 1916, 1918). There is a document on forcing Baljir gelen of the datsan to participate in ceremonies and to educate him in the Buddhist Teaching (1919). A document requires the datsan to prepare and send lamas who had studied in its religious school (nom surguul) to gawjiin damjaa and to sit in the ceremonies of the datsan (1921). There is also a text which lists the offerings dedicated to the benefit of Ekh Dagina at the ceremony of her longevity (without date). From the several requests we can conclude that lamas firstly studied in religious schools (nomiin surguul) and a special preparation was required to take gawjiin damjaa.

The catalogue (Kh-192) of the Modern Period mentions 197 texts compiled between 1921-1938. There are usual calculations of the livestock (1921), data of Buteeliin jas, Janraisegiin jas, Maidariin jas, Ikh jas, Mintügwiin jas, Tsangchid jas (probably Tsanichidiin jas) Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas, Gungaa jas (?)²⁰⁷, Migzemiin buteeliin jas, and Baga jas. However, there are texts concerning the collectivization of the livestock, and möngö and belongings to give to the Party school (Namiin surguuliiin khural nomiin khereglel, 1921-8-1, 1923-10-17). A chart of progeny and flocks herded by others are available (1924) as well as documents about incomes and expenses of the datsan and the decoration of lamas. A document in connection with infringement of the law by lamas or ceremonial questions was composed in 1925. There is a register of moveable and immovable properties of the financial units (1926), documents about studying the Teaching and becoming ranked lama (1925-6). Property and livestock of Jin choinjid jas dedicated to the operation of Jin choinjID ceremony which was held by the gawj lamas of Dashchoimbel, Gungaachoilin, and Idgaachoizinlin datsans, were listed in 1926. As for the 1930’s there is a list of gifts and alms (1933), a notification of giving certification (ünemlekh olgoson) to the lamas who had taken gawjiin damjaa in Dashchoimbel datsan (1936), documents about the movings of lamas of the datsan and a report about the economy (sankhiidi) of ceremonies (1936). Lamas of a lot of aimags and datsans who had taken gawjiin damjaa were given a certification in 1937. A register of goods which were offered by devotees on ceremonies were registered (1937-1-1, 1937-12-30). As the latest texts incomes and expenses of Dashchoimbel datsan were registered (1938-4), and some documents were written in connection with the problems of the budget (1937-38), incomes of Dashchoimbel datsan floated from ceremonies (1938-1), and a list of incomes and expenses of Ikh jas (1938-4-30). Thus, as it is clear from the dates the datsan operated until 30 April 1938.

The wooden temple building of Dashchoimbel datsan was situated behind the Gandantegchenlin temple with Gungaachoilin datsan in its left and Badma yogo datsan in its right side. The datsan was destroyed in 1938. Its tradition was revived in 1990 and the temple was rebuilt in 1994 on its original site (GPS. N 47°55.331’; E 106°53.747’). The revived philosophical system follows the system of Gomang monastic school. This monastic school is the only place in Mongolia where philosophical exams are taken place again. The tradition of gawjiin damjaa was revived in 1989, and domiin damjaa can also be taken. The current main disciplinary master, Gonchig (born 1917), had been a lama in this datsan prior to 1937. The main deities of the temple are Gombo, Sendom and Nogoon.

²⁰⁷ Exact meaning unknown. T. kun-dga’ (?)
Dar’ ekh, similarly to the old times. There is a special annual ceremony, called Jamchoiderna (T. byamschos sde lnga), when the ‘Five treatises of Maitreya’ are recited.

Güngaachoilin monastic school

Güngaachoilin datsan (T. kun-dga’ chos gling grwa-tshang, ‘monastic school of rejoicing’), Baruun datsan (‘western monastic school’), Khotol bayasgalant nomiin sum

This datsan was firstly established by the 4th Bogd in 1809 as the second philosophical school of the capital, and stood on the west of Daschoimbel monastic school. It was named as Güngaachoilin in 1837 by the 5th Bogd. The curriculum of the datsan followed the philosophical view of the famous Tibetan scholar, Wanchin Sodnomdagwa (T. pan-chen bsod-nams grags-pa, 1478-1554) based on his commentaries, which were used in Loselling monastic school (Losalin datsan, T. blo-gsal-gling grwa-tshang) of Drepung monastery in Tibet. This philosophical textbook is called Wanchin igchaa (T. pan-chen yig-cha) or Losalin igchaa (T. blo-gsal-gling yig-cha) in Mongolian. During the years it was active the datsan trained three thousand lamas with such eminent scholars as the Bogds, Agwaanrinchen, Darwa Pandita (1870-1923) and Zawa lam Damdin (1867-1937) completing their studies there.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, pp. 59-60.) the main tutelary deity of the temple was Jigjid, while its main protectors were Baldan lkham and Dorjshüg.

The curriculum of the school was divided into 16 classes. One year’s study was required for each of the five elementary classes: khadag (T. kha-dog), shidüw/shidew (T. gzhi sgrub), dogwa oijn (T. ldog-pa ngos-'dzin), jumbrai/jumbarai/jümbri (T. rgyu-'bras), loirog (T. blo-rigs) and the four intermediate: uma nimba (T. dбу-mа rnying-pa), uma sarwa (T. dбу-mа gsar-pa), dulwa (T. 'dul-ba) and garamba ok (T. bka’-rams ‘og-ma) and more years in the advanced classes garamba gom (bka’-rams gong-ma). Those who successfully took the final exams in these special fields of study got the scholar ranks of gaaramba and gawj.

The following financial units belonged to the datsan according to Sereeter and the Manchu catalogue of the datsan (M-89): Ikh jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Altan Ganjuuriin jas, (Mönkh) Günregiin jas, Lkhanaa Demchogiin jas, Domii damjaanii jas, Maaniin jas, Migzemii büteeliin jas, Dalai lamii pogiin jas, Dar’ ekhii niinmii jas, (Migjid) Janraisegiin büteeliin jas, Dugan bureesnii jas. Sereeter adds Mönkh Ganjuuriin las, Shiniin 1, 8, 15-nii Ganjuuriin 3 las, Shiniin 8-nii, 15-nii, 22-nii Günregiin las, Jasaas Donchiiin las, Dordüwiin las, Mönkh zuliin las, Mönkh Tsedewiin las, Dūdhiin las, Tīmet sakhiisnii las, Buman Sanjidiin las, Tsedor Lkhamiin las, Jawdaniin las, Jamjiigiiin las (?), Dorjshüg sakhiisnii las, Jiin Chagchiiin las, Mintügiin las, Sakhiusnii las, Mönkh zuliin las, Shalshimiin las, Zediin manjnii las. The Manchu catalogue adds Duu Tüdewiin las (?), Tüdew Tsedewiin las, Awidiin las, Dar’ ekhii mandralshivaagtin las, and Altan Ganjuuriin selbettiin las. It is stated that the aimag had 19 financial units but actually it had more but perhaps not in the same time.

The National Central Archives contains 882 sources about Güngaachoilin datsan. According to the catalogue (M-89) of the Manchu period which contains 527 items dated between 1799-1911, Güngaachoilin datsan was firstly established in 1809, or in the 14th year of the reign of the Manchu emporor, Saishaalt yeröölt (Jiaqing, 1796-1820). Since that time its operation was dedicated to religious purposes, and it became a philosophical monastic school. Domii damjaa and Gawjiin damjaa could have been taken there. The

---

208 Exact meaning unknown.
temple had permanent and occasional ceremonies. Every financial unit had its own incomes and expenses, and properties. Costs of the datsan’s operation was firstly covered by Ikh Tsogchin, but later it had its own privileges (yambanii jas). The ranked lamas of the datsan had the following positions: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, shrinekeeper, offering preparer, and cook. They were nominated by Ikh Tsogchin jas. This system of operation and structure of the datsan remained without change till 1908. In the catalogue the first three texts list the herds and flocks belonging to the datsan (1799, 1802, 1803, 1823). There is a list without date which contains the name of donators and livestock given by them for Dar’ ekhiin mönh kh nünmain jas of the temple (called here as Baruun Choir). There are many documents about the incomes and expenses of the datsan and its ceremonies (1894), a list of accessories (1895), felt and leather which were offered to Ikh jas of the datsan by the aimags (1896), tea income of the ceremonies (1896), its brick tea property (chuluun tsai) and felt given by otog herders of the datsan (1897). There is a list of properties and accessories of the datsan (1904), and incomes from patrons (1906). Numerous texts were composed about loans, incomes and expenses, and the number of livestock (1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1878, etc.). A supervision of the livestock of the datsan and its financial unit (1837), a summary of alms of ceremonies (1847), a lot of texts on the profit of möngö put out in interest, a list with the number of lamas (1851, etc.) are all available in the collection. Furthermore, determination of the rules how to compose the accounts of the datsan was received in 1895. Leporellos strictly ordered the lamas to keep the rules of religion (1896), and to forbid them to visit layquarters (1902). A letter came to draw attention to conflation and to demand debts to be returned (1909). There is a leporello making clear the number of lamas, and the people who had to pay back loans, had to pay penalty, or didn’t cultivate the agriculture field (1900). A document about the selection of the proper day for the invitation of the Bogd is also available (without date).

The catalogue (A-78) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 198 texts. Financial units are mentioned in some titles such as Dalai lamiin pogiin jas, Migzemiin būteeliin jas, Tsedewiin jas, Ilkh pogiin jas, Tsawiin jas, Günregiin jas, Ganjuurin jas, Nügnein jas, Mönkh Düdwiin jas, Dar’ ekhiin nügnee jas, Shalshiin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas. Texts mainly discuss the incomes and expenses measured in brick tea, and other goods like butter and leather, progeny of herds and flocks, felt, and the leasing of male sheep, goat, and bulls. Some texts were written in Tibetan script (some texts on the properties and livestock, möngö, möngö put out with interest, offerings to Günreg jas, etc. 1912, 1914, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920). There is a list of möngö of Jasaa Ganjuur which was put out on interest and was collected back (1915). Lists of alms (zed) given to lamas during the ceremony was calculated in brick tea (1917). Lists (written in Tibetan) of herds and flocks (1918), a list which contains the livestock offered by donators to make some ceremonies eternal (1920), a list of möngö which was received and spent by Damjaanii ideenii jas, which covered the catering of the exams (1919), a document summerizing the möngö, tea, goods, livestock and animal products of the datsan (1911), and a report of the 4 kinds of animals of the datsan written by Gombo and Achit bookkeepers (1912) are also available. The Shanzodwa sent a letter (bichig) to Gungaachoilin datsan in 1913 permitting the taking of gawjiin damja. Documents about the incomes and expenses of necessaries of the lamas who participated in Sundui, Altangerel, Banrzragch, Ulaan sakhius and other ceremonies of Gungaachoilin datsan (1913) are kept in the archives, too. Tibetan documents are about the incomes and expenses of Gungaachoilin datsan (1913), a letter expressing Nawaanjamba gawj’s wish to participate in ceremonies (1913), a document about the judgement of the lamas of Gungaachoilin datsan who had committed deeds which were inconsistent with religious views and made them not to commit that anymore have also
remained (1913). There is a document to replace lamas who had left Güngaachoilin datsan with other lamas (1913). A list of incomes and expenses written in Tibetan (1914), a supervision of the 3 kinds of animals of Ganjuur jas written by nyaraw Luwsan, Gombo, and Sanj (1914) are also kept in the archives. Documents about the incomes, expenses, loss of the 4 kinds of animals written by zaisan nyaraw Gombojaw and Achit (1914) also enrich the collection. Other lists are about the necessaries of worship of ceremonies and manz tsaw (1914, 1915, 1918, 1919, etc), incomes and expenses of Altan Ganjuuruiin jas (1914), old remained tea of Pogiin jas, rental fee of bulls, rams and male sheep (1914), and the 4 kinds of animals of Güngaachoilin datsan (1915). There are reports of the old capital möngö which were put out in interest, and documents of tea, möngö, goods, livestock and other incomes and expenses of the temple, written in Tibetan (1915, 1916, 1917). There is a letter issued in 1916 which requires and permits the taking of the gawjiin damja in Güngaachoilin datsan. There is a summery of the incomes and expenses of Dürdewiin jas (probably Dordowiin jas) which was made eternal by gawj Erenten/Erdene (1917), and a list of the belongings of Ganjuur jas which was made eternal by Tawian bürged (1918). A document makes clear the period of work of people who fulfilled a position more times successively (1917). Some documents serve data about the incomes and expenses of fermented mare milk of the datsan (1918). There are lists with types and ages of milk-mare and saddle-horses (1919, 1920). A document summerizes the incomes and expenses as möngö, tea, goods and articles, etc. of the 16 classes of the datsan (1921). Concerning the documentation of the financial units there is a scripture about the payment of deficit by the people who were responsible for it (1921). There is a notice of articles which were offered to Güngaachoilin datsan by zaisan lam Khaidaw and a document informing about the unchanged salary of lamas who read healing ritual texts (without date).

The catalogue of the Modern period (SKh-188) mentions 157 texts dated between 1921-1937. Dar’ ekhiin jas, Nügnein jas, Altan Ganjuuruiin jas, Büteel jas, Tüdewiin jas, Mönkh zuliin jas, Tsedewiin jas, Tsawiin jas, Pogiin jas, Dordowiin jas, Ikh jas, Baga jas are mentioned in titles. There are registers of the properties of the financial units (1921), pavilion tents (asar maikhan) and other belongings of Güngaachoilin süm (1921).209 Lists of incomes and expenses of domiin damja (1921, 1922, 1923), a register of offerings dedicated to the renovation of the temple building by people of aimags and khoshuus (1923) was written as well as about sheep’s pelt, yellow tea, möngö, leather, butter, and animals and möngö leased out and put out in interest. The internal structure of the datsan, offerings to the datsan, the financial units and the temple (1924-12), bulls of Ganjuuruiin jas which were used in vehicles (1925-3-30) were all listed. A summary of the livestock property of Güngaachoilin, Dashchoimbel, and Idgaachoizinlin datsan was composed in 1927. Lists of möngö put out on interest of Tsawiin jas (1921, 1928-12-3) are also available in the collection. A register of herds and flocks of Günregiin jas of the gawj lamas of the datsan also exist (1928). There is a resolution of the meeting of religious representatives of Güngaachoilin (khiid) (1932), and a register of the livestock of Ikh jas given to the handicraft co-operative (1931-2). There are lists of manz tsai and möngö which were collected by the datsan (1934, 1935) and a list which makes clear the debts which had not recovered in the previous years (1936). A list with the names of ceremonies which were held in 1937 in Güngaachoilin datsan (1937-9-28) is discussed below. Lists of ready property, recovered debts, incomes and expenses of the financial units (1937-3-7, 1937-5-31) were registered as well as building of buildings, fences, shelters of the Ikh jas of Güngaachoilin datsan together with their value (1936.01.01., 1937.02.15.). Incomes,

---

209 As Güngaachoilin was a datsan, which perhaps did not owe any tents it should be supposed that this text is about Güngaadejidlin süm. In the catalogues of Güngaachoilin several texts talk about Güngaadejidlin due to their “similar” names.
expenses, debts and remained money of *Ikh jas* (1934, 1937.05.), and properties of the *datsan* (1928.04.13., 1937.03.06.) were recorded in 1937. Texts without date are about the staff, internal structure, necessaries of ceremonies and number of lamas. As it is clear the last texts originated in 1937 when all the properties of the *datsan* were counted.

The register of ceremonies (SKh188/144) was compiled on the 28th of the 9th month in the 27th year (1937). It contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of 42 ceremonies which were performed in the *aimag* temple with fix date. The register of *Güngaachoilin datsan* is unique in the sense that it serves data about the supportive financial units of given ceremonies. They were the following: *Günchöönmü* recitation\(^{210}\) was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle winter month with the participation of 515 lamas from the more hundreds of lamas belonging to the *datsan*. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. Within the frame of the above mentioned ceremony, *Parchin domiin damjaa* was taken for 6 days from the 21st of the middle winter month with the participation of 600 lamas from the more hundreds. This ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*.

Jasaa *Tsedor Lkham* recitation was held on the 1st of every month. 91 of the expected 100 lamas participated in the ceremony which was financed by *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*. Jasaa Sakhius reading was held every day by 8 appointed lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. Jasaa *Tsedor Lkham* recitation was held every day by 8 appointed lamas, financed by *Ikh jas*. Jasaa *Doodbiin unshlaga* was held every day by 4 appointed lamas, financed by *Ikh jas*. Sakhius ceremony, called Jasaa *Döröwt* (‘Jasaa by four’) was performed on the 2nd day of every month by 4 appointed lamas. It was financed by *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, thus, most probably prayers of *Lkham*, who was the main protector of the temple were recited. Sakhius ceremony, called Jasaa *Naimat* (‘Jasaa by eight’) was performed on the 15th of every month by 8 appointed lamas. It was financed by *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, too. (Most probably, prayers of *Lkham* were recited.) Jasaa *Doodbii* (T. *bstod-pa*) was held on the 25th of the last winter month when hundreds of lamas were expected to come. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. Jasaa *Gawjiin damjaa* was held on the 25th of the last winter month by 2 lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. Jasaa *Tsagaan sariin dokhriin* recitation was held for 15 days from the 1st of the first spring month. 205 lamas participated from the expected hundreds. It was financed by *Doodbiin jas*. Gawjiin *damjaa* was taken for 9 days from the 16th of the first spring month. 506 lamas gathered from the more hundreds. The exam period was financed by the lamas who take the exam. *Tsagaan sariin Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 13th of the first spring month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Doodbiin Sakhius* was held on the 15th of the first spring month by 8 appointed lamas. It was financed by *Doodbiin jas*. Jasaa *nünnai* was held for 3 days from the 13th of the first spring month. All the 16 expected lamas participated. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. Jasaa *Arwan tawnii khural* (‘Jasaa ceremony for 15 days’) recitation was held from the 3-17 of the middle spring month. 225 lamas participated from the hundreds. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. Gawjiin *damjaa* was taken for 9 days from the 12th of the middle spring month. 506 lamas participated from the more hundreds. It was financed by the lamas, who became gawj at this occasion.

---

\(^{210}\) Exact meaning unknown. M. Gündööningmü, T. ?

\(^{211}\) This exam could have been taken in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* too, starting on the 22nd of the month.

\(^{212}\) Exact meaning unknown. M. Jöroo, T. ?
ceremony lasting for a month’) was held for 30 days from the 9th of the last spring month. 208 lamas from the hundreds participated in it. It was financed by Ikh jas. Gawjiin damjaa had been taken for 9 days from the 1st of the last spring month. 415 lamas from the hundreds gathered together. It was financed by the lamas who became gawj that time. Jasaa Ganjuur was held on the 8th of the first summer month with the participation of 415 lamas from the hundreds. It was financed by Ikh jas. Jasaa Khornii khural (‘Jasaa ceremony for 20 days’) was held for 20 days from the 17th of the first summer month. 230 lamas participated in it from the hundreds. It was financed by Ikh jas. Migzemin báuteel and Janraisegini báuteel were held together for 6 days in the middle summer month. 525 lamas gathered from the hundreds. Báuteel jas financed the ceremony. Jasaa Sariin khural was held on the 8th of the first summer month with the participation of 415 lamas from the hundreds. It was financed by Ikh jas. 

Jasaa Khornii khural (‘Jasaa ceremony for 20 days’) was held for 20 days from the 17th of the first summer month. 230 lamas participated in it from the hundreds. It was financed by Ikh jas. Migzemin báuteel and Janraisegini báuteel were held together for 6 days in the middle summer month. 525 lamas gathered from the hundreds. Báuteel jas financed the ceremony. Jasaa Sariin khural was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle summer month when 158 lamas participated from the hundreds. It was financed by Ikh jas. 

Gawjiin damjaa was held for 9 days from the 1st of the last spring month. 200 from the hundreds of lamas gathered. It was financed by that lamas who became gawj on this occasion. Jasaa Biziyaagin donchid was held on the 15th of every month by 50 appointed lamas. Ikh jas financed the ceremony. Janraisegini nínnai had been held for 3 days from the 13th of the middle summer month by 16 lamas. Ikh jas financed the ceremony. A ceremony in honour of Sendom214 and gawjiin damjaa took place on the 19th of the last summer month by all the appointed 13 lamas. It was financed by Ikh jas. Gawjiin damjaa was held for 9 days from the 1st of the last summer month. Namriin neg sariin khural (‘ceremony for a month in autumn’) was held for 30 days from the 3rd of the middle autumn month. 55 lamas participated from the hundreds and Ikh jas covered its costs. Gawjiin damjaa was held for 9 days from the 3rd of the middle autumn month. 207 lamas gathered from the hundreds. It was financed by that lamas who became gawj on this occasion. Jasaa Biziyaagin donchid was held on the 15th of every month by 50 appointed lamas. It was financed by Ikh jas. Dar´ekhiin báuteel recitation was held for 4 days in every season by 13 appointed lamas. Ikh, Dordow, Búteel, Doodbii jases financed it. Tümet sakhius was held for 6 days from the 23rd of the middle autumn month. 50 lamas participated from the expected 100. It was financed by Ikh jas. Khornii khural was held for 20 days from the 17th of the last autumn month. Hundreds of lamas were expected to come. The ceremony was financed by Ikh jas. Jambaliin bumba and Bunchildomiin bumba (?)215 recitation was held on the 15th and 16th of the last autumn month. 13 lamas were appointed to participate in it. The ceremony was financed by Ikh jas. Ononii Ikh sakhius ceremony was held in the beginning of the first winter month. Many hundreds of lamas were supposed to come. Ikh jas financed the ceremony. Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural was held for 15 days from the 17th of the first winter month when hundreds of lamas were supposed to come. Ikh jas financed the ceremony. Ikh sakhiusnii dordow ceremony was held for 4 days from the 15th of the first winter month. 13 lamas were expected to come. Dordowiin jas covered the costs. Gürgüliin dordow recitation was held for 4 days on the 20th of the first winter month. 13 lamas were expected to come and Gürgüliin jas covered the costs. Gúngreg recitation was held for a day on the 22nd of the first winter month when 10 lamas were expected to come. Gúngregiin jas covered the costs. As it is clear from the register the costs of ceremonies were mainly financed by Ikh jas, but Tsedor Lkhamiin jas, Búteeliin jas, Dordowiin jas, Gúnrregiin jas and Doodbiin jas also covered the costs of their related ceremonies. Jasaa Sakhius, Jasaa Tsedew and Jasaa Doodbii recitations were held every day, and Sakhius ceremony was performed on the 2nd and on the 15th of every month by 4-8 appointed lamas. It seems that domiin damjaa was

213 Mentioned as Küberiin san (M. Küber-a-yin sang) in the text.
214 Exact type unknown. M. Sengdongtöbi-yin golo, T. seng-gdong khros-pa’i ‘khor-lo (?)
held only once a year. Gawjiin damjaa was held 6 times a year for 9 days. 4-600 lamas appeared in bigger exams. Ceremonies of Lkham, Gürgül, Sendom are also mentioned. Although Shügden was also the protector of the temple his individual ceremony is not mentioned. Jambaliin bumba was made and Jasaa nünnai and Janraisegiin nünnai were performed for 3 days, too. Ceremonies for 30 days were held three times, and ceremonies twice for 20 and twice for 15 days, too. Maaniin büteel and Janraisegiin büteel were also performed.

The wooden temple of Güngaachoilin datsan was situated behind the Gandantegchenlin temple with Dashchoimbel datsan in its right and Lamrim datsan in its left side. The datsan was destroyed in 1938. One pillar of the old datsan remained standing. It is now worshipped by believers. The tradition of this datsan was revived in 1990 in a classroom of Zanabazar University, where young lamas began their training. The temple was built in 2001 on its original site (GPS: N 47°55.332’; E 106°53.729’, elevation 1314 m). The revived philosophical system follows the system of Loselling monastic school. However, exams (domii damjaa and gawjiin damjaa) cannot be taken again. The two protectors of the temple are Baldan lkham and Shügden.216

Idgaachoinzinlin monastic school

Idgaachoinzinlin/Yadgaachoinzenlin datsan (T. yid-dga’ chos-’dzin gling grwa-tshang, ‘monastic school of the Teaching holder’s happy heart’), Dültimzansüren datsan (‘dul-khrims gtsang bsrgun yid-dga’ chos-’dzin gling’), Khoit datsan (‘rear monastic school’), Setgeliig bayasgach nomiig barigch

Idgaachoinzinlin monastic school was established in Gandan as the third and last philosophical school of the capital, behind Dashchoimbel and Güngaachoilin monastic schools, next to the building of the Khaitsula jas on the initiation of the 8th Bogd in 1910. According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 79.), this datsan was first established for the occasion of Khailen (T. khas-len, the oath-taking summer retreat period) for the 10,000 fully-ordained lamas of Khüree. It housed the huge golden statues of Tuwaan Zonkhor (?),217 and Je Yawsrail siim (T. rje yab sras gsum) i.e. Tsonkhapa (Zonkhow, T. tsong-kha-pa, 1357-1419) and his two disciples Khaidüw Je (Khaidüw je, T. mkhas-grub rje, 1385-1438) and Gyaltsaw Je (Jaltsaw je, T. rgyal-tshab rje, 1364-1432). It is said that 1,000 lamas (according to Sereeter 486 lamas, Ikh Khüree, pp. 61-62.) were transferred from Dashchoimbel and Güngaachoilin philosophical schools to be trained in the new datsan. The school followed the philosophy of the eminent Tibetan scholar Serji jewtsiin Coojitsantsan (T. ser-gyi rje-btsun chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, 1469-1546), whose commentaries were the texts used by Sera Jey (Ser Je/Sera Je, T. se-ra byes) datsan of Sera monastery in Tibet. Up until 1938 many famous scholars were produced from among one thousand lamas who have studied in this datsan such as Radnaa shunlaïw and gawj Gombojaw, Kharaagiin Dar’ ekh lam, Örlüüdiin Dawga gawj (Dawga gawj of Örlüüdiin aimag), Jantsan jorwon, Jambaldorj jorwon, Tseweendorj unzad, Öndör tunsag nyaraw, Dodkhiüü gewsh, Dorj maaramba, Nawaandamba gewsh and so on. The main tutelary deity of the datsan was Damdin Yansan (T. rta-mgrin yang-gsang), while the main protector was Taog Choijil (T. tha-’og chos-rgyal), one of the Five Kings (Tawan khaan,

216 Every year there is a special two-day ceremony performed to Baldan lkham as the main protector of the school. It is held on 11th of the middle autumn month, when a thanksgiving offering (Danrag, T. gtang-rag) is also a part of the ritual. For further details see www.mongoliantemples.net.
217 Exact meaning unknown. T. thub-pa’i ?’khor
T. sku lnga rgyal-po. Soninbayar also mentions Namsrai (Gandantegchilen khiid, p. 65.).

Damdin Yansan is a four-faced and six-armed tutelary deity with wings who is embracing his consort, and there is a horse-head in his hair. Padmasambhava worshipped this deity and, as such, he is the main tutelary deity of the Nyingmapa Red Sect temples. Among the three main Gelukpa monasteries of Tibet (Drepung, Ganden and Sera), he is the main tutelary deity in Sera and is worshipped in monastic schools following the handbooks (tsegshaa) of Sera.

According to Sereeter and the Manchu catalogue (M-96) of the datsan the following financial units belonged to the temple: Ikhi jas, Khailan (giin) jas, Düütsengüüdiin/Düütsengiin jas, Mönkh pogiin jas, Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas, Mönkh Altangereliin jas, Mönkh Tsedewiin jas, Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas, Altan Dorjzodwiin jas, (Mönkh) Buman Sanjidiin jas, (Mönkh) Buman Tsagaan Dar’ ekhiin jas, (Mönkh) Buman Nogoo Dar’ ekhiin jas, Erigdee erinchin or Rikha-Erkhtsengiin damjaanii jas, Domii damjaanii jas. Sereeter adds the following: Mönkh Dūdwiin jas, Migzemiin büteeliin jas, Mönkhölsön Gamganii jas, whilst the catalogue lists Mönkh Dordowiin jas as well.

According to Sereeter (Ikhi Khüree, p. 61.) the datsan’s curriculum was divided into 14 classes, which were as follows: elementary: khadag (T. kha-dog), jumberai (T. rgyu-bras), yuljin (T. yul-can), dondonju (T. don bdun-chu), intermediate: ok (T. gzhung ‘og-ma), gom (T. gzhung gong-ma), gawshiw (T. bka’ bzhi-ba), dom (T. sdom); advanced: um sarwa (T. dbu-ma gsar-pa), uma ninwa (T. dbu-ma rnying-pa), dulwa (Tib.’dul-ba), garamba ok (T. bka’-rams ‘og-ma); professional level or garamba gom (T. bka’-rams gong-ma).

After completing all their studies the lamas could obtain a garamba (T. bka’-rams’-pa) degree, one of the highest examinations in a philosophical college. From 1914, every spring, summer and autumn the gawj rank (T. dka’-bcu, academic degree in philosophical studies, ‘ten hardships’) could be taken here, from 1916 also domiin damjaan (T. sdom-p’a’i dam-bca’).

The National Central Archives owes 233 documents related to this young monastic school. The catalogue (M-96) of Idgaachoinzilin datsan of Ikhi Khüree contains 11 texts dated between 1908 and 1910 as the introduction part of the catalogue gawjiin damjaan and domiin damjaan were taken here. The high-ranking lamas of the datsan were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrine-keeper, and the offering master. The temple had its own incomes and expenses, and livestock. The collection contains a list of goods which were sold to arrange the establishment ceremony of the datsan (1908). A list records the incomes and expenses of Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas, Dar’ ekhiin jas, Tug tüj (?). Sanjidiin jas, Donchidiin jas and other financial units (1906). A list of incomes which were received at the establishment of the datsan (1910), a list of offerings which were dedicated to the establishment of the datsan (1910), a list of goods which were sold for ceremonial purposes (1910), a register of the livestock of the datsan (1910), a list of mongö which were collected as price of livestock offered to the datsan by the 4 aimags (1911), a list of herds and flocks, and a document about giving charge to some shaw’ are also available (1911). A leporello was issued in order to teach and prepare that lamas who wanted to take gawjiin damjaan, claiming that the number of lamas of the datsan had not been increased (1910). A leporello came to charge the subordinated people by the costs of the summer retreat period (khailan) and to calculate the livestock (1911). A leporello was issued ordering the explanation and the teaching of the content of Tibetan books to people, with

---

218 Its other version is erigdaa, erigchin damjaan. It is a kind of exam, but its exact meaning is unknown. T. rigs grwa (?) rigs chen (?) dam-bca’

219 Exact meaning unknown.
the summary of the incomes and expenses of the jas (1910).

The catalogue (A-80) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 54 items. There is a list of milk which was received from several otogs for the preparation of tea of the summer retreat ceremony (khailen) which was held with the participation of 10000 fully-ordained monks (tümen gelen lam) (1916-2-3). A list of goods which were received from the 4 aimags and the Ikh shaw’ area, and the expenditure of necessaries of Tümen gelengiin khailan (1917-1-23) are also available in the collection. A list of tea put out on interest on the occasion of dom, erigdaa, erigchin damjaa (?) (1917) is kept in the archive, too. As an interesting piece of the collection there is a letter of a man who asked for permission to join and study in Idgaachoinzinlin datsan (1912). Moreover, a letter serves information about the dates of annual exams which were planned to be held from 1918 (1917).

The catalogue (SKh-189) of the Modern Period lists 135 texts dated between 1921-1937. Alms of ceremonies, incomes and expenses of the financial units (1921), sculptures and accessories of the datsan are listed (1922). Ikh jas and Baga jas, alms, offerings, donations, and ceremonies are mentioned in titles. A list of wages in möngö from camels which were herded in otog areas (1921), and documents making clear the goods coming from alms of Khailangiin jas and möngö and other incomes of ceremonies (1927) also enrich the collection. There is a list of offerings which came in the western layquarters of Ulaanbaatar in 1927. There is a document about the goods which were received as alms of ceremonies (1935.06.), a document about the annual ceremonies of the summer retreat, and its incomes and expenses (1937). A list of permanent ceremonies of the datsan were recorded on the 22nd of September 1937 (see below). A data sheet of people who belonged to the aimag (without date), a document about the internal rules of the datsan, a leporello about the ranked lamas and ceremonies (without date), and that of money income and expenses of the financial units (1936) are also kept in the archive. From the above mentioned titles and the relevant documents which were sent to the aimag of Züün Khüree requiring lamas for the newly establishment temple we can conclude that the lama community of Idgaachoinzinlin datsan was formed in 1911. Khailan ceremony was a very important event of the year. Gawjiin damjaa, domiin damjaa, erigdaa, erigchin damjaa were held here. Order of exams were determined in 1917. Lamas were listed several times. It is clear that the temple operated at least till 1937 and it seems that Khailan ceremony was held until 1937, too.

The register of ceremonies (Kh189/2) was compiled on the 22nd September of the 27th year (1937). It contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of the 35 ceremonies that were permanently performed in the aimag temple. These were the following: Günçоимү (?) recitation held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle winter month with the participation of 255 lamas from the many hundreds. Within the frame of the above mentioned ceremony, Parchin domiin damjaa took place for 6 days from the 22nd of the middle winter month with the participation of 344 lamas from the more hundreds who belonged to the monastic school. Jasaa Sakhius recitation was held every day by 6 appointed lamas. Jasaa Tsedew recitation was held every day by one lama. Jasiin galiin takhilga was held on the 24th of the last winter month by 2 appointed lamas. Khuuchin nom ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 30 from the expected 50 lamas. Tsedor Lkham recitation was held on the 30th of the last winter month by all the expected 50 lamas. Tsagaan sariin dodba Summer retreat or oath taking period (khailen) are mentioned many times in connection with this datsan. I do not have exact data whether the khailen was held here or in its proper place, the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree.

221 Exact meaning unknown. M. Güngöoyingmü, T. kun chos ?
222 This exam could have been taken in Güngaachoilin datsan too, starting on the 21st.
(prayers of the New Year) recitation was held from 1-15 of the first spring month by 107 from the many hundreds of lamas. Gawjiin damjaa took place for 6 days from the 16\textsuperscript{th} of the first spring month. 310 lamas participated in it from the more hundreds. Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural (‘Jasaa ceremony for 15 days’) recitation was held from the 3-16 of the middle spring month with 157 participants from the many hundreds. Gawjiin damjaa was taken for 6 days from the 12\textsuperscript{th} of the middle spring month. 324 lamas participated in it from the many hundreds. Joroo (?)\textsuperscript{223} recitation was held from the 21-30 of the middle spring month. 43 lamas participated in it from the expected 110. The recitation called Jasaa Sariin khural was held for 30 days from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of the last spring month with the participation of 143 lamas from the hundreds. Gawjiin damjaa was taken for 6 days from the 1\textsuperscript{st} of the last spring month. 294 lamas participated in it from the hundreds. Jasaa Sanjid was held on the 15\textsuperscript{th} of the first summer month with the participation of 276 lamas from the hundreds. Jasaa Khornii khural (‘Jasaa ceremony for 20 days’) was held for 20 days from the 17\textsuperscript{th} of the first summer month with the participation of 314 lamas from the many hundreds. Migzemiin büteel and Janraisegiin büteel were held together for 6 days from the 1\textsuperscript{st} of the middle summer month by 314 lamas from the more hundreds. Jasaa Sariin khural was held for 30 days from the 17\textsuperscript{th} of the middle summer month. 96 lamas participated from the hundreds. Gawjiin damjaa was held for 6 days from the 17\textsuperscript{th} of the middle summer month. 113 lamas participated from the hundreds. Gawjiin damjaa was also held for 6 days from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of the last summer month. 103 lamas gathered from the hundreds. Jasii Namsrai and Tündog (?)\textsuperscript{224} recitation was held for a day in the last summer month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. Yadam sakhius recitation was held in this month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. Gawjiin damjaa was held for 6 days from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of the middle autumn month where 120 lamas participated from the many hundreds. Sariin khural (‘ceremony for a month’) took place for 30 days from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of the middle autumn month with the participation of 78 lamas from the hundreds. Tümet khangal ceremony was held for 6 days from the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of the middle autumn month by ten appointed lamas. Khornii khural recitation was held for 20 days from the 17\textsuperscript{th} of the last autumn month. Hundreds of lamas were expected to participate. Choijil Namsrai recitation was held in the first winter month (without exact date). Again, hundreds of lamas were expected to come. Arwan tawnii khural was held for 15 days from the 15\textsuperscript{th} of the last winter month. Hundreds of lamas were expected to come. Lyankha dom recitation was held for 2 days from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of the last summer month. Lamas belonging to the same class (angi) of the monastic school had to meet. 14 lamas participated in it. Lkhawawiin dom recitation was held for 2 days on the 21\textsuperscript{st} of the last autumn month. Lamas belonging to one class had to gather. 25-nii dom recitation was held for 2 days from the 24\textsuperscript{th} of the first winter month. Lamas of one class had to gather. Jüshii dom recitation was held for 2 days from the 13\textsuperscript{th} of the middle winter month. Lamas of one class had to gather. 19-nii dom recitation was held on the 19\textsuperscript{th} of the middle winter month. Lamas of one class had to gather. 20-nii dom recitation was held on the 20\textsuperscript{th} of the middle winter month. Lamas of one class had to gather. 21-nii dom recitation was held on the 21\textsuperscript{st} of the middle winter month. Lamas of one class had to gather.

We can conclude that Jasaa sakhius and Jasaa Tsedew recitations were held every day. Gawjiin damjaa was held for 6 days 6 times a year with the presence of 100-300 lamas. More lamas came to see the exam in spring (around 300) than in other seasons (around 100). 8 dom took place, namely Parchin dom, Lyankha dom, Lkhawawiin dom, 25-nii dom, Jüshii dom, 19-nii dom, 20-nii dom, and 21-nii dom. The 4 latest ones were held in the middle winter month. Except of Parchin dom (when domiin damjaa could have been

\textsuperscript{223} Exact meaning unknown. M. Įoro, T. ?

\textsuperscript{224} Exact meaning unknown. M. Űngtögt/Țügdong, T. ?
taken), lamas from the same class had to gather together to celebrate. Celebrations for a month were held four times, for 20 days twice and for 15 days twice as well. *Maaniin büteel* and *Janraisegiin büteel* were performed, too.

The wooden building of the *datsan*, which was covered by golden roof was situated on the right side of *Janraiseg* temple and was destroyed in 1938.

According to the information board in the revived temple, former lamas from this *datsan* including Tserendemchig and Naidan wished to restore their home *datsan* and revived it in 1990. With the leadership of Jambaldorj the monastic school was re-started on the 3rd of the first summer month in 1991. The temple building itself was built in 2004 (GPS: N 47°55.379'; E 106°53.767', elevation 1327 m). The main protectors of the temple are Damjan Choijoo and Namsrai, while the main protector of the monastic school is Damdin Yansan. The revived philosophical system follows the system of Sera Jey monastic school. Nowadays there are no exams taken in the monastic school but many ceremonies were revived and held again.225

*Lamrim monastic school*

*Lamrim datsan / Lamiran datsan, Janchüw/Janchub Lamrim datsan* (T. (*byang-chub*) lam-rim grwa-tshang, ‘monastic school of the gradual path’), *Bod’ möriin zereg*

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 71.) *Lamrim datsan* was founded in 1844 although other dates have been given such as 1841, according to D. Bürnee (*Tiiükken surwalj*, p. 355.), and 1824, according to Oyuunbilig (*Mongol nutag dakh*, p. 251). The curriculum of the religious school was based on the view of the most significant text written by Tsongkhapa, called *Bod’ möriin zereg* (T. lam-rim chen-mo) explaining the gradual path leading to enlightenment. 50 lamas belonged to the temple. Academic rank could not be obtained in this *datsan*, with the most talented lamas going to Tibet to take an exam. The wooden building with a gilded golden roof was situated on the left of Güngaachoilin datsan, within its own fence. It was also called the ‘Gürem *datsan* of Güngaachoilin datsan’, as this was a specialist temple where protective healing ceremonies were performed. The main deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, while the main protectors were *Gonchoi lkhaa süm/Gonchooolkhaa süm* (T. mgon chos lham gsum, the summary name for three protectors: *Gombo, Choijoo* and *Lkham*). Soninbayar mentions (*Gandantegchinlen khiid*, p. 65.) only *Gombo*. The following units belonged to the monastery: *Ikh jas, Günregiin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Altan Lamrimiin jas, Awidiin chogiin jas*.

The National Central Archives contains 239 texts related to *Lamrim datsan*. According to the catalogue (M-93) of the Manchu period it was established in 1851 or in the first year of the reign of Tügeemel Elbeg (Xianfeng, 1850-1861). The *datsan* had permanent and occasional ceremonies. It had its own income and expenses, herds and flocks. The 172 documents dated between 1848-1910 of the Manchu collection mainly deal with the incomes and expenses of the financial units and ceremonies. There is a condemnation of a shrine-keeper, lists of names of herders, herds and flocks (1848), and a

---

225 Special annual ceremonies are held here like *Tarawchamba* (T. *thar-pa chen-po*) on the 15th of the middle spring month; *Serin sanjid* (T. se-ra bzang-spyod) on the 15th of the first summer month; *Sakhius* on the dog day of the middle autumn month; *Lyankha spod* (‘Lotus feast’) on the 3rd and 4th of the last summer month; *Lkhawawiin dom* (T. *lha-las babs-pa’i ston-mo*, ‘festival of (Buddha’s) descent from the god realms’) on the 21st and 22nd of the last autumn month; *Lkhamchoinzad dom* (T. *bla-ma chos mdzod ston-mo*) on the 25th and 26th of the first winter month; *Züjii dom* (T. *ston-mo* on the 13rd and 14th of middle winter month; *Baga dom* (‘small dom’) on the 20th, 21th and 22th of the middle winter month. According to the present disciplinary master in former times *gawjiin damja* could be taken in these special occasions. Nowadays there are no exams taken on these days but they perform the celebrations to maintain the tradition.
list of felt and fat gained from bulls which were leased out (1909). The catalogue (A-82) of the Bogd khan’s reign contains 37 texts. It mentions Günreg khural. The most interesting text is about the determination of a holy text of a given day and about fortune-telling (without date). The catalogue (SKh-186) of the Modern period contains 30 text composed between 1921 and 1931. They are mainly about the incomes and expenses of the datsan, the number of livestock of Mönkh zuliin jas. However, there is a contract about the herding of the livestock of Ikh jas (1930). An interesting document is the disciplinary of Lamrim datsan which had to be followed from the old times (1931). There is not any data about Lamrim datsan after 1931.

According to Dashtseren lama about 100 lamas belonged to Lamrim datsan immediately before the temple was destroyed in spring 1938. The temple was destroyed in 1938.

**Badma yoga monastic school, called Sandüwtegchenlin**

Badma yoga/Badmyogo, Badma yoga monastic school (T. pad-ma yo-ga grwa-tshang, ‘monastic school of Lotus yoga’), Sandiawdechiglin (T. gsang-sgrub theg chen gling, ‘Mahāyāna monastery of the secret practice’), Nuutsiig büteegch ikh khölöngiib sum

The 2nd Bogd founded a tantric congregation (Jüd datsan, T. rgyud-pa grwa-tshang or Ag datsan, T. sngags) called Dechinsanaglin (T. bde-chen gsang-sngags-gling, ‘eternal bliss, the monastery of secret mantras’) in 1739 (Northern Buddhist, p. 304.). It was also called Damdin Yansan because it was established to defend the Buddhist teaching and all sentient beings from harm and obstacles. According to the legend, when Padmasambhava founded Samye monastery in Tibet, he opened the gate of the maññala of Damdin Yansan in order to conquer and convert the evil spirits who were hindering the spreading of the Teaching. Thus, this tantric datsan was founded in Mongolia for the same purpose i.e. as a Gürem datsan (T. sku-rim grwa-tshang), where protective healing rituals were performed. The main tutelary deity was Damdin Yansan and the main protector was Jamsran. The three protectors, Gombo, Choijoo and Namsrai; Damjan/Damjin, Tsamba and the Five Kings (Tawan khaan) were also worshipped to clear away the malevolent beings. The 4th Bogd renamed the temple as Badma Yoga or Badma Yogo datsan in 1806. Fifty specially trained lamas recited and worshipped there. They held ceremonies in honour of Damdin Yansan, as well as rituals of Choijin, Jamsran, the Five Kings and Nordog Damjin (T. nor-bdag dam-can). Following the ceremonial rules of the Tibetan Sera monastery, the Sanjid molom ceremony was held for seven days in the first spring month, and for 10 days in the middle autumn month. In the middle summer month there were ceremonies called Yansangiin wan (Initiation to Yansan) and Ayuushiin wan (Initiation to Amitāyus) with seven continuous days of ceremonies for preparing the sand maññala of these deities. There was a ceremony to Jamsran held in the spring and in the autumn as well. As well as the prescribed cycle of ceremonies, the lamas performed every kind of strong and weak healing ceremonies (Gürem). As, based on the old lama, Jambal’s accounts, who was one of the four shrine keepers (duganch) of the college, Damdinsüren describes (English text pp. 4-5, Mongolian text pp. 683-684.) that it was an ‘exorcism college’ (Gürmiin datsan) with fifty lamas registered in the college who gathered there: “there was a lot of exorcisms performed in the college for the patrons. The lamas took turns in holding these services. They lived on the alms from them.”

The conference volume adds that the main objects of worship in the temple were the guilded statues of Padmasambhava, Damdin Yansan, Jamsran, Tügdem (or Tugdam/Tugdum, T. thugs-dam, ‘tutelary deity’ also meaning ‘oath, vow’) of Jamsran, the
The ceremonies were mainly based on the texts written by the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682), such as Yansan yadamiin chogo (T. yang-gsang yi-dam-gyi cho-ga, ‘ceremony of Yansan tutelary deity’), Gün-aa chogo, Jamsrangiin dorbül nirdad (T. lcam-sring-gi gtor-’bul gnyer-gtad, ‘balin offering and entrust to Jamsran’).

The wooden building of the datsan was situated in Ganda n monastery behind the Gandantegchenlin temple and on the right side of Dashchoimbel datsan. It was also known as the ‘Gürem datsan of Dashchoimbel datsan’. According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 65.) the golden bronze roof of the temple was financed by a lama called Galsanjamts, who was known as dolton khuvilgaan of Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag.

Five units belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, dúltsegni jas, sanjidiin jas, dordowiin jas, jasaas tsedewiin jas.

The National Central Archives owes 120 documents related to the datsan. According to the catalogue of Badamyogo or Sandawdechiglin datsan of the Manchu period (M-88), Badamyogo was firstly initiated in Khüree in 1813 or in the 18th year of Saihaalt yeröölt’s reign (Jiaqing, 1796-1820). Its operation was dedicated to the teachings of the Yellow Sect. The following status belonged to the temple: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, shrine-keeper, cook, etc. These ranked lamas were nominated by the Tsogchin. The datsan had its own property, herds and flocks, incomes and expenses. According to the catalogue four financial units belonged to the datsan, namely Ikh jas, dúltsegni jas, sanjidiin jas, and dordowiin jas. The catalogue of the Manchu period contains 55 texts which were composed between 1841 and 1910. They include data about the herds and flocks of the datsan, its stallions which were prepared on the north pastures for the army, and leporellos on the nyaraw’s ready cash and the möngö income (1863). A document supervises the möngö of the jas (1873), whilst another serve data about the expenses of ceremonies, and the reparation of the temple building (1878). The catalogue (A-84) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 19 texts. One can gain several information about the expenses of various ceremonies which were held in the datsan (1920). The catalogue (SKh-187) of the Modern period contains 46 texts, which were composed between 1922-1937. Many of them serve data about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, mentioning Ikh jas and dúltsegni jas, and using different distorted names of the datsan, such as sandiwdechilen, sandiwdechilen yogo and Badamyogo datsan. A very interesting source states that Badamyogo datsan could not pay back the loan which it had lent from other datsans (text SKh-187/37, 1930-1932). In other words it means that the datsan did not have enough property to cover the taxes which were levied in the 1930s. Two lists are available about the number of the datsan’s livestock which was sold in 1932 and 1934. The latest documents make clear the exact property, incomes and expenses of the datsan. They were written on 1 September 1936 and 30 August 1937. Thus, the operation of the temple was not stop till that time, although the temple had financial problems.

Before 1938 about 50-60 lamas belonged to Badma yogo datsan. The temple was destroyed in 1938. From 16 January 2002 Badma yogo (Badma yogo) datsan was revived and began to operate in one of the two remaining temple buildings in the first courtyard of Geser süm (R-914). Officially the temple belongs to Gandan monastery so follows the Gelukpa (Yellow Sect) tradition, though traditionally it also features aspects of the Nyingmapa (Red Sect) of Tibetan Buddhism. The main deity of the temple is Padmasambhava, the main tutelary deity is Damdin Yansan, and the main protector is Jamsran.226

---

226 On the 2nd, 10th, 16th and 25th of the lunar month there is a special ceremony in honour of the main tutelary deity of the temple, Damdin Yansan whose curtained off sculpture is placed on the altar. Every year, either in
Avalokiteśvara temple

*Migjid Janraiseg datsan* (T. mig ‘byed spyan-ras gzigs grwa-tshang, T. Avalokiteśvara who open the eyes), *Migjidjanraisegin süm, Janraiseg, Melmiigeeree bolgooson süm*

This imposing building (GPS: N 47°55.374’, E 106°53.698’, elevation 1301 m), which became a symbol of Mongolian independence, is a temple dedicated to the honour of Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion. The temple is marked on Rinchen’s map separately as *Migjid Janraiseg datsan* (R-913) and is visible on Jügder’s painting. Several books contain information on the history of the temple and some photos are available in books\(^227\) and in the collection of the Film Archive.\(^228\) Dashtseren lama served useful information about the *datsan*.

The temple, which is a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese styles, was built behind *Güngaachoilin datsan* and *Lamrin datsan*. Its foundation stemmed from the time when the 8th Bogd khaan’s eyesight was seriously affected in 1911. Mongolian clerics and princes asked the Bogd khaan what would help to heal his eyes. The Bogd khaan declared if Mongolians built an eighty cubit high statue (c. 26 metres) of *Janraiseg*, the Bodhisattva who looks on all sentient beings with great compassion, his eyesight would improve. On 29\(^{th}\) November 1911, Mongolians conferred the ultimate rights of the Bogd khaan, until this time borne by the Manchu emperor, to the 8th Bogd. Chinese builders using copper from Doloon nuur built the *Janraiseg* statue in 1911 to 1912 with the gilding being done by Mongolian and Chinese masters. On the 13\(^{th}\) of June 1913 the statue was consecrated. The measurement used for the planning and building of the statue was based on a measurement of the Bogd khaan’s forearm (*tokhoi*, ‘forearm’ is a traditional Mongolian way of measurement). Ten thousand statues of *Ayuush* made by Mongolian and Polish masters surrounded the statue. The distinctive Tibetan shaped brick built temple with Chinese roof also contained one thousand copies of the *Yum*, printed by bronze blocks, and the eight stūpas marking the events in Buddha’s life.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, pp. 72-74.), the idea for building the statue first occurred in 1905. Notwithstanding this, it was only in 1911 that the people of the four Khalkha aimags and the subordinates of the Bogd (*Ikh shaw*) donated 33,000 lan silver to celebrate the independence of Mongolia from the Manchu overlordship, which had just been gained. The main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Janraisegin nünmain jas*, *Da-nin-ag khurliin jas*, \(^229\) *Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas*, Dörwön lamiin Günregiin jas. According to Dashtseren lama, there were ceremonies held here regularly and the temple had one disciplinary master.

The National Central Archives houses 122 texts about *Migjidjanraiseg datsan* from 1912 when it was founded. The catalogue (A-81) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 84 texts which were compiled between 1912 and 1921. Name of *Nünmain jas*, *Da-nin-ag khural* or *Da-ni-gewag khurlii nas*, Sanjidiin jas, Günregiin jas, Dorjzodwiin jas, and *Düitsen jas* are mentioned in the titles. There are various texts in the collection such a list of donations dedicated for the creation of *Ayuush* sculptures of the *datsan* (1912), a list of objects of worship and other properties of the *datsan* (1913), a list of donations which were

---

\(^{227}\) Tsültem: 36, 82, 91, 180, 182, 185; Maidar: 61, Sereeter: 74, Shepetilnikov: 85, Dashnyam: 262

\(^{228}\) Film Archives K24236, K24735

\(^{229}\) Exact meaning unknown. *Da-nin-ag* or *Da-ni-gewag*, T. ?
received from burning the eternal butter-lamp in honour of Buddha and Tsongkapa (1918), a list of donations (in tea) which were collected, and tea which was sold at the occasion of erigdaa, erigchin damjaa of (Idgaachoinzinlin) datsan in 1919. There is a list of those otogs of the Ikh shaw’ area which had to cater aarts during the khailen period of the tümen gelen (10000 fully-ordained lamas), on Tümet khangal and other ceremonies (1921). The catalogue (Kh-194) of the Modern Period contains 38 texts from 1921 till 1929 including several texts about the herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, môngö with interest, livestock and dairy products which were sold, and the worshipping necessarias of certain financial units (1924). The latest text is from 1929.

The communists destroyed the original statue of Migjid Janraiseg in 1938 and metal from it was used to make bullets for guns. The temple itself was not destroyed and, according to Pürew (Töriin golomt, pp. 73-74.), it was used as a military barrack from 1938. Pürew claims (Uls töriin töw, p. 56.) that 10,000 tögrögs were offered to pull down the temple in the 1950s, but nobody applied. From the 1950s it functioned as the State Archives and it was renovated in 1962, 1971 and 1973.

In 1988, the Mongolian Culture Foundation initiated the reconstruction of the central statue, supported by P. Ochirbat who became the first President after 1990. The building of the present statue by Mongolian masters using copper from the Erdenet mines, began in 1991 funded in part by generous donations of around 350 million tögrögs from Mongolian devotees. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama consecrated the part-built statue in August 1995 when he was in Mongolia and conducted the Düinkhor initiation, too. In 1996 the precious statue was completed under the leadership of G. Pürewbat lama and his students in the Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art (Mongoliin burkhanii shashnii urlakhui ukhaanii deed surguul’) with the formal opening ceremony led by President Orchibat taking place on the 16th of the last autumn month.230

Jarankhashar, the White Stūpa Assembly

Tsagaan suwragiin khural, Jarankhashar, Jaronkhashoriin suwarga (T. bya-rung kha-shor)

GPS: N 47º55.700’, E 106º53.295’

Rinchen does not mark this assembly separately (NR-960). Although Jügder’s painting presents it and some photos231 and other paintings also show Jarankhashariin suwarga, only Maidar (Gurwan zurag, p. 72.) mentions it as a temple. However, Gonchig lama, the main disciplinary master of Dashchoimbel datsan (born 1910) served relevant information on the temple.

According to Maidar, Tsagaan suwragiin khural was one of the assemblies in Ulaanbaatar though he does not give any information about its location. The name refers to the huge white Jaranchashar (T. bya-rung kha-shor) stūpa, which was located to the northeast of Gandan. Both Jügder’s painting and the painting of an unknown painter in the

---

230 A set of the Ganjuur and Danjuur and other religious scriptures, tons of herbs and incense, a complete yurt along with its furniture, and other objects were placed inside the statue, according to the requirements for the preparation and dedication of holy statues or stūpas. The eighty cubit or twenty-six metre high figure of Janraiseg is decorated with precious stones and is gilded in gold. It is surrounded by prayer wheels and numerous sculptures of Ayuush most of which are copies although some of the originals have been recovered. The 10th anniversary of the rebuilding was celebrated on 23 October, 2006. (For a detailed story of the rebuilding of the temple and the statue, see Mend-Ooyoo, G., Bilgiin melmii neegch, Ulaanbaatar 1997.) Many new stūpas and a stele were erected near the temple. In front of the temple, there is a small building made of glass, for burning butter lamps.

231 Maidar: 159; Sereeter: 76; Shepetilnikov: 102; Tsültem: 159; Film Archives (K24703)
Ulaanbaatar City Museum show this. According to Gonchig lama, 3-4 lamas held ceremonies regularly in the treasure-vase hall (*bumba*, T. *bum-pa*) of this stūpa, and this was called the *Tsagaan suvragiin khural*, the White Stūpa Assembly.

*Jaranhashar* stūpa was built in the style of a special type of stūpa, typified by the *bya-rung kha-shor* stūpa of Nepal, Kathmandu. This has painted eyes on its middle part above the treasure-vase and under the dharma wheels part.

*Tsagaan suvragiin khural* was located at the *Jaranhashar* stūpa, which was destroyed during the purges. There are no remains, the site is built over. It was near the present site of what is called *Zuragt* (Television), where stands a big Television tower today. GPS was taken on the east of the TV tower.
PALACES OF THE BOGD IN THE BANK OF TUUL RIVER

As Jügder's painting shows, there were several residential palaces of the Bogd khaan, each with imposing buildings, in the area between Middle River (Dund gol) and Tuul River. This particular zone was called Öndgiin sūrgiin nutag and reserved for the Bogd khaan and his kin. It was also used for the flocks of sheep, cows, horses and camel for the personal use of the greater family (Pürew, Töriin golomt, pp. 25-29.). In this area there was: the Green Palace with the winter palace called Sharawpeljeelin (R-911) with a garden, called Norowlin (NR-943); the summer palace called Khaiastai lawran (R-921); and the White Palace called Giingaadejidlin (R-922). Religious ceremonies were held on special occasions in some of these palaces but not in all. Another palace called Pandelin was situated in the left bank of Tuul River, which, according to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 80.) had an alternative name, Narkhajidiin süm (R-923). In the area above the Sharawpeljeelin there was the residence of the privileged descendants of Sūün dalai eej, the breast-feeding nanny of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. The Bogd khaan’s guards were settled on the left of the Green palace, between it and the White Palace. There were a few other residences, all of high-ranking people, such as that of Prime Minister Sain noyon khan named Namnansüren. The Government administration building (Yerönkhii yaam, Bügd yerönkhiilekh zakhirakh yaam) was also situated in this zone.

Sharawpeljeelin, the Green Palace and the Winter Palace of the Bogd

Sharawpeljeelin süm (T. shes-rab dpal rgyas gling, ’monastery increasing knowledge’), Erdem itgemjit bilgig khöigjüülen badruulaäch süm (M. Bilig-i köögiiülin hadarayulyüči süm-e), Bogd khaanii nogoon süm/ordon, Bogd khaanii öwliin ord, Goliin nogoon süm, Oyuuntig arwigagch, Deed süm, Bogd khaanii ordonii muzei

GPS: N 047º53.867, E 106º54.417

Rinchen marks the Green Palace or Winter residence of the Bogd (Bogd khaanii nogoon süm, Bogd khaanii öwliin ord) on his map (R-911) and Jügder’s painting also shows its large complex. The Palace was known by various names such as the Green Temple of the Bogd Khaan, Green temple on the bank of the river, Winter palace of the Bogd Khaan, Sharawpeljeelin, Upper palace (according to the flow of the Tuul River). Nowadays is known as the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khaan. Being a very imposant complex which survived the purges, numerous photos and also written sources on its history are available. D. Altannawch, the director of the present museum served data on the complex. After the Yellow Palace, the residence of the Bogds, was burned down in 1892, a new palace called the Green Palace was built between 1893 and 1903 on the right bank of Tuul River (Oyuunbileg, Tüükh soyol, pp. 248-550.). The two-storey white building of the Winter palace (one of the buildings of the Green Palace complex) was built in 1905, with its design based on a picture sent by the Russian tsar to the Bogd khaan. This is where the 8th Bogd with his wife, the Ekh dagina, lived until his death in 1924. The complex survived the destructions almost intact, and was turned into a museum from 1926, where some of the most precious Mongolian Buddhist artifacts are still held.

Jügder's painting shows the building complex in details together with its inner courtyards. The fenced-off area had two main parts: the Green Palace complex with seven temples and the white-coloured Winter palace. The yampai (Chinese yang pai), the protection wall decorated by dragons, is situated in the south, as is customary, outside the

232 Tsültem: 70-81; Maidar: 140; Sereeter: 90; Shepetilnikov: 48, 53-55, X256; Geleta/Forbáth: 216; Dashnyam: 249; etc.
southern gate. Two flag poles (tugnii mod or chiigaa/chiigan) stand on either side in front of the complex: on religious occasions the blue flag of politics was hung on the right and the yellow flag of religion was hung on the left (Oyuunbileg, Tüükh soyol, p. 249.). A wooden hedge called shörgön khais surrounded the area in front of the complex. The Andinmen khaalga (Amgalan enkhiin khaalga), ‘The gate of peace’ was constructed between 1912 and 1919, without nails, to celebrate the historical event of the Bogd khaan taking religious and politic power in 1911. The name of the palace is painted on the gate in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and Manchu script. The threefold gate (Yamba yosloliin khaalga) was the place where the Bogd khaan entered to the palace through the central gate. The religious (abbot, and other high-ranking lamas) and political leaders and foreign guests entered through the left gate while the Bogd khaan’s guards and musicians entered through the right gate.

Inside the fence, the temple of the Mahārājas (Makhranz, T. rgyal chen, Skr. Mahārājā, ‘great king’, guards of the four directions), called Makhranziin süm was built in 1903 to house the huge statues of the four direction guards (dörwön Makhranz). This temple leads to a court with two small pavilions in the south corners, one for the bell and the other for the drum (Jin khonkh, Jin khengeregnii süüdrewch or rawsa, serüün asar).

The Erdem itgemjit süm (Temple of Knowledge and Trust) or Naidan süm (Temple of the Arhats) is situated on the north side of the courtyard between the pavilions. According to Altannawch, the current director of the Bogd Khaan Museum, every year in the last summer month, on the birthday of the Bogd khaan, a group of 8-16 lamas came here from Dechingalaw datsan to perform the Naidan chogo ceremony (in honour of the 16 main disciples of Buddha) for three days and nights.

The Bogd khaan’s servants lived in the two Jodkhan (T. mchod-khang, ‘shrine room, chapel’) temples that are on either side of this temple.

In the centre of the second courtyard there is the Green Palace (Nogoon Lawiran) itself. This was the Bogd khaan’s principal temple and, during the summer, lamas meditated here every day often being joined by the Bogd khaan himself (this may refer to the Khailen/ Yar khailen (T. (dbyar) khas-len) or Yarnai (T. dbyar gnas, ‘summer retreat’) summer retreat lasting for 45 days, but it is not proved). Ochirdar’ was the main deity of the whole complex and his statue stood inside the Green Palace as the main deity of the complex.

There are two buildings (also called Jodkhan temples) on either side of the Green Palace building. The one on the left served first as an inn for princes, barons and other important statesmen later becoming the treasury of the Bogd khaan. The building on the right served as an inn for visiting reincarnations, religious leaders, abbots and other ranked religious people. As well as this, it was the library, containing the collected works of the Bogds. In 1913 a small building was built for storing the vast range of costumes and robes of the Bogd khaan.

The great treasury (Ikh san) financed the running of the complex. There were no financial units attached to it.

There are several sources in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and that of the Bogd’s treasuries. The individual catalogues of the palace contain 25 texts. Data from the Manchu period is not available in them. The catalogue (A-224) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains four texts about herds and flocks (4 kinds of animals), incomes and expenses of the palace. A text is about the searching for a lama who belonged to the palace, called Tömörbaatar. The renovation and re-paint of Sharawpeljeelin süm, and the amount of möngö that was dedicated to this work were recorded in 1919. The catalogue (TsKh-230) of the Modern period contains 21 texts dated between 1921-1925. In 1921 a part of the herds and flocks owed by the palace was transferred to the Ekh dagina. The
livestock of the palace consisted of camels, horses, bulls, goats and sheep. There is a list of the objects that were sold to cover the costs of the reparation of the temple (1923). The number of the livestock which were donated to the Bogd, the golden and silver accessories which were used by the offering preparers (takhilch) were also recorded.

After losing his power when the Communist Government took over in 1921, the Bogd khaan became a leader without any real power until his death in 1924. After this the palace was protected by the State. On 1st April 1926 the authorities decided to turn the palace into a museum. Geleta (Forbáth, p. 219.) was requested to complete the transformation work by the Mongol Academy of Science. Geleta claims (Forbáth, pp. 218-219.) that the Bogd gegeen invited Europeans to take part in the building of the winter palace. There were 8 rooms on each of the two floors in the winter palace. There was also a garage next to the palace to house the Bogd’s collection of cars. The gegeen’s life was made more comfortable by a telephone, an electric bell, and an electricity generator. He also had a collections of more than a thousands clocks (p. 219.), and a collection of Chinese vessels. There was also an aviary situated in front of the gates of the Green Palace (photo, p. 216.). After the death of the Bogd, many of his belongings were sold at auction. Darimaa adds (Burkhan zuraach, p. 109.) that the Bogd’s robes, many belongings and artifacts from the palaces were divided between the datsans, temples and aimags of the city as his ‘last donation’. After this many of these objects were placed in front of the temples for more months until they were bought.

According to Altannawch director, it took until 1931 before the preparatory work began to organize the remaining artifacts into an exhibition in, what would become, the Bogd Khaan Museum. In 1954 it became under the control of the State Central Museum and five years later all the buildings were renovated and repainted. The museum, which was now independent of the State Central Museum, opened its gates in 1961. Restoration has continued from this time until today: in the 1970s the walls and ceiling of the Winter Palace were repaired; the Andinmen gate and the flag poles in 1988; the main gate was renovated in 1996.

The protective wall, the gates (Andinmen khaalga, Yamba yoslooin khaalga), the Makhranziin süm, and almost every temple of the complex remained practically intact. Only some wooden buildings such as the Dar’ ekh temple, some small chapels and administrative buildings did not survive. The complex still operates as a museum exhibiting the personal belongings of the Bogd khaan and his wife, and numerous old artifacts.

Today, Erdem itgemjit süm or Naidan süm houses statues of Biziyaa, Ayuush or Tsewegmed / Tsegmid and Tsagaan Dar’ ekh that were saved from the purges. The Naidan süm (Temple of the Arhats) was restored in 2005. The building of the left Jodkhan situated in the first courtyard now exhibits unique silk appliqués of various deities made in the beginning in the 20th century, such as Gongor, Tsamba, Sosorbaram or Baraishir and Dorjpagam. Some of them were made by the famous Khasgombo and Tawkhai. The building of the right Jodkhan houses a vast collection of thangkas painted with paints made from natural earth and minerals. The most famous are of Janraiseg, Ayuush or Tsewegmed / Tsegmid and Jigjid and the one depicting the 12 deeds of Buddha. Nogoon lawiran presently contains some of the Bogd khaan’s furniture, the famous twenty-one Dar’ ekh made by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar and other statues, all of which survived the purges. The building of the left Jodkhan situated in the second courtyard is used to exhibit a vast collection of unique statues and thangkas from the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the image of the 4th Panchen Lama, Maidar with his two disciples, namely Atiśa (Adisha, T. mar-me mdzad, 982-1054, great Indian master, initiator of Kadampa (T. bka’-gdams-pa) Sect of Tibetan Buddhism) and Tsongkhapa; Chojjoo, Lkham, and Ganesh (T. bgegs-kyi
rgyal-po, the king of the obstructing spirits, Gačesa). The Jodkhan on the right contains books, printing blocks, the statues of Buddha and his 16 disciples, and Ayuush or Tsewegmed / Tsegmid, as well as thangkas and costumes.

The white building of the old Winter palace currently exhibits many of the Bogd khaan’s personal artifacts such as his costumes and robes, hats and jewels, his throne as well as his and his wife’s beds. Also on display are a collection of gifts received from foreign dignitaries, and a collection of stuffed animals, etc. Jügder’s original painting of Ikh Khüree and a painting showing the Khaistai lawran (R-921) are also exhibited. There is a reception room on the first floor with a staircase leading to the second floor.

**Norowlin, the Bogd’s Zoo**

*Norowlin / Norowlkhai (T. nor-bu gling-kha, ‘treasure island, M. Norbulingka), Erdenii khiid*

GPS: N 47º 53.776’, E 106º 54.542’, elevation 1281m

Although not marked on Rinchen map (NR-943) the fenced-off complex of Norowlin (‘Jewel Island’) was situated at the East side of the Green palace of the Bogd khaan as the picture painted by Jügder shows. There was a wooden building and some yurts within a fenced-off area east of the Green Palace, on the left side of the road leading to Tuul River on the two banks of a creek. It had the same name, meaning ‘Jewel Island’ as the summer palace of the Dalai Lamas in Tibet. According to Soninbayar lama, O. Pürew and other sources this place did not function as a temple, but it was a smaller zoo of the Bogd khaan. The Bogd khaan was famous for his collection of exotic animals, including a giraffe and an elephant (the photos are kept in the Museum of the Bogd Khaan).

According to Geleta (Forbáth, pp. 217-218), this garden pavilion next to the winter palace on the bank of a small creek, situated on the meadow of the deers was the Bogd’s favorite dwelling. The pavilion was a Chinese-style wooden building with a high closed terrace on the south and with many windows with colour glass and ornamental transparent tissue paper. The walls were also decorated with wood-carvings under the red-coloured silken drapery. Its furniture was in Oriental style with a large bed carved from palisander tree with heavy silken bed-clothes and brocade pillows. Tables and upholstered chairs were arranged in the other halls.

There is nothing left. The presumed site of the garden is today the area of the export department of Narantuul market. The GPS measurement was taken there.

**Khaistai lawran, the Bogd’s Summer Residence**

*Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm* (‘monastery collecting the merits of the knowledge ocean’, probable T. bsod-nams rgya-mtsho yon-tan tshogs gling), *Bogd khaanii seriiün ord, Khaist(ai) ordon/ lawran/ labran (M. Qayisutai ordon, T. bla-brang), Khashaatai lawran, Khailaastiin süm ordon*

GPS: N 47°53.662’, E 106°54.821’, elevation 1273 m

Rinchen marks this palace as *Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm (Bogd khaanii seriiün ord)* on his map (R-921) and it is also presented on Jügder’s painting. The Bogd Khaan's summer residence was widely known as Khaistai lawran, the ‘Fenced-off palace’. Some books contain sporadic data about it. O. Pürew, Dashtseren lama and B. Daajaw architect could serve useful data on the palace. Jügder’s painting (1913), another painting by unknown painter, kept in the Bogd Khaan Museum (Tsüitem, N., Mongol zurag,
Ulaanbaatar 1986, picture No. 170.) and a photo in Forbáth’s book (184) show the old appearance of the complex.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the Bogd khaan’s summer palace where he lived with his wife, Dondogdulam, consisted of a collection of large and small buildings and yurts (Jügder’s painting shows around 10 buildings) in the midst of extensive pleasant wooded grounds surrounded by a wooden fence. The painting shows that the palace area was divided into six small courts with the buildings arranged in them. According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 45.), there was a wooden clock mounted on the top of a tall wooden tower standing in the courtyard. However, according to B. Daajaw, the tower was a radio antenne built in the 1920’s and the two-storey wooden clock, made by Mongolian goldsmiths, stood on the left of it. This clock was decorated with images of the ‘animals of the twelve years’ of the Mongolian calendar.

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, pp. 43-44.) guards (torgon tsereg) of the Bogd khaan resided here. Furthermore, it was a place for looking after the children taken into the care by the Bogd khaan. After his death, all his belongings were confiscated by the comission of the people’s government (zasgiin gaziin komiss) and the adopted children were sent back to their families.

According to Dariimaa (p. 44.) the palace, called Khailaastiin lawran was originally situated in the valley of Khailaast in the Chingeltel mountain and it was moved later to its present site on the right bank of Tuul River. However, there is no other source confirming this statement, and he gives no date either for the establishment or when it moved. According to Pürew (Uls töriin töw, pp. 59-60.), the palace buildings were originally the summer residence of yonzon khamba, the Bogd khaan’s tutor. At the end of the 19th century the dwelling was converted into the summer palace for the Bogd khaan with the whole site being surrounded by a wooden fence (khais). This was corroborated by Dashtseren lama. The 8th Bogd valued the magnificent view of the river from his summer palace further enhancing the grounds by creating a park-like atmosphere with herds of sheep and horses grazing there.

Jügder’s painting shows the complex to be situated east of the Winter Palace. A detailed picture of the palace painted by an unknown painter hangs in the Bogd Khaan Museum. This painting shows a red coloured two-storey building in the north-east corner, which is not present in the Jügder picture. It is assumed the building was built after 1913 when Jügder did his painting.

Ceremonies were not held here at all. However, according to Dashtseren lama, some lamas lived here whose task was primarily to act as attendants to the Bogd khaan by preparing his food, and looking after his ceremonial wardrobe.

In Geleta’s time (Forbáth, p. 230.), the summer palace became the central office of the national party with the political college being also housed here (p. 174, p. 230.). He relates how the furniture in this palace was poorer than in the Bogd’s other palaces though after the renovation its appearance changed a great deal. However, the clock pendulum (photo in Forbáth, p. 184) in the garden hanging from the 20 metres height platform was still working in Geleta’s time. The pendulum powered a clock situated in one of the palace rooms. Badma, a Buryat master, constructed the clock. He was the Bogd’s personal

233 Jambal (English text pp. 23-26., Mongolian text pp. 700-703.) gives an account of these adopted children listing their names and their relationship with the Bogd. According to him, one of them was Lamyaa, the child of the younger sister of a lama in Erkhem (toinii) aimag. The others were Talgausan lam and Chin bishrelt lam, Sosorbaram (Baraishir by his religious name, who became a lama of Badma yogo monastic school (English text p. 52., Mongolian text pp. 733-735.) and Erennyam. The Bogd is said to have had an ongoing sexual relationship with these youngsters.

234 Part of the picture is published in Tsültem, N., Mongol zurag, picture No. 170.
assistant, being his driver, mechanic, photographer, watchmaker and dentist. Geleta also mentions that the national government was merciful with Badma after the Bogd’s demise, endowing him with a house in the summer palace where he had lived from the time of the Bogd onwards.

According to Pürew (Uls törïn töw, p. 62.), the summer palace was used by the Central School of the Revolutionary Party after 1937.

GPS was taken at the site of the remaining two-storey building. The buildings of the complex that remains today are situated south of the Management Academy (Udïrllagïn Åkademi). It is not know exactly what the buildings were used for originally. The two-storey white building, which has a small veranda and a terrace, has, for many years, been used to house several families. It is in a very bad state of repair with litter and debris everywhere. Today, one family lives on the first floor. There are two doors on the veranda on the southern side. Entering the door on the left there is a staircase leading to the second floor where there are three rooms. Hidden between newly built houses there are five other old buildings in the immediate area: two of them are long rectangular buildings, and the others are smaller. They are used for different purposes today: residential and commercial (offices). Two of them appears to have been repaired recently. All are situated to the east of the two-storey building described above, having the same architectural features and being built with the same materials. The one immediately on the east of the two-storey building is completely renovated with an added part and used as the Child welfare centre of Metropolitan Police Department (Niisleliin Tsagaanagïn Gârriin khûûkhdiin khalânj, ülchilgeenii töw) from 1996. The two buildings on its north and east are empty and not used currently. They stand in the courtyards of newly built estate houses and are in very bad state of repair. The last two buildings are situated on the east of all the other buildings behind each other and are used as dwellings. The northern one is renovated. The remaining area of the Summer Palace complex or Khaistai ordon is now completely built in.

**Güngaadejidlin, the Bogd’s White Palace**

_Tsagaan süm, Güngaadejidlin süm, (T. kun-dga’ bde-skyid gling, ’monastery of rejoicing and happiness’), Dood süm, Khutagtiin Tsagaan süm, Tuulïn Tsagaan süm, Öwgön tsagaan süm, Khotol bayasgalant amgâlan jargalangiin süm, Khotliig bayasgan jarguulagch_

GPS: N 47º55.570’, E 106º52.696’, elevation 1283 m

Rinchen marks this palace on his map (R-922) as Tsagaan süm (Güngaadejidlin). However, the palace was known by different names, such as White temple, Lower temple (according to the flow of Tuul River), White temple of the khutagt, White temple by the Tuul River, White old temple, etc. Besides written sources, Dashtseren lama could serve relevant data on this palace. Some old photos show the beauty of the palace that existed once.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, pp. 87-88.), the decision to construct this palace was made in 1838. It was finally built in 1840 by the 5th Bogd on the right bank of Tuul River (today on the west of the First or Central Electricity Plant (Töw tsakhilgaan kombinat, Negdügeer stants). The two-storey, white-coloured Tibetan-style central building was made from bricks with a highly ornamented hexagonal gilded brass roof. The temple was encircled by three fences that enclosed an area measuring 51×46 ald (1 ald

---

235 Tsültem: 58, 59; Maidar: 142; Sereeter: 88; Shepetilnikov: 23; Geleta/Forbáth: 200
being 1.6 m) (See Banzragch, *Khüree khiid*, p. 15.). The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the construction of the palace.

According to Dashtseren lama, *Güngaadejidlin* or *Tsagaan süm* was a palace more than a temple as lamas did not reside there permanently. According to Pürew (*Uls töriin tów*, p. 59.), this building was used as the summer residence of the 6th, 7th and 8th Bogds. Maidar lists this palace under the name of *Öwgon tsagaan süm* or ‘the old white temple’ but do not mention any other data about it.

As Jügder's painting shows there were three fences surrounding the temple complex which was situated inside the internal courtyard. The internal fence was octagonal shaped with seven gates.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 88.), within the palace complex of *Güngaadejidlin* there were buildings including, the Temple of Amitābha Buddha (*Awidiin süm*, T. 'od-dpag-med), the Temple of Öndör gegeen (*Öndör gegeenii süm*), the Palace of the Bogd (*Bogdiin lawran*), and the Yurt palace of the gate (*Üüdnii ger tugdum/tugdam*).

The National Central Archives has been keeping 16 individual sources of the palace in its individual catalogues, though the majority of the texts concerning its operation are available in the collection of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. The catalogue (M-208) of the Manchu period contains 4 texts which were composed between 1895-1909. One of them is a leporello notifying the incomes and expenses of the Bogd’s household, the stūpas of the 5th and 7th Bogds (1895) and *Güngaadejidlin süm*. There is a leporello which counts the herds and flocks of *Güngaadejidlen süm*, and the horses of the “stable” of the temple (*sümii uyaa*). The day of the Bogd’s visit (*Bogd zalrakh ödör*) was determined in a text. The catalogue (A-166) of the Bogd khaan’s reign 12 titles including documents mainly registers about saddle-horses (*uyaand uyakh*), herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, and determinations of the proper day of the Bogd and Ekh dagina’s visit to *Khüree* (1920). The renovation of the temple is also mentioned. There is not any data concurring the palace from the Modern Period which confirms the statement that it was out of operation after the death of the Bogd khaan.

Jambal (English text pp. 8-9., Mongolian text pp. 686-687.) describes some of the images kept in this temple. He describes a *Jigjid* statue made of steel, which was said to have been made in the time of the 8th Bogd. It was one cubit high (*üzüür tokhoi*, equalling to the measure from the elbow to the end of the middle finger) and the sparkling implements it held were all skillfully made of silver. There was also a similar statue of *Damjan Dorlig* riding a goat. The body of the statue of *Jamsran* was made of iron with the head being gilded (painted with gold). There was also a precious *Khajid* image at this temple, which was venerated by the 5th Bogd when he was performing the *Khajid* meditation (*ninchin*, T. snyings-chen). It was a gilded brass statue completely covered by cloth, with only one hand visible. These images were sent by the Dalai Chöinhor wan of Sain noyon khan aimag. According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 88.), among these were the valuable statues of the ten wrathful protectors.

Jambal also tells how Öndör Gegeen’s clothes were kept here. There was a hat in the form of a skull-cap (*tow’ malgai*) with four leaf-shaped peaks (*sarawch*). There were also his big red Mongol boots, and his summer gown (*deel*) similar to a Buryat gown, ‘made of stuff like yellow silk pleated at the waist and with a lining of gauze, with small cuffs and a rough fur collar like black otter fur’. The clothes, wrapped in a bundle, were kept next to a papier-maché statuette of Öndör Gegeen. A portrait of Darnad/Daranata (Skr. Tārānatha) was also in the White Temple. According to Jambal, it was sent to the *Choijin lamiin süm* after 1938, along with many other paintings and ritual objects from all

---

236 Some texts are also available in the catalogues of *Güngaachoilin*, as the name of these two were not recognized separately by the archivists during the text classification procedure.
over the capital, where it was at the time Damdinsuren interviewed him in the 1950’s. It is presumed that it is there to this day.

*Ikh jas* and *Öndör gegeenii jas* provided the funds for all expenses from 1925. However, most of the complex was completely destroyed in 1938 though, according to Pürew (*Uls töriin tów*, p. 63.), the *Tsagaan süm* was used as a leather factory for some years after this. GPS was taken on the west side of the First or Central Electricity Plant, inside the fence. There are no remains today. O. Pürew informed us of the exact site of the old temple, which is outside the walls of the Central Electricity Plant to the south-west. However on Rinchen’s map, compiled by Pürew himself, it is marked inside the wall of the plant, but this only means some ten meters difference.

**Pandalin or Narkhajid Temple**

*Narkhajidiin/Narokhajidiin süm* (T. *na-ro mkha’-spyod*), *Baldankhajidlin* (T. *dpal-ldan mkha’-spyod gling*), *Pandilin/Pandellin/Pandelin süm* (T. *phan-bde gling*, ‘monastery of prosperity and bliss’, M. *Pandeling süm-e*), *Tus amgalangiin süm*

GPS: N 47°53.268’, E 106°54.584’, elevation 1311m

Rinchen marks this palace on his map as *Narokhajidiin süm* (R-923) and it is also visible in details on Jügder’s painting. Some sources briefly account its history and data providers as O. Pürew, Dashtseren lama, and B. Daajaw architect could serve relevant information about its layout, architectural features and ceremonies.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 80.) and Idshinnorow (*Khotiin khuraangui*, p. 22.) *Pandalin* temple was founded in 1840 on the initiative of the 5th Bogd.

The foundation of the temple is often connected to Danzanrawjaa (T. *bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas*), the fifth reincarnation of a Sakya saint, (1803-1856), the abbot of *Khatriin khiid* in the present Dor nogow’ aimag, famous writer, poet, playwright and founder of many monasteries.

According to Sereeter (p. 80.), it was also called *Narkhajidiin süm* after its main tutelary deity, *Narkhajid* (T. *na-ro mkha’-spyod*, Skr. Sarvabuddha dākini). On Jügder’s painting *Pandalin* is situated in the area near the present Zaisan tolgoi. Sereeter writes that initially the temple was situated south of the White Palace on the right bank of Tuul River. Then, fearing floods, the authorities moved it to a hill on the left bank of the river (near the present Zaisan tolgoi, north of the University of Agriculture). According to Banzragch (*Khüree khiid*, p. 15.) its grounds covered an area of 25×27 ald.

According to B. Daajaw, whose description is based on Jügder’s painting which shows the temple in detail, *Narkhajidiin süm* was a square-shaped two-storey building with green tiled roof with a golden ornament on the top. As the painting shows, there were two yurts in the courtyard.

According to Sereeter, the main protector deities of the temple were *Lkhanaa Demchog* and *Dolgornaljormaa* (T. *sgrol-dkar rnal-'byor-ma*, The White Tārā yoginī) yoginī. The great treasury paid the expenses of the temple although there was one own financial unit as well. However, according to Jambal (English text p. 18., Mongolian text p. 695.), responsibility for the equipment in *Khajid* temple for six months each year, was held by the Bogd’s *Gegeen san* treasury (the same as the above *Ikh jas*) and for the other six months by the *Darkhan chin wan*’s treasury.

There was no permanent congregation. Four lamas from the *Tsogchin* temple held rituals and ceremonies here from time to time. It is most probable that both lamas and female lamas took part in these ceremonies. According to Dashtseren lama, it was a mixed Yellow Sect – Red Sect temple. He claims that the annual *Khajid* festival day took place
on the 25th of the last winter month with a special ceremony, Khajidiin chogo with a variety of musical instruments, with lamas as well as female lamas (emegtei lam or khandmaa, T. mkha’-’gro-ma, Skr. dākini, ‘sky-goer’, ‘sky traveler’, often used for genenmaas or female practitioners) participating. Today the same Khajid ceremony is held on the same day in the bigger Mongolian monasteries such as Gandan and Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monasteries in Ulaanbaatar. As for the origin of this ceremony, it is said that Narkhajid was the main tutelary deity of the 5th Bogd. Once, when he was meditating on this goddess, he saw a red light above the Bogd khan mountain and Tuul River. The ceremony has been held ever since then. Jambal (English text p. 18., Mongolian text p. 695.) also says that Zorigt wan Yündendorj, took part in the Khajid meditation (ninchin, T. snying-chen) along with the 5th Bogd.

According to O. Pürew, this temple was used for the worship of the King of the Water Spirits (lusin khaan). Temples of this kind were situated next to holy water sources. Other examples in Züün salaanii khural (R-940), Baruun salaanii khural (NR-946) and Lowon Jalbiin süm (NR-944) (see below).

The National Central Archives includes 10 individual texts related to Pandelin. The catalogue (M-211) of the Manchu period contains 10 texts. Among them the oldest text was written in 1865. Incomes and expenses, number of livestock of the temple and its financial unit were recorded from time to time. The catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Bogd’s treasuries can contain further information about Pandelin.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 80.), the temple was closed in the winter of 1937 at which time statues and books were moved to the White Palace, Güngaadejidlin.

GPS was taken in front of the University of Agriculture. There are no remains and extensive construction is taking place nearby the presumed site. The Korean-sponsored International Buddha Park was opened in October 2005 to the east of this, at the foot of Zaisan tolgoi. Today, two women’s centres in Ulaanbaatar bear the name of this old temple, Narkhajid süm in Bayangol district and Baldankhajidlin near Nairamdal zuslan. Both temples worship Narkhajid and, consequently, hold the same type of ceremonies in honour of this dākini, which they claim are the same as the ceremonies supposedly held in the old Narkhajidin süm. Despite this, the two modern temples have no proven connection with the old one.
South of Züün Khüree there was the Choijin lamiin süm (R-915), which was the temple complex of Luwsankhaidaw, the state oracle (known as Choijin lam) who carried out a special tantric practice in the city. Yonzon khambiin süm (NR-947), the temple of the 8th Bogd and Luwsankhaidaw’s teacher (who bore the title yonzon khamba (T. yongs-'dzin mkhan-po, ‘tutor abbot’) was situated on the right side of Choijin lamiin süm. Agwa datsan (NR-953), and presumably two smaller assemblies called Oidowiin khural (R-920) and Dagwa zodochiin khural (NR-951) were located right to the north of Choijin lamiin süm. The whole complex can be seen in Jügder’s painting.

Temple of Choijin Lama, the state oracle


GPS: N 047º54.904, E 106º55.102

Rinchen marks Choijin lamiin süm (R-915) on his map and its complex is visible on Jügder’s painting, too. The temple complex was known under many different names, such as: Temple of Choijin lama, Temple of the “Protector of the Teaching”, Zepellin, and Zankhan. Besides the written sources Dashtseren lama served information on the operation of the temple complex. The collection of the Film Archives has photos of the temples (K23921-K23967). Some were published in different books.237

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, Gandan, pp. 77-78.) the head abbot (khamba nomon khan) of Ihk Khüree, Baldanchoimbol (bearing the title between 1865-1899), recognized Erdennamjil (known later as Luwsankhaidaw, T. blo-bzang mkhas-grub), the younger brother of the 8th Bogd as the oracle and interpreter of the Choijin (T. chos-skyong, Skr. dharmapāla), which means ‘protector of the Teaching’. He became the official state oracle (goliin choijin or albanii choijin, ‘main or official oracle’) (Jambal, English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.). However, Jambal states that during the Guangxu period (Badruult tör, 1875-1908) Tserendorj of Maimaachen, being in control, made Luwsankhaidaw the oracle giving him the title of oracle lama (Choijin lam). He adds that the oracle lama took Sürenkhorloo, daughter of the Zaisan Damdin of Maimaachen, as his wife.

The oracle, who was educated by a lama from India or Tibet called Sotow/Seti/Seetew Gürtembe (T. bse khrab, ‘hide plates/corselet’, a guardian deity and sku rten-pa ‘man possessed of deity, body support/representation’, that is, oracle), was recognized in order that the Buddhist Teaching, which had already become widespread in Mongolia, would be protected.

According to Ölzii’s book (Mongoliin dursgalt, pp. 107-109.), a Mongolian lama, Luwsanpeljee (T. blo-bzang ‘phel rgyas) of Wangain aimag in Züün Khüree composed a text to invoke the protectors. Jambal says that the oracle Luwsankhaidaw was his pupil (English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.). To begin with the rituals were held in a big felt yurt, after this in a small wooden temple built between 1899 and 1901, which was next to the temple of Dashdandarlin aimag, north-west of the Yellow Palace. It contained a large and a small temple, a palace, some yurts and a financial unit. The temple had the privileges of a small datsan and, 50 lamas were appointed to participate in the ceremonies.

237 Tsültem: 61-69, 168; Maidar: 40, 62, 91; Sereeter: 79; Shepetilnikov: 26, 60-69; Geleta/Forbáth: 8; Dashnyam: 245, 272
According to Jambal, the *Ikh shaw* supplied all the financial resources (English text 11., Mongolian text 690.) for this temple. As the archives material show commands were sent to the aimags in 1902 and before to raise fund for the construction of the temple buildings.

In 1903 the temple burnt down and many yurts were put up for the *Choijin lam* in the enclosed yard of Tsakhirin shadār gün Shagdarjav (Tsakhár Shagdar gün), where permanent ceremonies were held (Jambal, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.). These were sponsored by the great treasury and the rich datsans (no exact data which datsans were they), but procuring them did a lot of harm to the *shaw* (subordinated areas) and the colleges.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 78.) a year later, in 1904, 83,000 lan (or 88,779 lan, means 1,821.2 kg) of silver was given by the great treasury (*Ikh san*) and from donations, and a separated enclosed complex was established between 1904 to 1908 with brick buildings designed by architect Ombog who also built the Bogd khaan’s Green Palace. According to Jambal’s account (English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.), the finest craftsmen were summoned from all the banners in Mongolia to make the images and other ritual objects for the temple. Chinese and Mongols worked on the buildings and on the images, with Chinese, for the most part, building the temple, and Mongols, for the most part, making the Buddha images and devotional objects. The work of creating the latter was lead by Shoiv Ayuush of Wangain aimag, who was from the territory (*khoshuu*) of Zorigt wan, Osorbazar (O. wan) in Tüshet Khan aimag, and Wanchig, the lama of (Khüükhen) Noyonii aimag also took an active part. According to Jambal, it bore the name Zankhan temple. In 1906, the temple was named Örshööliig khögjüülegch süm or Zepellin.

The principal activity of the assembly was to propitiate the *Choijin* protector. According to Dashtseren lama, around 30-40 lamas took part in the daily chanting in the temple. Lamas from Züün Khüree were invited to participate in the bigger ceremonies. The invitation of *Choijin* (*Gürtembe*) was performed in the beginning of every month and consisted of calling the souls of the three protectors of the Teaching *Naichün Choijin*, *Zimur/ Zemer/Zemur Choijin* (T. rtse-ma-ra/tsi-ma-ra chos-skyong or tsi’u dmar-po, the special protector deity of Samye monastery) and Dorjshüg/Shüg which occupied the oracle’s body. Luwsankhaidaw became known as an interpreter of *Choijin* and Luwsanpeljee translated his mystical texts. Bawden translates (English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.) the term *gomboo lam* used by Jambal as ‘speaker lama’ saying that Luwsanpeljee was the oracle’s speaker lama who understood and transmitted his pronouncements. The exact meaning of this term *gomboo* could not be identified, though Ölzii (*Mongoliin dursgalt*, p. 188.) interprets the term as *gomboo lam* or *khiidiin lam*, T. *dgon-pa’i bla-ma*, ‘lama of the monastery’). Jambal adds (English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 689.) that the speaker lama managed the most important affairs of the oracle. He was given the title *Daichin khamba* (‘heroic abbot’, *daichin* being a Mongolian word meaning ‘hero’ and *khamba*, T. *mkhan-po*, meaning abbot).

According to Jambal’s lively account (English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.), the oracle never spoke while in trance, but when one listened there was a humming emanating from his armpit which sounded something like words. The speaker lama, Luwsanpeljee, listened to this, wrote it down and made it known to the assembled people. Of the three guardian spirits, *Naichün/Naichin*, and *Zimur* were not very fierce, but *Shüg* was a very fierce guardian spirit (*dogshin sakhius*). So when the guardian spirit *Shüg* was within him, the oracle took on a very fierce aspect, hopping and leaping about, bobbing up and down and foaming at the mouth.

During the summer this ritual was performed in the Gonkhon (T. *mgon-khang,*
protectors’ chapel, attached to the main temple in the north, which is entered from the main hall) of the temple, and during the winter in a heated wooden yurt east of the temple.

According to Ŭlzii, the Bogd khaan ordered the invocation of the Choijin protector in the Tsogchin temple to take place on the 8th day of the Lunar New Year through the ceremonies held to the honour of the three protectors. The numerous titles and seals given to Luwsankhaidaw, such as Güjir khambo (Gürtembe Güdjir khambo, T. sku rten-pa sku bcar mkhan-po, Jambal, English text, p. 10.) or Erdene biligt tungalag bishreelt khutagt (‘Khutagt of precious wisdom and pure belief’) show the great prestige of Choijin lam. His temple complex owed the same privilege rights as Dechingalaw in the Yellow Palace and numerous administrators belonged to it.

According to Sereeter, the main tutelary deities of the temple were Jigjid and Damdin, while its main protectors were Naichin/Naichin, Zimur, and Dorjshüg. An own treasury, Choijin lamiin san, and two following financial units (jas) belonged to the temple, namely Sümiin jas and Agwa datsangiin jas as Agwa datsan (T. sngags-pa grwa-tshang) or Akhu datsan was situated within the temple complex in the east (see the details below).

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 41.), the Tsam dance was held on the 29th of the last summer month, though Ŭlzii claims (Mongoliin dursgal, p. 92., p. 113.) that from 1916 it was held here once a year on the 25th of the 8th month, with 108 lamas taking part. Before the dance, the lamas rehearsed for 6-10 weeks. This Tsam dance differed from Khüree tsam. Jambal (English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.) lists deities that appeared in it, namely Mam (T. ma-mo), Zan (T. brtsan?, a kind of demon, powerful ghost) and Tawan khan (‘Five Kings’), with the speaker lama Peljee (Luwsanpeljee, the Daichin khamba) acting as Tawan khan (Ŭlzii, Mongoliin dursgal, p. 113. confirms it). However, the Tsam was performed here only three times. Jambal (English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.) also says that the Tsam dance was performed during the Period of Autonomy (1911-1920), but was organized only about three times (most probably three subsequent years), and, according to him, ended in 1921 with the revolution when the people’s government was established. (It may well be that it ended with the death of Luwsankhaidaw.)

In 1918, the oracle Luwsankhaidaw passed away suddenly and the invocation to Choijin stopped. According to Ŭlzii (Mongoliin dursgal, pp. 107-109.), Luwsanpeljee was appointed to lead the temple and was given the title Güjir khambo (T. sku bcar mkhan-po, ‘personal attendant lama, who is company of a great lama’). Ceremonies were held in the temple until 1936. The temple was closed two years later, in 1938. In 1937 and 1938 many artifacts and objects of worship were dumped here from the temples and monasteries that were destroyed.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 78.) from 1940 the complex was handed over to the Academy of Sciences (Shinjlekh ukhaanii khüreelen). In 1941 the collection of religious objects kept here became strictly protected. The monastery was included in the list of historical and cultural monuments and put in charge of the Committee of sciences in 1942. In that year the temple was converted into the Museum of Religious History. It was separated from Bogd Khaan Museum in January 2000. To begin with numerous sculptures, thangkas, images, masks of Tsam dance and other ritual objects were effectively piled up and stored in the building. However, in 1960-61 the complex was renovated and the objects were arranged into an exhibition. In the 1960’s two buildings in the first courtyard were pulled down. The remained temple buildings were repainted in 1972 and the roof of Zuugiin süm was renovated in 1995. The buildings were renovated again in 2004.

Only 3 individual documents about the temple complex are available under the name of the complex in the collection of the National Central Archives. The catalogue (M-
210) of the Manchu period contains two texts. One of them was written in 1886 and contains a draft of the setting up of Choijin lamiin süm (Zonkhon), talking about the delivery of the required wood and other equipment for its construction, and lists the temple’s livestock. The other text, without date, clarifies the expenses of the ceremonies that were held in Choijin lamiin süm, the number of livestock, and the costs of building of the new temple. The catalogue (A-177) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains only one text related to the complex. It is a register of the temple’s (Orshoölig khögjüülekh süm) cattles and horses classified to categories by appearance and age (üzü nas such as byaruu, shüdlen, khyazaalan, sooyoolon, tarlan, khüren, khar tarlan, mukhar ulaan, khalzan, bor tarlan, khalzan khar alag, mukhar khaltar, etc.) and also containing their loss by years (1920). There is not any sources about the complex from the Modern Period.

After the democratic change there was a wish among some with a form of demonstrations taking place (Film Archives photoes, 44896-44898, Box 163), to revive the temple complex and once again perform ceremonies there. However, this did not succeed and the monastery is no longer an active place of worship being still used as a museum. The basis of the exhibition is the many religious objects collected there at the time many monasteries were being destroyed in 1937-38.

The temple complex of Choijin lama is a beautiful example of Chinese religious architecture. Almost all the buildings, the yampai, gates and temples survived the purges. The temples were constructed of blue brick and wood, decorated with green tiled roofs the spines of which are ornamented with animal-shaped figures.

There are five temples in the complex. As you enter, the first temple is the Temple of the Mahārājās, called Makhranziin süm with statues of the guards of the four directions. In front of it once stood a gate (Film Archive: Box 93, K23967) and a stone stele decorated with carved monster heads (Film Archive: Box 93 K23943) but these no longer remain. According to Geleta (Forbáth, p. 215), a large flat stone was situated here in earlier times which was believed to assist in healing illness if one lay down on it.

In the main temple (Gol süm) there are statues of buddhas, the thrones of Choijin lam and Baldanchoimbel with the statue of Choijin lam to the right and the embalmed mummy of Baldanchoimbel (the yonzon lam, teacher of the 7th and 8th Bogd), which survived the purges, to the left. (According to some sources, the statue of Choijin lam contains his ashes as his embalmed body is said to have been destroyed in the purges.)

There is a unique and rich collection of old Tsam masks and robes, made by famous masters of the Khüree in the 19th century. The most attractive figure is Jamsran, whose mask ornamented with about 30 kilogramms of coral was made by Puntsog Osor in the 19th century. Paintings exhibited in the hall are: thangkas of the Buddhist cold and hot hell realms; carved replicas of the palaces (loilan, T. blos bslangs, also called ordon (‘palace’) in Mongolian) of different deities, namely Jigjid, Yansan yadam, Maidar and Avid made from myrtle wood by master Balgan; some old photoes of the Tsam dance; and numerous magnificent thangkas and appliqués. Until 2004, the central part of the temple was furnished as a real temple with two rows for the seats for the lamas with the religious musical instruments displayed as if ready for use, but since 2005 it has become an exhibition hall for Tsam masks and other artifacts. At the back of the main hall, annexed to it, there is access to the chapel of the protector (gonkhon, T. mgon-khang or zonkhon, T. gtsang-khang, ‘sanctuary’), where the oracle’s throne and statues of different wrathful protector deities are on display. Hanging from the ceiling are symbols of hearts, lungs, and stomachs of beings. This is the place where the Choijin occupied the body of the oracle when he went into a trance with the speaker lama translating his words. (In winter he conducted this ceremony in a yurt to the east of the temple). The statues of the six Choijin, namely Ochirwaan’, Naichün, Zimur, Dorjshiug, Damdin Sandiüw (T. rta mgrin gsang
sgrub) and Perenlejalwa/Perenlejalbuu (T. ‘phrin-las rgyal-po, one of the ‘Five Kings’, Tawan khaan) worshipped by Luwsankhaidaw are exhibited in this hall.

The Zuugiin süm, ‘temple of the Lord/Buddha Shyakyamuni’ is situated to the north-west of the main temple. This temple is dedicated to Çäkyamuni Buddha and in it there are huge statues of the Buddhas of past, present and future, statues of the 16 main disciples of Çäkyamuni (Naidan, T. gnas-brtan, Skr. sthavira or arha), and the statue of Lkham. The Naidan statues were most probably made by Ayuush of Wangain aimag (Jambal, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.). The guards of the four directions (Makhranz) are depicted on either side of the door.

Behind the main temple is the Yadamiiin süm (‘Temple of the tutelary deity’, T. yi-dam) or the Ariun nandin shüteeniin süm (‘the temple of the pure precious object of worship’). The bronze and wooden sculptures of the main tantric deities worshipped by Choijin lama are kept here, such as Dowchinnagwa/Düwchinnagwa (T. grub chen nag-po), one of the 84 Indian mahäsiddhas (düwchin, T. grub chen), Yansan yadam and Düinkhor, Makhamayaa, Ochirdar’ and other tantric deities. One of the most beautiful bronze statues made by Öndör gegeen, Dorjsenme (T. rdo-rje sms-dpa’ Skr. Vajrasattva) with his consort, is on display here.

The Khotol chuulganii tus amgalant tiwiin süm (‘Temple of the continent of the great happiness’) or the Temple of Öndör gegeen (Öndör gegeeniin süm) is an octagonal shaped two-storey building built in 1907 and dedicated to the memory of Öndör Gegeen. The temple contains a self-portrait of Öndör Gegeen and a stupa apparently brought by him from Tibet. Characteristic statues of the 16 Naidans can also be seen in the wall, as well as sculptures in Tibetan and Indian style. It is said that the whole Tibetan Ganjuur and Danjuur, brought from Tibet by the 4th Bogd, is also kept in the museum.

(Relics) Temple of Yonzon khamba, the tutor abbot
Yonzon khambiin süm, Yonzon lamiin shariliin gazar (T. yongs’-dzin mkhan-po)
GPS: N 47° 54.875’, E 106° 55.154’, elevation 1287 m

This temple is not marked on Rinchen’s map (NR-947) but is visible on Jügder’s painting. Some written sources mention and photos also show the temple of Yonzon khamba.

As it has been mentioned above, Yonzon (T. yongs’-dzin) is a title borne by the tutors of the Dalai Lamas and the Bogds. Luwsankhaimchog (T. blo-bzang mkhas mchog) was a Tibetan lama who came to Mongolia as the jaw tüi lam (T. byabs-khrus-kyi bla-ma, lama who performs purifying rituals) of the Bogd in 1915. He later became, what was, the last of the yonzon khambas, the tutor to the 8th Bogd, and, from 1920, the main abbot (khamba nomon khan) of the whole Khüree. (He was the last to fulfill this position, too.) He bore the latter position from then until his execution in 1937.

However, this temple was probably built for his predecessor. According to the catalogue of the main assembly hall (M-98), Yonzon khamba lamiin süm was started to built in 1872.

In the Film Archives there is a picture showing a three-storey Tibetan style temple (K-23983, in the Chinese temples category, K-23971–23987, box 93). The photo has the inscription: ‘Yonzon khambiiin süm, situated at the east of Choijin lamiin süm’. The categorization of the photo implies this must have been a Chinese temple, but its Tibetan style contradicts it. The pictures of the same building taken by Geleta in the 1920’s are in

---

238 Film Archive: K23964, K23983 (the mummy of Yonzon khamba), Geleta/Forbáth: 168, 2 pictures, outer appearance and interior with the altar, 8 (golden mummy of the 8th Bogd); Shepetilnikov: 93
Forbáth’s book. Yonzon khamba’s temple was situated in a fenced-off building to the east of Choijin lamiin süm (R-915). Pürew confirms this (Töriin golomt, p. 59.), stating that yonzon khamba Luwsankhaimchog lived on the east of Choijin lamiin süm. Jügder’s painting also shows a building on the right and to the east of Choijin lamiin süm, marked with the name of yonzon khamba, simply saying ‘that of Yonzon khamba’ and not giving any data on the type of the temple or its function.

The most informative account on this shrine is given by Jambal (English text pp. 57-66., Mongolian text pp. 739-753.), who was the treasurer or bookkeeper (nyaraw, T. gnyer-ba) of this temple. According to him, the shrine contained relics (sharil) of Baldanchoimbel (T. dpal-ldan chos-'phel), the previous yonzon khamba before Luwsankhaimchog, who had been the Tibetan teacher for the young 8th Bogd. Baldanchoimbel yonzon bore the title khamba nomon khan from 1865-1899 when he died aged 70. His body was dried, mumified and being preserved in this special temple where it was honoured by the 8th Bogd. There is a photo of the mumified yonzon khamba, in sitting position on his throne, behind glass screens, in the Film Archives (K-23964). The mumified body of the 8th Bogd was kept in this temple after 1924, too. (A picture can be seen in Forbáth’s book, p. 8.).

Jambal also claims that this temple was under the authority of the Dalai Lama’s treasury. Furthermore he says that the Buryat Agwaan Ikharamba or Agwaandorjiew (T. ngag-dbang rdo-rje, 1853/54-1938) who arrived to Urga accompanying the 13th Dalai Lama, lived in the relics temple, which was shared by Tibetans and Mongols. Jambal also records that the pastures of this relics temple were at Shariin gol.

As Jambal describes in details, most of the property and the flocks and herds of the Relics Temple of yonzon khamba were ruined by the Gamin (English text p. 72., Mongolian text p. 756.) when they entered Ikh Khüree in 1919.

No further data was found on the temple, neither on its religious life, nor its destruction. There are no remains of the temple. The relics of yonzon khamba Baldanchoimbel are kept in Choijin lamiin süm at present. GPS was taken at the east of Choijin lamiin süm.

**Agwa datsan, tantric college**

Agwa/Awag/Akhu datsan (T. sngags-pa grwa-tshang)

GPS: N 47°54.984’, E 106°55.108’, elevation1297m

This temple is not marked on Rinchen’s map separately (NR-953), and its building cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Some sources mention the temple and Dashtseren lama (born 1921) served valuable information on its operation.

According to Dashtseren lama, Akhu datsan was situated near the present Lenin Club, which is south of Sükhbaatar Square (and north of Choijin lamiin süm, R-915). Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 78.) claims that as well as the many temples of Choijin lamiin süm, a financial unit (jas) belonging to Agwa datsan also operated in the area of the fenced-off courtyard of the temple complex. These two names, Akhu and Agwa seem to be used for the same temple, being two different Mongolian distorted forms of Tibetan sngags-pa meaning ‘Tantric’.

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 97.) the foundation of Awag datsan (T. sngags-pa grwa-tshang, a tantric monastic school) was laid in 1924. It was the last temple to be founded in Ikh Khüree before the destructions of the late 1930s. It was situated east of Choijin lamiin süm (R-915) and had the official privileged rights of a small datsan.
As for the initiation of the temple, Dariimaa claims (p. 97.) that a separated fenced-off courtyard and a gate was created. A huge golden statue of *Chagdün Jandin Seded* (T. *phyag stong spyan stong-gi gdugs dkar*, ‘Sitātapātra with one thousand arms and one thousand eyes’), an emanation of the goddess with the white umbrella (*Seded* or *Tsagaan shūkhert, Dugar*) was planned to be placed to the temple. According to Dashtseren lama, *Akhu datsan* was a Gelukpa (Yellow Sect) temple. It was a big square shaped temple building with no lamas residing there and no daily chanting. Ceremonies were conducted here for specific purposes in which about 20-30 lamas from Gandan and Zuün Khüree were invited to participate.

There are no remains. The GPS was taken on the east of Lenin Club, where it once stood supposedly.

**Oidow’s Assembly**

*Oidowiin khural, Yutawiin khural,* in the same enclosure as *Dagwa zodchiin khural*

GPS: N 47°54.854’, E 106°54.563’, Soeul Street, near Natsagdorj library

GPS: N 47°54.984’, E 106°55.108’, next to Lenin (Sanktpeterburg) Club

Rinchen marks this assembly under the name *Yutawiin khural* (R-920). The temple building cannot be made out on Jügd er’s painting. Only one source and Dashtseren lama (born 1921) served relevant data on the assembly.

According to Rinchen’s map, this assembly was situated within the same enclosure as the Assembly of Dagwa *zodoch* (NR-951). The two buildings were located in the southwest quarter (*Baruun ömnöd khoroo*) of the city, where laymen lived. The map marks it on the present Seoul Street near Natsagdorj library, to the south of *Nartad Dagingin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural*, R-916) and *Dar’ ekhiin khural* (R-917).

According to Dashtseren lama, the Assembly of Dagwa *zodoch* was situated near the present Lenin Club, south of Sükhbaatar Square, north of *Chojin lamiin süm*. However, Rinchen’s map marks the two assemblies on the present Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and Natsagdorj library.

According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 60.) the Lenin Club (currently known as the Sanktpeterburg Club) was built in 1929, to the north of *Chojin lamiin süm*, on a site where there was a building used by a lama who was a friend of *Chojin* lama. The structure was pulled down to build the Club.

Dashtseren lama did not know any details about the practice or size of this assembly. The word *oidow* (T. *dngos-grub*, Skr. siddhi) means accomplishment, magical powers, realization or attainment. Presumably, Oidow is the name of a person who was the head or leader of the assembly.

There is contradictory information about the exact site of the assembly. According to Dashtseren lama, it was near Lenin Club, south of Sükhbaatar Square, but, according to the Rinchen map, it was located on Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and Natsagdorj library. Both areas are now completely built over so it is not possible to locate any remains of the temple.
Dagwa Tantric Master’s Assembly

Dagwa zodochiin khural, Dagwa zodchiin khural, Dagwa zochiin süm
GPS: N 47°54.854’, E 106°54.563’, Soeul Street, near Natsagdorj library
GPS: N 47°54.984’, E 106°55.108’, next to Lenin klub

Only one source and Dashtseren lama served relevant data on this assembly. The temple building cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Rinchen’s map does not mark this assembly (NR-951) separately but it contains a reference to it at Oidowiin khural (R-920) saying that Dagwa zodochiin khural was situated within the same fenced enclosure as Yutawiin khural. They were located in the south-west quarter (Barun ömnöd khoroo) of the city, where laymen lived. The map location places it on the present Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and the Natsagdorj library, to the south of Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural, R-916) and Dar’ ekiin khural (R-917).

However, according to Dashtseren, Dagwa zodchiin khural was in a different site being located near the present Lenin Club, south of Sükhbaatar Square, north of Choijin lamiin süm (R-915).

Zod (or Jod, T. gcod, ‘cutting’) is a tantric ritual. It is a system of practices based on the Prajñāpāramita and set down by the Indian siddha Phadampa Sangye and his consort a Tibetan female teacher Majiglawdonma239 for the purpose of cutting through the four Maras and ego-clinging. Its practitioner, called zoch, zodoch or joch (either a man or a woman) practices the tantric ritual of cutting the ego-clinging. They have main role when somebody passes away as their practices are very wild and effective. The Zoch lamas followed different tantric lineages, such as Jagarmolomiin jüd (T. rgyud), Noyon khutagtiin jüd, and Khüükhen khutagtiin jüd. It is not known whether in the two main monastic districts lamas performing Zod lived or not. However, Zod assemblies belonging to the Red Sect existed in the layquarters.

According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 60.) the Lenin Club (presently Sanktpeterburg Club) was built in 1929 to the north of Choijin lamiin süm, with a temple belonging to a lama who was a friend of Choijin lam, being pulled down to make way for it. However, he does not mention the name of the temple, so we cannot be sure this was the same as the assembly of Dagwa zoch. There might have been more, smaller assemblies situated near Choijin lamiin süm.

According to Dashtseren lama, Dagwa zodochin süm was a Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temple and was a square shaped wooden building. There were about 20 lamas, women as well as men who took part in the daily chanting. The lamas performed Zod (T. gcod) tantric rituals. No other data was found about this assembly.

There is contradictory evidence about the precise location of the assembly. According to Dashtseren lama, it was near the present day Lenin Club that is immediately south of Sükhbaatar Square, but, according to Rinchen’s map, this assembly was located on the present Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and Natsagdorj library. Today both these areas are built over so it is for certain that there are no remains of the assembly wherever it was situated.

239 Majiglawdon / Machiglawdon Machik labdrön, ‘Only Mother Lamp of Dharma’. The great female founder of the lineage of the Chö practice in Tibet, cutting through ego-clinging, living between 1055-1143. She was a disciple and consort of the Indian master Phadampa Sangye (Padamba Sanjee, Tib. pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas), the Indian mahāsiddha who visited Tibet five or seven times, the last time in 1098, where he introduced the Pacification of Suffering (T. zhi-byed) teaching.
LAY POPULATION QUARTERS

The Mongolian lay population (kharchuud) of Ikh Khüree was relatively low in number and they lived in yurts in different quarters or khorooos surrounding the monastic complexes. These were called: Baruun ömnöd khoroo in the south-west; Züün ömnöd khoroo on the south-east; and Züün kharchuud and Ikh shaw in the east. The inhabitants of Baruun ömnöd and Züün ömnöd khoroo were called ‘the lay people of the khoroo’ (‘khorooonii kharchuud’) and the inhabitants of Züün kharchuud and Ikh shaw ‘the lay people of the Khüree’ (‘Khüreenii kharchuud’).

Pozdneev claims (Mongols, pp. 90-91.) that the Khalkh princes and nobles (zasag) had had their residences in the khoroo or ‘townhouse section’, which they maintained to accommodate them on their visits to the city to worship the khutagt or to participate in a council. As special occasions for such visits were not very common most of these residences, more than thirty in number, stood empty for many years secured only by watchmen. Besides these nobles who resided in part there, most of the khorooos were inhabited by different sections of the Mongol population. A very useful description of the layquarters with their different khoroo districts is available in Pürew’s book (Töriin golont, pp. 36-92.).

The south-west quarter (Baruun ömnöd khoroo) had smaller sub-districts such as the Tibetan quarter, Buryat quarter (with Buryat-Mongols from the northern border), Dariganga quarter (with Dariganga-Mongols from the south-eastern border) or the quarters of three of the four major administrative divisions (aimag) of Mongolia (Tüsheet khan aimag, Sain noyon khan aimag and Zasagt khan aimag).

According to Dashtseren lama, up the 1920’s, Gandan lamas were forbidden to enter the Baruun ömnöd khoroo district, located to the south between Züün Khüree and Gandan. This was to prevent them coming into contact with lay people, especially women, and merchants. The Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temples were located here as they were excluded from both Gandan and Züün Khüree, as their lamas were permitted to marry. The monastic vows/rules (Vinaya) do not allow marriage so lamas who wanted to marry (or were interested in women) had to leave the two main monastic districts and live here. Soninbayar confirms this statement (Gandantegchinlen khiid, p. 68.)

The khorooos, despite being the lay districts, had many small assemblies and temples. For example there were the Gelukpa temples, such as Dar’ ekhiin khural (R-917), Dorjodwinn khural (NR-952), and Töwdiin khural (R-918) with Tibetan lamas forming a community (Töwdiin khoroo) around the residence built for the Dalai Lama in 1905. Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural) (R-916) was also situated in this area, on the eastern part, but little information could be found about it. In this quarter there were two streets named Usnii gudamj (‘Street of water’, named after a water canal that ran there) parallel to each other running from north to south. The quarter had small shops as well.

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 41.), in the south-west quarter of the whole settlement there were many other assemblies and temples. These had been established by itinerant lamas, male and female shamans, sorcerers, fortune-tellers, tantric practitioners (sanga, T. gsang-sngags-pa or agwa, T. sngags-pa) who used magic formulas or mantras, practitioners (düwchin/tüwchin, T. grub-chen) of the great siddhi power, yoginis (naljormaa, T. rnal-byor-ma), and practitioners of tantric rituals (Zod, Lüijin). Several of these assemblies existed up until the 1930’s. However the official administration of Ikh Khüree never recognized these assemblies nor officially gave permission for them to operate.

This area is shown in Jügder’s painting, although the individual temples are not shown no doubt because they operated mainly in yurts or were established later than 1913.
Pürew’s books (Uls töriin tòw, p 45., Töriin golomt, pp. 66-67.), give information about the yurt quarter called Badarchnii dow (‘the hill of the wandering lamas’) a sub-district in the Baruun ömnöd khoroo, which was situated near the present (Baruun) Dörwön zam road junction. This is where the poorest people lived in yurts and tents spread over the hill with no fences around them (they are represented in Jügder’s painting in a brownish colour). There was another yurt district with no fenced-off yards in the western part of this area, on the western hill of the Baruun Selbe, now the site of the Second Maternity Centre (2r törôkh gazar). Here lived the extremely impoverished people with no shelter who ‘have taken up residence amid piles of rubbish and all sorts of refuse’ (Pozdneev, Mongols, p. 73.). Pozdneev described the horrible conditions here: ‘Those of them who are stronger and better off beg arms or gather worthless branches, knotted and crooked, which are strewn about the steppes, and construct huts from them, which they sometimes cover with grass, sometimes with rags of some sort. Those who have no strength at all, however, lie directly on the ground without shelter, naked and emaciated from starvation. …When they die, they are not even buried but are eaten by dogs, on the spot where they lay dying in full view of their companions, who look forward to the same fate.’ Ramstedt also described the terrible conditions (Journeys, pp. 46-47.): ‘There lie Urga’s lepers or poor wretches, in the worst throes of veneral disease. When someone goes past, they cry with a cracked voice and beg alms. Their illnesses have already reached a stage where other persons no longer endure contact with them. The fingers have gotten partly loose from their joints, the nose or mouth is terribly eaten away. … Thus they pass away their miserable lives in rags under their dark felt, until the affliction is finally ended – until the dogs one night rend their felt huts and tear them to pieces.’ Some pictures of these poor dwellings can be seen in the pictures of Sakari Pälsi.

To the north-west of this yurt district there was a bridge over the Selbe River, called ‘the bridge of the zodoch lamas’ (Zodochnariin güür). To the west of this bridge, on the right bank of the river, there was a small Nyingmapa temple called Tantonjalbiin dugan (zodiin khural) (R-919) where the tantric rituals Zod (T. gcod) and Lüijin (T. lus-sbyin) were performed (Uls töriin tòw, p. 45.). Note that there were other Nyingmapa temples in the city (mainly in these lay quarters), such as Jagarmolomiin khural (Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural) (NR-950) in the same enclosure as Tantonjalbiin khural, which also followed the practice of Zod, the special tantric practice to cut through the four Maras and ego-clinging. In these temples, lamas and female lamas (female practitioners) held ceremonies together all of them being Zod tantric masters who performed Lüijin, the body-offering ritual. In general, the basharchin lamas followed the Red Sect traditions. On the south-west of Tantonjalbiin dugan temple lay the many yurts and tents of the basharchin lamas. In the north-west of the basharchin quarter, there was a stūpa built with an archway through it (ark (dugui khaalga) khelbertei suwraga), also called ‘the stūpa of penetrating’ (shurgdagad suwraga) as the Badarchin lamas used to pass under it as they left

---

240 The great majority of basharchins was poor. According to Pürewjaw only some basharchins were wandering in the countryside to spread the Teaching gathering the merits of alming. It was not rare that animals (wolves, wild dogs) defeated basharchins and they had to face with the Mongolian climate as well (Khaw’sgal, pp. 131-132.). Numerous basharchins did not show any respect for lamas. They were called as shüügch basharchin ‘judge basharchin’. Beside basharchin lamas düldüichin lamas also visited the country living the same lifestyle as basharchins but praying a lot. Many of them lived near the market in Bogdiin Khüree praying for the virtues of people, reciting Megzem.

241 The Mongols, following the Tibetan Buddhist custom, used to leave their dead in special burial places on the Chingeltei and Songino Mountains to be eaten by vultures and wild dogs. Shar khad on the northeast, and Khambiin owoon on the northwest were places of execution.

on their travels (Pürew, *Uls töriin töw*, p. 45.). According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 68.), these pilgrim lamas went on pilgrimage, always on foot, to Wu Tai Shan in China, to Beijing, to Tibetan monasteries like Labrang and to India. There was another arched stūpa in this area, at a place called Makhnii dow or Yargachnii dow (‘the hill of flesh’ or ‘the hill of slaughters’) as there were many butchers\(^{243}\) in the vicinity. People drove the cattle under this stūpa before slaughtering. Ramstedt (*Journeys*, p. 40.) lived here for a time in 1898 in Mikhail Smirnov’s house who was a merchant living in this “Meat city” which displayed a mixture of Russian, Chinese and Mongolian building styles. Ramstedt says (p. 43.) that although lamas have taken an oath to live in celibacy, in reality hundreds of them with families were living in this part of the city. Their children called them as uncle (probably *akh*) and these lamas supported the household and spent the nights there.

The area of the South-Eastern quarter (*Züün ömnöd khoroo*) housed the Manchu and Mongol governors in a specific area called *Amban khannii khoroo*. There was the residence of the Manchu amban since 1786. According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 37.) the last Manchu amban, San-duo, who lived in Ikh Khüree until 1911, moved his residence from the above-mentioned area, and had his residence and shrine, *Manj ambani khurlin dugaan* (NR-949), on the east bank of East-Selbe River. *Tsewangiin khoroo*, residences of the Mongol *amban* or governor and Setsen khan (one of the four khalkha khans), an archive and a prison were also situated in this district. According to Dendew (Nawaan, *Öwgön Dendew*, p. 11.), on both banks of East-Selbe River there were prisons.

In the area between the two districts of *Züün ömnöd* and *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*, and in the eastern part of the latter, there were the buildings of the nobles and politicians. One such building was the residence of Chin wan Khanddorj, a minister of foreign affairs in the government of the Bogd khaan. It is the only remaining such building from this time and can be found today on Seoul Street near the Russian Embassy.

To the east of *Züün damnuurchin* (see the details below) was the area called *Ikh shaw*. The inhabitants were called ‘People from the subordinated areas’ (*Ikh shaw*) as they were subordinated to the Bogd and his ecclesiastical estate. There was a temple here called the assembly of *Ikh shaw* or *Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural* (R-927). There was also a prison in the area.

Another district in this part of Ikh Khüree was *Züün kharchuud*, which was to the north-east of *Züün Khüree*, north of *Züün damnuurchin*. According to Pürew’s book (*Töriin golomt*, p. 90.) this district was established in 1883 as a place where lay people associated with *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery and *Dambadarjaalin* monastery lived. They were also subordinated to the Bogd and were tailors and cobblers for him as well as for high-ranking lamas and nobles.

American shops were set up from the beginning of the 20th century in the area, on the hillside around the present Clinic Centre No. II. on Peace Avenue, which was south of *Ikh shaw*. According to Pürew’s book (*Töriin golomt*, p. 94.) a representative of an American-Chinese firm operating in China opened an office in this part of Urga. Later other American shops opened here and this area became known as Amerikan denj, ‘The hill of Americans’ from 1910 till 1950.

\(^{243}\) The Chinese butchers butcherted the livestock on a different way than the Mongols did. Thus, they were called slaughters by the Mongols.
Assembly of Tibetans, also known as Unzai lama’s Assembly  
Töwdiin khural, Unzai lamiin khural  
GPS: N 47°55.025', E 106°54.148', elevation 1286 m

*Töwdiin khural* is marked on Rinchen’s map (R-918) and is mentioned in some sources as well. However, it cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Dashtseren lama served relevant information about the assembly.

The 13th Dalai Lama, Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho (1876-1933) came to Ikh Khüree, the Mongolian capital, in November 1904, when he was escaping from the British army led by Younghusband. Jambal (English text p. 35-46., Mongolian text p. 714-726.) accounts that when the Dalai Lama arrived, he was initially installed in a meditation tent and two yurts in Gandan in the place where the stūpas of the 5th and 7th Bogds were. In addition, 50-60 extra yurts were put up in the fenced-off area (*khashaa*) of the lama dwellings of Gandan for the Tibetans who accompanied him into exile. (According to Jambal these were all men as no women or children were among them). Jambal also claims that all the expenses incurred by the Dalai Lama and his retinue were covered by the four aimags and the *Ikh shaw*’ (subordinated areas), the five divisions. According to Dügersüren (*Khotiin tüükhees*, p. 53.), a fenced-off building called *Dalai lamiin san* (‘Treasury of the Dalai Lama’), with its fenced-off area being called *Dalai lamiin sangiin khashaa* (‘The court of the Treasury of the Dalai Lama’) was built as a dwelling of the 13th Dalai Lama in 1905. According to Dashtseren lama, a Tibetan quarter (*Töwdiin khoroo*) sprang up around this building, which served as a refuge shelter (*nömörgön*) for the Tibetan inhabitants. As it was situated neither in Gandan nor in Züün Khüree where commerce was not allowed, it became a commercial centre selling Chinese goods. In effect it was a free trade zone.

This *Töwdiin khoroo* was situated in Baruun ömnöd khoroo, the South-west district occupied by laymen, where there were numerous other small assemblies. The exact location of the Tibetan quarter was on the east bank of the Baruun Selbe River, next to the Buryat quarter (*Buryatiin khoroo*), where there weren’t any temples.

According to Pürew’s book (*Uls töriin töw*, p. 46.) the treasury (*Dalai lamiin san* or *Töwdiin san*) for the temple was established with donations believers gave in honour of the Dalai Lama that was later managed by the *Shanzaw töwdiin gazar* (‘treasury of the Tibetans’), the financial office.

Geleta claims (Forbáth, p. 172.) that for Mongols the majority of the devotional objects and religious artifacts were ordered from Tibet. An envoy was appointed to manage and maintain this flourishing commercial connection between Tibet and Mongolia. Thus Choini Lussan Chinde lama (Forbáth’s transcription, Lussan should be Luwsan, T. chos-? blo-bzang ?, see his photo in Forbáth, p. 104.) represented the Dalai Lama in Ulanbaatar in the 1920’s. He had very good diplomatic skills and commercial acumen and managed to obtain all the commissions for Tibetans rather than using Chinese sculptors and masters, who had a famous workshop in Doloon nuur.

The Tibetan assembly (*Töwdiin khural*), situated in the Tibetan quarter, was also called as *Unzai lamiin khural*, most probably after its head, *Unzai lam* (T. ?). It occupied a wooden building. Only Tibetan male lamas belonged to this Gelukpa temple, about 30 in number. Daily chanting was held. According to Dashtseren lama, some of the lamas had wives.

According to Rinchen’s map, the assembly temple must have been situated behind the present State Department Store, which was the north-eastern part of *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*. According to Idshinnorow (*Khotiin khuraangui*, p. 34.) the Tibetan quarter was situated around the present School No. 24. on the west of State Department Store (GPS was taken there). There are no remains, the whole area is built up.
**Tārā Assembly**

*Dar’ ekhiin khural (T. sgrol-ma)*

GPS: N 47° 54.799’, E 106° 53.783’, elevation 1287 m, readings for the building of Ögööj Candy and Bakery Products Factory, on Seoul Street

GPS: N 47° 54.833’, E 106° 54.432’, elevation 1283 m, readings for Tserendorj örgön chöloö, on the west of 50th food shop

Rinchen marks *Dar’ ekhiin khural* on his map (R-917). However, its building cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Pürew mentions *Dar’ ekhiin khural* in his books and Dashtseren lama also remembers it.

There are two different views about where this temple was located and the Buddhist sect to which it adhered. Rinchen’s map marks this temple to the south-east of the State Department Store, at the crossroad between Peace Avenue (Enkh Taiwan) and Tserendorj Street (Tserendorj örgön chöloö, the road leading to the Circus from the State Department Store). According to Pürew’s book (*Töriin golomt*, p. 75.) *Dar’ ekhiin süm* was situated in the present Tserendorj Street. According to his other book (*Uls töriss tów*, p. 42.) *Nartad Dagvan khural* was situated on the south of the State Department Store, at the 50th food shop and *Dar’ ekhiin khural* on the west of it.

Dashtseren lama said that *Dar’ ekhiin khural* was in the South-West quarter of the city, one of the districts where laymen lived. He says the exact site is near the present road junction (Baruun) Dörwön zam (where the Ögööj Candy and Bakery Products Factory (Ögööj chikher boownii üldwer) is situated), that is, somewhat west of the location suggested by Rinchen. Dashtseren lama says that it was a Gelukpa wooden temple building with 10 lamas with ceremonies being performed here every day. However, Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 75.), contradicts Dashtseren lama saying it was a Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temple.

There are no remains. Whether or not the temple was situated at the present site of Ögööj Candy and Bakery Products Factory, on Seoul Street, near the road junction below Gandan called (Baruun) Dörwön zam or on the south-east of the State Department Store or on the west of the 50th food shop all these places have been completely built over.

**Vajracchedikā Assembly**

*Dorjzodwiin khural (T. rdo-rje gcod-pa)*

Rinchen’s map does not show this assembly (NR-952) and it cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Only Maidar (*Gurwan zurag*, p. 72.) mentions it, and Dashtseren lama remembers it, too. According to Dashtseren lama, this assembly was one of the numerous small assemblies situated in the South-West quarter, of the city, one of the districts where laymen lived. It was situated near *Dar’ ekhiin khural* (R-917).

It was a Gelukpa temple. The assembly got its name after a religious text, the Diamond-cutter Sūtra, (*Dorjzodow*, T. *rdo-rje gcod-pa*, Skr. *Vajracchedikā*). Maidar claims that it had only one building.

The exact location is unknown, but it is certain that there are no remains as the area is totally built up. GPS was not taken as the exact location is unknown.
**Zod Tantric Assembly of Tantonjalba**

*Tantonjalbiin khural* (Zodiin khural) (T. thang-stong rgyal-po, 'king of the empty plain', gcod), *Tantanjalbiin khural, Tanshinjalbiin khural*

GPS: N 47°54.836’, E 106°54.140’, elevation 1295 m

Although Rinchen mentions this temple as *Tanshinjalbiin khural* (R-919), its correct name is *Tantonjalbiin* or *Tantanjalbiin khural*. *Tanton* is the name of a Tibetan siddha, who was worshipped there. Besides written sources Dashtseren lama and two young data providers (B. Ariunbold, the head of Puntsoglin monastery; G. Buyandelger, tsorj of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery) could serve information about this assembly. The temple is visible on Jügder’s map.

According to Dashtseren lama’s communication, who often participated in the ceremonies in this assembly, the temple building was situated in the same enclosure as *Jagarmolomiin khural* (Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural, NR-950). In these temples lamas and female lamas (called *khandmaa*) held ceremonies together and all of them were *Zod* (T. gcod) tantric masters performing *Lüijin* (T. lus-sbyin), the body offering ritual.

The two Nyingmapa temples were situated in the South-West quarter, on the north of the Middle River that was one of the districts where laymen lived. According to Pürew’s book (*Uls töriin töw*, p. 45.), the quarter called Badarchnii dow, with the dwellings of the poorest people, was situated near the present (Baruun) Dörwön zam road junction, as part of the Baruun ömnöd khoroo. (Today this is the site of the Second Maternity Centre (2r törökh gazar)). To the north-west of it there was a bridge over the Selbe River, called ‘the bridge of the zodoch lamas’ (*Zodoch nariin güür*). *Tantanjalbiin dugan* was situated on the west of this bridge, according to Dashtseren lama’s testimony, on the site of the Second Maternity Centre. A fenced off temple can be seen in Jügder’s painting as well, consisting of two courtyards with two buildings in them. Maybe these are *Tantonjalbiin khural* and *Jagarmolomiin khural*.

According to Dashtseren lama, immediately prior to the purges, the head of the temple was called Bawuujaw (T. dpa’-bo s kyabs). About 30-40 lamas and some women belonged to the temple. All of them were *zoch/zodoch* lamas, who performed the *Lüijin* tantric ritual. *Tanton* was worshipped there as the main deity of the temple, and also *Dorjpagam* from among the goddesses worshipped mainly by the Red Sect.

*Tanton* is considered to be one of the ‘seven miracles’ of Tibet. Legend tells that he was born in the 15th century from the womb of his mother as a 60-year old man with white beard. Thang-stong rgyal-po (Tanton/ Tantonjalba) was a Tibetan siddha (1361-1485), born at the time of Tsongkhapa in Tsang, Tibet. He visited India, China and many provinces of Tibet. He is well known for establishing the Tibetan opera called *lha-mo*. He founded numerous monasteries, among them a famous monastery in Lcags-po ri, the Medical College Hill, a sacred mountain in Lhasa. He also wrote numerous works on medicine.

The tantric tradition transmitted by him was further developed by Jamiyaanchenzeebambuu (T. ’jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po, pronounced in Tibetan as Jamyang Khyentsse Wangpo, 1820-1892), one of the most eminent Tibetan masters of the 19th century. His practice was introduced to Mongolia by Jagarmolom, who, according to Sükhbaatar (Sükhbaatar, O. (transl.), *Majiglawdonmaagiin namtar*).

---

244 According to Dashtseren lama, a female lama (*emegtei lam*) called *Lkham* from this assembly was still alive in 2005. She is now about 80-90 years old. She was a leader of the Association of Mongolian Women.
Ulaanbaatar, 2004, p. 11), was a poor lama in the 1800s born in Daichin beesiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag, and later became a lama in Ikh Khüree. He traveled to Tibet and India on foot, where he received initiations. He meditated a great deal and is said to have achieved siddhi power.

Today, there is only one temple in Ulaanbaatar where Tanton is worshipped. It is a Nyingmapa (Red Sect) monastery called Puntsoglin khiid (on Magsarjaw Street, near the Railway station, Bayangol district). According to its abbot, B. Ariunbold, Luwsandamba (a lama of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery, died in 2005) and Dashtseren are the two old masters from whom the lamas in today’s assembly learnt the Jagarmolom tradition and received the Tanton initiation. Both these old lamas once belonged to Züün Khüree, as well as often participated in the ceremonies at Dechinchoilintawshisümbrällin temple, also known as Jagarmolomiin khural (NR-950).

In 1938 these two small wooden temples were totally destroyed. There are no remains. As Tantonjalbiin khural was situated at the present site of the Second Maternity Center, GPS was taken in front of it.

**Zod Tanric Assembly of Jagarmolom, called Dechinchoilintawshisümbrällin**

*Jagarmolomiin khural (T. rgya-gar smon-lam), Dechinchoilintawshisümbrällin, Choijin Dechindewshisümbrül, zodiin khural (T. bde-chen chos-dbyings thabs-shes zung-brel gling, geod, ‘temple of the union of means and knowledge of the ultimate sphere with great bliss’)*

GPS: N 47º54.836’, E 106º54.140’, elevation 1295m

This temple is not marked on Rinchen’s map separately (NR-950), but is visible on Jügder’s painting. Apart from the information gained from data providers such as Dashtseren lama (born 1921); B. Ariunbold, head of Puntsoglin monastery and G. Buyandelger, chanting master of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery, data was found only in one book on this temple.

In the old times Dashtseren lama often participated in the ceremonies in this assembly.

According to him, this temple was situated in one fenced area along with Tantonjalbiin khural, mentioned above (R-919). In both these temples lamas and female lamas (khandmaa) held ceremonies together. All of them were Zod tantric masters and performed Lüijin, the ‘body offering’ ritual.

The Jagarmolom (T. rgya-gar smon-lam) assembly worked in a square-shaped wooden temple, founded by Jagarmolom, who lived about 120 years ago and was the teacher of Dashtseren’s master. According to Sükhbaatar (Majiglawdonmaagii namtar, p. 11.), Molom, a poor lama lived in the 1800s. He was born in Daichin beesiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag, and later became a lama in Ikh Khüree. As a badarchin, he went to Tibet and India on foot, where he received initiations. He meditated and contemplated a great deal, thus obtaining siddhi power. After twenty years he returned to Ikh Khüree and established the first Zod tantric assembly, following the tantric system he learnt at Labrang monastery in Tibet. This tantric system became widespread in Mongolia and is known as the tantric lineage of Jagarmolom (Jagarmolomiin jüd) and also as Lawran jüd, after the name of the monastery in which he learnt it.

As for the ranks of lamas in the assembly named after him, there was not a khamba or a tsorj lama, as these are official positions (alban tushaal) as Dashtseren lama claims. The head of the temple was the lowon lama. There was one chanting master and one disciplinary master. About twenty lamas and ten female lamas belonged to the temple. Its
main deity was Padmasambhava. From among the female deities, Toinog (T. khros nag, the black wrathful aspect of Vajrayogini) was also worshipped here.

Daily chanting ceremonies were held in this temple, as it was a permanent congregation. On the 10th and 25th of the month a special ceremony was held in honour of the dākinis (Khand tseejīū, T. mkha’-gro tshes bcu).

According to G. Buyandelger, Narkhajid was also worshipped in this temple. A sand maððala (Khajidiin jankhar düiitsen, T. mkha’-spyod-kyi dkyil-khor rdul-tshon) was prepared in her honour. A ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava (Lowon tseejīū, T. slob-dpon tshes bcu) was performed on the 10th and 25th of the lunar month. According to B. Ariunbold, in spring, summer and autumn the lamas held a meditation period on the plain. He also claims that a special ceremony was held every year on the 10th of the monkey month (which is the first autumn month), called Jagarmolomiin khural, which had the following four parts: ceremony in honour of the dākinis (Khand chogo), ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava (Lowon chogo), ceremony in honour of Narkhajid (Khajidiin chogo), ceremony of Tanton (Tanton chogo).

Though the National Central Archives does not have materials about the small temples existed once in the layquarter, this temple is the only exception, which is referred as Ikh Khüreenī Zodiin khural, Choijindechindewshsümbürilen khural in the catalogue (A-77). It contains 15 texts from the period of the Bogd khaan’s reign, dated between 1913 and 1922. The documents are mainly about the artifacts, objects of worship, holy books, religious equipment, properties, incomes and expenses of the temple and its financial unit (1921, 1922). The temple gave mõn̄g̣o loan with interest (1916).

Dashtseren lama is one of the masters of the lamas of the present-day Red Sect monastery, Puntsoglin khiid (on the east side of KhID on Magsarjaw Street, 1st khoroo, near the Railway Station, 2nd khoroolol, Bayangol district, New Temples 22). Another of their masters was Luwsandamba (died in 2005), who, like Dashtseren, once belonged to Züün Khüree, but often participated in the ceremonies of Dechinchoiintawshisümbrellin assembly. The lamas of the present Puntsoglin monastery learnt the lineage of Jagarmolom and Tanton from these two masters.

However, the head of another present-day Red Sect monastery, Dechinchoielintawshisünbrellin temple (on Zanabazar street, New Temples 26) was also taught the Jagarmolom tradition from the same master, Luwsandamba, who instructed him to found a temple under the same name as his teacher’s old monastery. It is not a simple matter to decide which of them if either the modern Puntsoglin monastery or Dechinchoielintawshisünbrellin temple can be considered as the revived Dechinchoielintawshisünbrellin temple.

In 1938 the two temples, being small wooden temples, were totally destroyed. There are no remains. The temple of Jagarmolom assembly was situated exactly at the present area of the Second Maternity Center (2r török̈g̣azar). GPS was taken in front of the Center.

Assembly of Nartad Dagini (or Damdin lama’s Assembly)
Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural), Nartad dagnangiin khural
GPS: N 47°54.852’, E 106°54.485’, elevation 1282m

Rinchen marks Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural) (R-916) on his map and Pürew also mentions the assembly in his books. Dashtseren lama provided valuable data on it, too. The assembly cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting.

Nartad Daginiin khural (T. ?.) led by Damdin lama, was situated in the South-West
quarter of the city. According to Dashtseren lama, Damdin lamiin khural was situated in the Eastern part of the South-West quarter, but he knew only this name and could not confirm that it was also called Nartad Daginiin khural.

According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 75., Uls töriin töw, p. 42.) Nartad dagnangiiin or Damdin lamiin khural was situated to the south of the current location of the State Department Store, where the 50th food shop (Khünsnii baraanii 50-r delgüür) is now situated. Prior to its destruction, it was the eastern branch of Usnii gudamj, ‘Water Street’ in the South-West quarter.

According to Dashtseren lama, the assembly operated in a yurt with around 20-30 lamas with some women among them as well. It was a mixed Gelukpa – Nyingmapa temple. Daily chanting ceremonies were held. According to Dashtseren lama, there is no one alive from the lamas of this assembly in 2005.

No other data was found on this assembly neither is the meaning of the name (Nartad Daginiin khural) clear.

As the assembly worked inside a yurt, there are no remains and the site has been completely built over. GPS was taken at the 50th food shop.

**Temple of Saikhan Gombo or Assembly of the Ikh shaw’**

*Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural, Saikhan Gombiin süm*

GPS: N 47° 55.423’, E 106° 56.367’, elevation 1311

The assembly of laymen belonging to the Ikh shaw’ areas (Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural) is marked on Rinchen’s map (R-927), and Pürew also mentions this assembly in his books. Data providers could serve data on it as well. The temple cannot be made out on Jūgder’s painting.

Laymen lived this north-east area of the city to the east of Zuün damnuurchin (see below) and the area was called Ikh shaw’ as its inhabitants came from the areas of Ikh shaw’, which were subordinated to the Bogd himself and his ecclesiastical estate. As was usual, it was the laymen living in suburban areas who were the craftsmen providing the Bogd, the nobles and high ranked lamas with their clothing, boots, hats and various luxury articles. According to Dashtseren lama, the Bogd khaan’s silken robes, which were decorated with pearls and other precious stones, were made by the laymen who belonged to and lived in Ikh shaw’ and Zuün kharchuud (see below). There was also a prison in the area. South-west of this territory vegetables were grown. Manchu military barracks were also situated there.

According to Pürew (Uls toriiin töw, p. 92.) there was a temple called Saikhan Gombiin süm (‘Temple of Saikhan Gombo’) or Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural (‘Assembly of Ikh shaw’) and he claims that the temple was situated near the present Sansar Trade Center (Sansar üilchilgeenii töw) in the area of Sansar (12th khoroolol). Gonchig lama confirmed that there was a separate temple for the worship of Saikhan Gombo (‘beautiful Mahākāla’, ?), who was the main protector of Dashchoimbel datsan as well. However, Jūgder's painting shows only some yurts in this area without any specific temple building. Considering this, Saikhan Gombiin süm may have been an assembly operating inside a yurt or perhaps the temple building was built later than 1913.

There are no remains as the site has been completely built over. GPS was taken at the Sansar Trade Center.
**The Manchu Amban’s Assembly hall**

*Manj ambanii khurlin dugan*

GPS: N 47° 54.881’, E 106° 55.936, elevation 1286m

Although this temple is not marked on Rinchen’s map (NR-949) Pürew mentions *Manj ambanii khurlin dugan* in his books. The temple building cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting.

The area of the South-Eastern quarter (*Züün ömnöd khoroo*) had many districts, such as the residences of the Manchu and Mongol *ambans* (‘governor’, since 1786), and Tsewangiin khoroo, Setsen khanii khoroo. An archive and a prison were also situated nearby. The district where the Manchu and Mongol governors had their residences was called Amban khanii khoroo. Today, the Technical University on Baga Toiruu, the Ulaanbaatar Hotel and the Mongolian State University of Education occupy the area.

According to O. Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 37.) the last Manchu amban, San-duo, who lived in Ikh Khüree until 1911, moved his residence from the above-mentioned area, and had his residence and shrine, *Manj ambanii khurlin dugan*, on the east bank of East-Selbe River south of the present Lion Bridge (*Arslantai güür*) located near the present-day School No. 21. The drawing by an unknown painter, exhibited in Ulaanbaatar City Museum, also marks the place of this temple to the east of the residence of the Manchu governor.

There are no visible remains as this area has been completely redeveloped. (However, two old wooden buildings are located in this area, but they seem to be built later than the Manchu period.) GPS was taken at School No. 21.
THE MERCHANT DISTRICTS (DAMNUURCHIN)

In 1877 new Chinese stores (püüs) were built on the road to the monastic city in the district next to Maimaachen. This made trade between the two easier. Another similar merchant quarter was formed between Züün Khüree and Gandan. These two retail communities were later called Züün damnuurchin/damnuurgachin (‘eastern area of porters’) and Baruun damnuurchin/damnuurgachin (‘western area of porters’) referring to their location relative to Züün Khüree. These areas are shown in Jügder's painting as well. The word damnuurchin means ‘porter who carries the water pot on a pole’, as the merchants in the area carried their goods with them.

In Züün damnuurchin, which Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 91.) claims was established at the beginning of the twentieth century, Mongolians grew vegetables and made food products to sell. The trading area consisted of one large street with 27 big shops (Uls töriin töw, p. 66.). The Manchu military barracks called Shinkhua (sien khua in Chinese) were on the south of Züün damnuurchin quarter.

Baruun damnuurchin was a Chinese trading area with Chinese manufactured products on sale. Ramstedt describes (Journeys, p. 40.) the state of this part in 1898 as the following: “Between the main monastery (i.e. Züün Khüree) and Gandan is the Chinese residential district, a separate city quarter with high enclosures of unburned tile and between the narrow, clay-filled and dirty streets.” He adds that “the Chinese houses with their windowless (inner) walls and high (outer) walls looked more gloomy and dull than the Mongol residences.” There was a long street with nine cross streets. In the 1920s some of the biggest Chinese stores moved here from Maimaachen. In 1927 the Geser süm assembly was moved to this district and established at Baruun Geser süm (R-914). Pürew (Töriin golomt, pp. 83-84., Uls töriin töw, p. 51.) says that, in the early 1900s, there were 217 shops of various sizes offering different products or services with a total of 495 workers.

There was also a Chinese theatre.

The market where the majority of cleric and lay inhabitants and countryside people spent their free time, was situated between Gandan and Züün Khüree. Pozdneev writes in some detail about the lively activity there (Mongols, pp. 64-73.). The market offered a large variety of articles by its nearly 25 Beijing stores and other Chinese shops as well as open-air workshops of carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, butchers and others. The great deal of the commerce was done by Chinese, later Russian merchants, while Mongols were involved in street trading on a smaller scale, selling articles they bought from Chinese shops. The main products were the following: women from the countryside sold milk, kumis (airag) and other dairy products while the men sold livestock mainly horses and sheep. They also brought firewood and hay to sell. According to Pozdneev (p. 75.) there were many unofficial public places in the Khüree market including brothels.) According to Ramstedt (Journeys, p. 45.) the market was very lively in the mornings crowded by dozens of camels, oxcarts, herds and flocks, men and women on horseback.

Pürew (Töriin golomt, pp. 108-117.) lists the stores of Baruun damnuurchin street by street, that of the Züün-ömnöd khoroo, Baruun-ömnöd khoroo, Maimaachen, and the most famous factories having operated by Russians.
Geser Temple

Geser süm, Baruun Geser süm (T. ge-sar), Chinese: Guan di/Guan yu
GPS: N 47°55.389’, E 106°53.953’

Apart from some sources O. Pürew served relevant information on the temple. As the temple survived the purges some photos are available, too (Dashnyam: 254).

Rinchen marks this temple complex on his map under the name Baruun Geser süm (R-914) or Western Geser temple due to its location being to the west of the other Geser Temple (R-930) which was situated in Maimaachen. Jügder's painting does not show this complex as it was built after 1913. According to Enkhbat a Chinese Buddhist believer, Zakhar, from the Guwe family (Dashnyam, Tüükh soyol, pp. 254-255.) set up the Geser süm in 1919-1920. His main aim was to spread Chinese Buddhism in the Mongolian capital. He raised money from rich Chinese silk merchants and lamas to build the temple. However, according to O. Pürew, a Mongolian called Dambadorj, who had a Chinese wife, moved the Geser süm (R-930) to this site near Gandan from Maimaachen in 1927. It is possible that both these devotees gave money, sponsored the moving and building of the new temple complex.

The temple got its name after Guan di, a Taoist god of war who is also respected by Chinese Buddhists. He was a historical person who became a renowned general of the Three Kingdoms Period. His cult, which was strongly influenced by Buddhist ideas, began around the 7th century. He became known as the God of War and Protector of China. Guan di is portrayed wearing full armour as a tall giant of a man with a long beard. When the Manchu dynasty was established, the spirit of Guan di was implored to lend his spiritual power to help the new dynasty defeat all their enemies and to expand their territory. To this end several monasteries were founded for his worship with the name Geser süm being frequently used for these Chinese temples in Mongolia. According to Rinchen’s map 44 there were temples dedicated to the honour of Geser in several of the bigger settlements throughout Mongolia, such as Khowd, Uliastai, Tsetserleg, Khyagt and in the present Choibalsan, where there were also Chinese inhabitants.

Geser mergen khan was the main deity in the temple. Gesar or Geser is also a name of an epic hero in Tibetan and Mongolian folk literature. The connection between the Geser hero and Guan di is not clear, but in Mongolia it appears that the two figures were fused. There is a photo in the Film Archive, which shows an image of Geser hero in a Chinese temple (K-24720, box 95), but it is not known in which Chinese temple this image stood.

The Chinese lamas (kuusshaan) belonging to this temple were called khökh malgaitai, which means ‘Blue Hat lamas’. They followed a different Buddhist tradition from the Red and Yellow sects of Tibetan Buddhism. This form of Chinese Buddhism originated in the 1st century, when the teaching of Buddha first spread to China. The ceremonies and texts in Geser süm were in Chinese and both Chinese and Mongolian lay people visited the temple. In the main temple there was an idol of Guan di. In the temple of the hero on one side there were wall murals of Guan di’s chestnut horse, while on the other side was his white horse. In the 1960’s D. Danzan, a famous artist lama in Gandan monastery, repainted the figure of Guan di. The 180cm picture showed Geser khan with his two consorts. (These murals did not survive into the present.)

According to Ölzii (Mongoliin dursgalt, p. 157.) the Dar’ ekhiin süm (Tără temple) was built behind the Geser assembly hall by adding a small room to it, in the 1930’s while the two buildings of the Chinese School were built in 1932 on either side at the back of the main hall. In the same year a fenced-off yard was built for Dar’ ekhiin süm.
The complex of the temple was not destroyed, but closed from 1933. It was used as a dormitory for state artists from 1937-1940, an office dealing with the revival of cultural heritage from 1950-1960, a library and archives for Gandan monastery from 1960-1970, and medical school (Manba datsan) of Gandan monastery from 1970. A secondary school was established in 1990 by Gandan monastery to educate a new generation of lamas aged 12-16. The Mongolian Government recognized it as an official school in 1991 whereby regular academic subjects following the national curriculum were taught, as well as classic Buddhist subjects. A traditional medical centre also worked within the temple.

The temple complex have remained almost completely intact, i.e. high walls enclosing a collection of pink and white temples and other buildings all with green ceramic tiled roofs. It is still standing at the foot of Dasganii owoo hill to the west of Gandan. There are two entrances, with the main entrance on the south side and the other on the east. Inside there are two courtyards. Today, the Badma yogo datsan of Gandan monastery and another temple, Zurkhai datsan use the two extant temples of Geser sim. There are several other religious institutions in the complex as well. Entering through the main entrance, there are the two small buildings on either side of the first courtyard with the Badma yogo datsan at the far end, which has recently been repainted. The buildings on the sides are now classrooms for the Secondary School of Gandan monastery (Shashnii surgaltai 112 dugaar surguul, ‘112th School, providing religious training’), where Buddhist subjects are also taught. (One of them used to be the residence of Zakhar, the founder). There are also consulting rooms for astrologers in these buildings. Behind the temple, at the head of this courtyard there are stairs leading up to the old brick building called ‘temple of the Heros’, being used by an astrological monastic school (Zurkhai datsan), called Tüwdenpeljeelin (T. thub-brtan dpal rgyas gling) since 1990. Its main tutelary deity is Jigjid, while the main protector is Choijoo (T. chos-rgyal, Skr. Dharmarājā, epithet of Yama). A description of the activities of the revived temple is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.

KONSULIIN DENJ, HILL OF THE RUSSIAN CONSULATE

According to Rupen (The City of Urga in the Manchu Period, pp. 163-164.), before 1860, the number of Russians living in Ilkhi Khüree was negligible. In 1861 the Russians decided to open a consulate in the city for reasons of trade and political influence. Russian merchants began to come to the city where some of them inevitably settled. By 1873 the Russians operated and staffed the Urga (Russian name for Ilkhi Khüree) post office with more buildings being constructed around the consulate: an Orthodox Church called Khutagt Troitsiin sim (R-928), which was the only Christian church in the capital at that time; the office for the Russian doctor; barracks for the Cossacks of the small consular-guard; and a cemetery. According to Pürew and the Jügder painting, which shows this part as well, this hill where the Russian quarter was situated was called Maakhuz/ Maakhur tolgoi (‘Maakhuz hill’, Töriin golomt, p. 95.).

According to Pozdneev (Mongols, p. 94.) in the 1890’s about 50 people were attached to the consulate with another hundred Russians living in Urga. However, from this date the number of Russians grew, as many merchants, prisoners of war and the white Russian troops came to Mongolia. At the beginning of the 1920’s, as the Red Army approached the capital, many fled back to their homeland.
Ortodox Church

*Khutagt Troitsiin süm, Shyato-Troitsiin süm, Gegeen Gurwaliiin süm, Ünen aldart süm*

GPS: N 47° 55.000', E 106° 57.573', elevation 1333 m

The temple was the only Orthodox Church in the city. Rinchen marks it under the name of *Khutagt Troitskiin süm* (R-928), some sources mention it and a few photos are available, too (Film Archives: K23684, 2708a = H-50377, etc.). The temple is visible on Jügder's painting. Father Alexej (Trubach), the dean of the present church provided data on the history of the old church building.

The founding of a Russian community in the Mongolian capital began with the establishment of Russian factories and trade companies in the 19th century. In 1860 the first Russian consulate was established. According to Dügersüren (*Khotiin tüükhees*, p. 41.), the white two-storey building of the Russian Consulate was the first European-style building in the capital. It was situated between Zuün Khüree and Maimaachen in a hilly area, which was called ‘the hill of the consulate’ (Konsuliin denj) from that time. Additional buildings were built around the consulate itself: an Orthodox church, an office for the Russian doctor, the Urga post office and also a cemetery on the north.

According to Father Alexej, the present dean of the Church, the first divine liturgy in the Mongolian capital was celebrated by Father Ioann Nikolskij on 22 March 1864. Since then priests from the Russian Clerical Mission in Beijing came to Urga from time to time to conduct services and celebrate the holy rites: Brother Sergij came in 1865 for a year, and brother Gerontij served from 1866 through 1868. In 1872, during the Dungan rebellion, the Cossack barracks were set up to protect the Russian consulate. In that very year the construction of the Orthodox Church to serve as a spiritual center for the Cossacks, was finished. This chapel was a small one-storey building that stood on the left of the consulate, precisely it was immediately adjoining the building of the consulate as it can be seen from photos.

According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 98-99.), the building was constructed in 1869-70, and its tower was built in 1872. He writes that Nikolaj Sokolow, the priest from Blagoweshen Church, and Paroenaj, a famous orthodox priest, came from Irkutsk to consecrate the temple in 1872. It was the only Christian church of that time in Urga. According to Father Alexej the church was also connected with Irkutsk and Baikal Clerical Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church. As Pozdneev accounts (*Mongols*, p. 94.), the request for a residential priest in Urga arose before Pozdneev’s first visit there in 1876. It seems that the Russian tea merchants of Urga, aware of the wishes of their compatriots, initiated the move to establish a parish in Urga. A special annual tax was levied for this purpose collecting 2500 to 3000 rubles annually. However, until 1892, they were only able to invite a priest to Urga once a year, usually for the Easter liturgy. Pozdneev claims that in 1892 the state council, in accordance with the report of K.P. Pobedonostsev, the attorney-general of the Holy Synod, approved the appointment of a permanent clergyman to the Orthodox Church of the Urga Consulate.

From the Baikal Clerical Mission Nikolas Shestin was appointed by the Moscow Patriarch as the first permanent dean of the Consulate Church of the Holy Trinity in 1893. Since that time regular liturgies were held.

After Mongolian independence in 1911, Russian influence became stronger in Mongolia. That year the supervision of the parish was transferred to the Irkutsk Eparchy. A wooden church was also built in Altan-Bulag in the north, near the Russian border.

In the summer of 1914, an Irkutsk priest, Feodor Parnyakov, was appointed as the new Dean of the church in Urga. Owing to his deep faith, he was very progressive in his
religious activities and, during his time, religious life in the parish was revitalised. As a missionary he visited the countryside many times. Furthermore, he established a library and, at his initiative, the first commercial college was opened. Due to his non-sectarian behaviour he was very respected among the Jewish and Chinese communities in the city as well. In 1920 the army of the white Russians, Baron Ungern von Sternberg, captured the Mongolian capital and expelled the Chinese. Baron Ungern wanted to restore the monarchy in Russia, so he was fighting against Siberian communists. His army started the Jewish pogroms and his soldiers committed atrocities all over the capital. Geleta mentions (Forbáth, p. 136.) one of the sorry episodes of Ungern’s bloody terror in Khüree, which had Jewish people as one of its main targets. This was the execution of the Jewish Scheinemann family who escaped to Mongolia from Russia. Their baby was saved by his nanny, who took him to the Russian priest. He urgently baptized the baby telling Ungern’s soldiers, who were looking for the baby, that he was not Jewish anymore but an Orthodox Christian. Finally, the soldiers killed his nanny.

On 15 January 1921, Father Parnyakow was arrested and charged with being in collaboration with the Russian communists. After three days of cruel torture, Baron Ungern killed the priest.

In 1921 when the civil war in Russia was over and the communists came to power in Mongolia, thousands of Russians left the Mongolian capital. Since that time no deans were appointed to the capital, but priests came from time to time to hold services. The last divine service was celebrated in 1928 and in the early 1930’s the church was closed.

According to an article written by Ts. Nawagchamba246 the Russian consul Chikanow left the consulate in 1922. The building was used as a hotel for Europeans led by Milich Karakow. The consulate was partly destroyed in 1937 as a ‘representative of a perverse religious thought’. According to Father Alexej, the temple building with its bell tower remained until the 1970s. Then, the bell tower was destroyed. At the beginning of the 20th century there were some other small churches in the city. According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 77.), some Swedish doctors and teachers came to live in the area of Setsen wangin khoroo in 1919 where they ran a primary school until they were expelled by the communists in 1924. Pürew also mentions that there was a Christian church there. He mentions another Christian church, which was situated in one of the streets of the laymen’s area called Baruun dammuurchin. It was situated west of the Chinese store (püüs) of Wan-Shin-Khun (Töriin golomt, p. 82.). In 1939 the Fifth grammar school (Tawdugaar dund surguul’) was built there where it still stands on Baga toiruu today.

Partial remains of the old church building can be located on the west of the Film Factory (Kino üildwer). It is a white building with two doors to the left of a shop. According to Father Alexej the building is now used as a warehouse. On the opposite side of Jukow Street, near to the old orthodox church site there are two orthodox church buildings: a light green coloured one and a white coloured larger one.247

---

246 Nawagchamba, Ts., Yewrop khelberiin ankhni baishin. In: ? This short Mongolian article was shown by the present dean. Its date and the source where it appeared is unknown.

247 After the democratic changes, the Russian inhabitants of Ulaanbaatar requested Alexej II, His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, to appoint a priest to Mongolia for regular services. In 1997, priests from Buryatia and Chita Eparchies began to travel to Mongolia regularly. On 19 January 1998 the chief priest of the Holy Trinity church, Father Anatolij Fesechko, arrived at Mongolia to take up a permanent post. In that year, the Russian Church was given the former Russian trade mission building, which was built at the beginning of the 20th century and which became free having been used as an office and a hostel. It was repaired in 2000, the first time since 1937. The white coloured church building was built in 2006 or 2007. The two buildings of the present church are situated in Jukow Street 55a (GPS: N 47°55.057’, E 106°57.481’, elevation 1340 m). For further information about its operation see www.mospat.ru. A description of the activities of the revived temple is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.
MAIMAACHEN, THE CHINESE MERCHANT TOWN

According to Rupen (The City of Urga in the Manchu Period, pp. 162-164.) the Chinese population in Ikh Khüree increased over the centuries. Despite the Manchu emperor’s dictat that forbade Chinese trading and acting as money-lenders in Mongolia, it was, in fact, very common for them to do both of these. Most of the Chinese formed a settled colony around Züün Khüree. According to Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, pp. 101-107.), in 1778 the Chinese were forced to move out of the city to the east to the area called Red hill (Ulaan dow), between the east and west branches of Uliastai River. This district became known as Elbeg amgalan gatsa (“village of abundant peace”). According to Rupen, it was the 4th Bogd who ordered the Chinese to move away from the monastic city. He also attempted to limit their number. The reason for this, as described by O. Pürew, is that the Bogd had to be kept away from the ‘wind blowing from the Chinese’ as they were considered impure. Thus they set up their own fenced-off quarter, called ‘Commercial town’ (maimai cheng in Chinese, its Mongolian name variations are: Maimaachen, Maimaichen, Maimaa khot, Naimaa khot). This soon became the centre of Chinese economic operations in Mongolia. A temple called Amgalangiin Geser süm (R-930) stood in the north part of the enclosed Chinese quarter, the gates of which were closed at night.

Inside the Chinese quarter, people lived in one or two-storey wooden houses. There were large, well decorated stores, which sold a variety of goods including silk, other cloth, ironware, religious articles, tea, grain, and delicious bakery goods. According to O. Pürew’s map there was a Chinese theatre to the right of Geser temple and Chinese educational institutions also operated here. According to B. Daajaw, in 1807 there were about 800 buildings with 4,000 inhabitants. In 1824 1,700 Mongolian people lived in Maimaachen and there were 72 stores (piüüs). Pozdneev described Amgalan in 1870 as having 374 fenced-off yards (khashaa), 12 Chinese stores, 51 restaurants and taverns and two hotels. Among the khashaa, 183 were occupied by Chinese and 191 by Mongolians. According to Pürew there were 25 large stores, some inside and some outside the fence (Töriin golomt, p. 103.).

Pozdneev’s book (Mongols, pp. 77-89.) contains a detailed description on the lively life of Maimaachen. This settlement was quite different from Zuün Khüree with its crooked, irregular streets, canals and highly-decorated Chinese style dwellings and shops, inns, storehouses and warehouses full of Chinese food, valuable silk products and other Chinese goods, all being sold in a pleasant atmosphere.

As it can be seen from Jügder’s painting and as it is described in Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, p. 101.) in the fenced area of Maimaachen there was a main street leading from the large entrance gate in the south up to the Geser temple in the north. There were also two big gates on the main street in the centre of the town. In front of the main gate there was a protection wall (yampai). There were also three streets connecting the gates on the east and west walls of the fence. The arrangement of the streets in the Chinese quarter were such that it was divided into seven parts (khoroolol). The northern part, around the Geser temple, was the largest part. To the west of it there was the administrative office of the Manchu Quing dynasty, which organized the affairs of the Mongolian and Chinese inhabitants. West of this building, in the north-west corner of the Chinese quarter there was a large store, called Nomtiiin piüüs - remnants of it can still be seen today - and other stores.

Numerous temples were built in and around the Chinese town. (This area is now known as Amgalan.) Rinchen’s map marks seven of them. However, according to Pürew and Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 82.), there were seven further temples and shrines. Altogether, seven Chinese temples were situated in the south-east quarter (khoroolol) inside the fenced-off area of Maimaachen, while six Mongolian assemblies and a Chinese temple
were located outside. Pozdneev claims (*Mongols*, p. 87.) that ‘By religion the inhabitants of Mai-mai-ch’eng may be divided, properly speaking, into two groups, Taoist and Buddhists. Only Chinese belonged to the first group, and all the Mongols and a small number of Chinese belong to the second. In addition, about twenty Mongol shamans lived in the Mai-mai-ch’eng, although they, properly, may be considered Shamanists to the same extent that any Chinese may be considered a Taoist, Buddhist or Confucianist. It must be said in general that in the Khüree Shamanism exists, not as any kind of religion, but as shoofsaying or fortune-telling (…) Thus, in the Mai-mai ch’eng only two faiths exist, Taoism and Buddhism and the temples are accordingly. There are only four temples in the Mai-mai-ch’eng: three Taoist in various places in the Chinese section of the city, and one Buddhist temple built in the south-west side of the Mongol section.’

However, research proves that in the beginning of the 20th century there were more than four temples in Maimaachen. Those built inside were all Chinese temples, with Chinese lamas called *kuushaan* in Mongolian, (*he shang* in Chinese). According to Pürew’s book, the Chinese temples were in the south-east part: in the corner of this area was an astrological temple, *Odon süm* (NR-945) and another temple called *Kunziin süm* to honour Confucius (R-933) on its left and a Moslem temple, *Tsagaan malgaitii süm* (R-934) nearby on its west. North of *Odon süm* the temple of *Dar’ ekhiin süm* (R-931) was situated. On its left *Erleg khaaniin süm* and *Urchuuudiiin süm* or *Mujaanii süm* (R-932) were located. Jügder's painting represents many temples in the south-west corner of Maimaachen next to each other. The Chamber of Solicitors (*Zargachnii yaam*), established in 1742 according to Pozdneev (pp. 89-90.), was the administrative board of Maimaachen with its five Chinese and ten Mongol clerks. It was responsible for the affairs of the Chinese people and reported to the Ministry of Native Affairs in Beijing. Its headquarters building was situated to west of the temples mentioned above and east of the Moslem temple. (On its west there was a poplar tree, which still stands on the west of *Dar’ ekhiin süm*). Two temples bearing the name of *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* also stood here, one inside (R-929) and one outside the fence, on the north-west (NR-948), as O. Pürew says. The prison was located in the south-west quarter of the Chinese town.

Manchu regulations forbade the Chinese to bring their wives and families with them to Mongolia. Lay Mongols and the half-caste people (the issue of Chinese married to Mongolians) lived in the east and west of the enclosed Chinese district in the two areas, *Baruun khoroo* (western district), and *Züün khoroo* (eastern district), each of which had fields for agriculture and artificial lakes. According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 82), during the Manchu period and the reign of the Bogd khaan, several Mongolian temples were established in the districts outside the fence of the Chinese quarter. According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 104-105.) in the south area of *Baruun khoroo* the small temple of *Choinkhorlin* (NR-955) was situated. A wide road, called *Gaaliin gudamj*, or Customs Street ran from west to east in front of the south entrance of Maimaachen. Jügder’s map shows a large temple on this road. At the east end of this road, there was the Assembly of Zod tantric masters belonging to the Red Sect (*Ulaanii shashnii zodoch narii khural*, NR-959), which was founded during the reign of the Bogd khaan. The name of this temple is currently unknown. On the east of the Zod temple, in a fenced off yard, there was the large Mongolian-Chinese style building of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935) or *Erliiziin süm*, ‘the temple of the half-castes’ which is identified on Jügder's painting. On the east of *Dashsamdanlin datsan*, also on the south-west of the fence, there was another temple, *Dejidlin süm* (NR-956). It operated in a large yurt-shaped temple building. On the east side of the protection wall (*yampai*), to the south of the town there was a large temple called *Dagdanlin süm* (NR-958). According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 82.), there was a temple called *Puntsoglin süm* (NR-957), which was also situated outside the Chinese town.
Sereeter claims (Ikh Khüree, p. 82.), that the aimags were arranged around these temples. Lamas from the aimags came to the temples from time to time to hold ceremonies. 40 lamas belonged to Puntsoglin aimag and 80-90 lamas to the others. (Sereeter does not give an exact date, but his data may refer to the situation in the 1910’s as Maimaachen temples did not operate just till the 1920’s). The temples had their own self-sustaining financial units whereby the believers’ donations and offerings in the aimags provided for their economic needs.

Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 104.), places the large temple of Erleg nomun khaan (NR-948), also called as the ‘roar temple of Erleg khaan’ (Erleg khaani khoid süm), in the northern area of the western quarter (Baruun khoroo). This is also where Jügder shows it. There were fields for agriculture and a Chinese cemetery outside the north side of the Maimaachen fence, where the coffins were placed on the ground uncovered according to Chinese burial costumes.

There are photographs of the Maimaachen temples in the Film Archives (box 93, K-23971-23987). They were important masterpieces of Chinese architecture and some of these photographs have appeared in books on architecture and history. Some show Geser süm, and others show the Dar’ ekhiin süm. However, it cannot always be determined which other Chinese temple of Maimaachen many of the photographs illustrate.

In the mid 1920’s, when the Mongolian People’s Party came to power, the Maimaachen inhabitants were expelled, both Chinese merchants and the Mongolians, and the shops were closed. Not long before this, in 1920, Baron Ungern’s troops committed a massacre here with many Chinese victims. At the time of Geleta’s stay, (Forbáth, p. 224.) in the late 1920’s, Maimaachen, which preserved its Chinese character, was no longer an administrative, residential or commercial centre for the Chinese with the majority of its inhabitants being Mongolians. The offices, separate administration, army and flourishing commercial activity had ceased. By the late 1920’s this district, comparing with the vivid life of Urga that time, seemed underpopulated and deserted with its quiet and desolated streets.

O. Pürew dates the expulsion of the Chinese merchants as 1928. From this time onwards, the old temple buildings were either destroyed, put into secular use or left neglected. It is supposed that there were no operating temples here at the time of the 1937’s purges, though the Mongolian temples, outside the Maimaachen walls, were supposedly still operating. (There is reliable data in the archives only on Dashsamdanlin datsan in 1937). In 1925 the area had been renamed Amgalanbaatar. After the Chinese were forcibly expelled, a military barrack was established for the Russians along with Russian shops.

In this area known in the past as Maimaachen just a few buildings have survived. Some renovated remnants of the Dar’ ekhiin süm (R-931, N 47°54.375’, E 106°59.955’, elevation 1293 m) still standing along with some remains of the store, Nomtiin püüs, a Chinese store building (N 47°54.438’, E 106°59.674’) where Choidechindashsümprellin assembly has been operating since 2002,248 with another old building situated between the

---

248 The ruins of the püüs’ buildings are situated in the courtyard of the present-day Choidechindashsümprellin assembly that operates in a yurt. Batkhaan, the head, claims that these are remnants of not Nomtiin püüs but Geser süm itself. The buildings started to be renovated in 2005. A building, which stood on the left side of the courtyard has been stripped down to the wooden framework. The building standing at the back, which Batkhaan claims was the Tsogchin temple, is also in a very bad state of repair. On either side of its entrance two original Chinese style wall paintings are still visible. The painting on the left side can be made out relatively well, but the right side one is in a very bad condition. Chinese script and ornamentation decorate its façade. According to Batkhaan after the purges in the late 1930s, the complex was used as a hospital, then, as a prison for Japanese prisoners of war. However, it is not clear that he was referring to the two remaining buildings on this site or to what he had read or heard about Geser süm or
two (N. 47°54.427', E 106°59.893, 1320 m) which is said to have served as a prison in the middle of the 20th century according to the inhabitants of the yurt behind it. There are no other remains. Based on the sources, the exact sites of the temples existed once in Amgalan can be determined roughly in relation to the ruins of Dar’ ekhiin süm and the remnants of Nomtiiin püüs. Therefore the GPS taken at Dar’ ekhiin süm can serve as a basis to determine the location of further temple buildings that existed once inside (especially the Chinese temples inside the wall were situated very near to each other) or outside the wall.

In the National Central Archives there are numerous documents written in Chinese about the commercial life of the Chinese districts: Maimaachen, Züün Damnuurchin and Baruun Damnuurchin. However, in the Mongolian collection only one document, is available in the catalogue (A-145) of the Chamber of Solicitors (Zargaachnii yaam). This chamber organized the affairs of the Chinese in Niislel Khüree and Maimaachen. The one-page document was issued in 1912 by the Ministry of the Interior and mentions a commercial contract drawn between Russia and Mongolia. A copy of the contract is attached to the letter. Moreover, there is another catalogue (M-219) that contains 74 texts related to a store, Daashinkhüügiin püüs. Although it is not clear whether the store stood once in Maimaachen or in the areas of Züün or Baruun Damnuurchin, these text types could be relevant for every store giving loans. The documents were composed in the Manchu period, between 1820 and 1903 (or later). The first text is a list of loans that people had to pay back to the store in 1820. Another text from the same year discusses the payment to China (Khyatadad tölökh öriig todorkhoilson bichig), whilst further texts indicates the payment off the aimags and khoshuu (for example in 1888). Numerous texts deal with the sending of the notifications to Chinese about the debts (Püüsiiin öriig nekhekh khyatadad temdegt olgokh tukhai bichig). A leporello was issued giving notification (temdegt bichig) to the Chinese, who made commerce in the countryside (text without date).

Chinese Temples

Geser Temple in Amgalan
Amgalangiin Geser süm (R-930) (T. ge-sar), Chinese: Guan di/Guan yu

Rinchen marks Amgalangiin Geser süm on his map (R-930) and it can be also seen on Jügder’s painting. Some sources mention this temple, and O. Pürew and B. Daajaw architect served relevant data on it as well. Photos are available in books 249 and in the collection of the Film Archives. 250

The biggest and the most prominent Chinese temple inside the walls of Maimaachen was Geser süm dedicated to Guan di, the Chinese hero. According to Ölzii (Mongoliin dursgalt, p. 158.) it was founded in 1870. The temple, with a three-storey large gate in front, was situated in the central place, at the centre of the Chinese town in the north, and was approached from the main southern gate along the main road, which divided the Chinese town into two parts, east and west. The complex was built in typical Chinese style.

As it was already mentioned, Guan di is a Taoist god of war who is also respected by Chinese Buddhists (Geser süm, R-914, see details above). Mostly Mongolian lay people visited this original temple. According to Dügersüren (Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükhees, p.

---

249 Maidar: 60, Palsi: 112-113, 114? (may also represent Dar’ ekhiin süm), Geleta/Forbáth: 184, two pictures
250 Film Archive: K23973, K23974, K23981, K24720 (figure of Geser hero),
65.) painted glass oil lamps decorated the temple representing the 100 chapter story of the ‘period of the Three dynasty’. A notebook showing records of the weather of Ikh Khüree over a period of 200 years was also kept in the temple. Chinese merchants worshipped Tsolikha (T. tshong lha) here, the deity of trade and wealth, to help them increase their wealth.

Ungern von Sternberg’s troops devastated Maimaachen in 1921, followed by the expulsion of all the inhabitants, both the Chinese merchants and Mongolians, after the Revolutionary Party of Mongolia came to power. After this the Maimaachen area became a military barrack for the Russian with Russian shops. In 1925 this area was renamed as Amgalanbaatar.

According to O. Pürew, Geser temple was moved to its new building, near Gandan in 1927 by Dambadorj who had Chinese wife. According to O. Pürew, the Chinese merchants were expelled from the area in 1928 after their trade was made impossible.

This temple was situated to the north-west of Dar’ ekiin süm (R-931). There are no visible remains. Based on the sources, the exact sites of the temples of Amgalan can be determined roughly in relation to the ruins of Dar’ ekh temple and the remnants of a Chinese store building. It is said that the lions that were situated in front of this temple survived and are now at the Lion Bridge (Arslantai güür), over the Selbe River.

Tārā Temple
Dar’ ekiin süm (T. sgrol-ma)
GPS: N 47°54.375’, E 106°59.955’, elevation 1293 m

One of the Chinese temples in the south-east quarter (khoroolol) inside the walls of Maimaachen was the complex of Dar’ ekh süm. It was built 230 years ago in the south-east part of the Chinese settlement on the initiative of the Manchu emperor of the time. There were about 15 buildings in the complex mostly constructed from wood and blue bricks, with tissue paper windows. Rinchen marks Dar’ ekiin süm (R-931) on his map. Besides written sources old photos of the temple are available in the Film archive and in books as well.

According to Oyuunbileg (Tüükh soyol, pp. 255-256.) the complex was enclosed by three rows of walls made of blue bricks. There was a large gate on the southern wall and a smaller gate on the east. As the photos show, it was a complex built in Chinese style, with white terracotta fences, oil lamps and Chinese calligraphic inscriptions. In the main temple the curtained off image of the Chinese form of Dar’ ekh goddess was worshipped. In the temples on either side Khashin khaan and Tsagaan öwgön, the White Old Man were worshipped. Khashin khaan (T. hwa-shang rgyal-po, hwa-shang originating from the Chinese word for Buddhist lamas) represents the figure of the Manchu emperor, Kang-qi, who supported the dissemination of the Yellow Sect tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. He became a donor and protector of the Teaching and his figure appears in the Tsam religious dances. The White Old Man (Tsagaan öwgön, T. rghan-po dkar-po or lha chen tshe-ring) is always depicted as an old man with flowing long white hair and beard, and also appears in the Tsam dance.

Behind the main temple there is a smaller temple, with even smaller temples on either side of it. According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 103.) the two steles directly south of the main temple were erected in 1783. The 11m high granite stele had carved

---

251 K23978, K23979, K23980, K23985, K23986, 44811
252 Pälsi: 114 (may also represent Geser süm); Shepetilnikov: 47, 58, 112; Maidar 204
ornamental decorations of mythical beings and other symbols. Ornamented pillars of this height are unique in Mongolia, so they have been strictly protected since 1994. According to Oyuunbileg (Tüük soyol, pp. 255-256.) the Chinese script on the left pillar reads: ‘Liberates every being of the world from the suffering of the intermediate stage (between death and rebirth)’. The Chinese script on the right pillar reads: ‘It saves the million beings with great compassion’. She adds that Chinese lamas held the great feast of Tārā every year on the 15th day of the first summer month. For three days Chinese plays (shii, Chinese shi) were performed and everybody burnt incense and came to prostrate in the temple with the women adorning themselves with their jewellery and best dresses. During the big feasts the main gate was opened, incense was burnt and offering lamps were lighted. The lamas played the drums, rang the bells and waited for the believers coming to bow. They also told people about their future on request. During the winter the Chinese lamas went outside the monastery to worship Tārā by playing the drums and other musical instruments. During the great feast a black flag with Chinese script was hung on the pillars and different kinds of plays were performed along with a street festival. During the play, Mongolian and Chinese officers sat on the second floor of the Western temple, and Chinese lamas and Chinese workers sat on the second floor of the Eastern temple, to see the performance.

According to Soninbayar lama, female lamas called khandmaa, belonged to Dar’ ekhiin khural. According to the nuns in the present temple the khandmaas had long hair and also performed religious dances. No evidence could be found to prove these statements, these may only be based on the fact that today women belong to the community in the site.

According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 103.), Dar’ ekhiin süm became the primary school for Amgalan in 1922. Maybe this is why the buildings survived. According to D. Mönkhbat (Dursgalin lawlaga, p. 16.), some buildings in the complex were destroyed in 1937-1938.

Since April, 2001 a nunnery, called Dolmalin khiiid (T. sgrol-ma gling btsun dgon) or Dar’ ekh khiiid has been working in the remained buildings of this old Chinese temple complex, the only one in Ulaanbaatar currently with resident nuns. Only the main temple and the two temples on either side remain and these have been renovated. The main temple functions as such today while the two side buildings are the residence of the female lamas, of whom all live in the nunnery. The two steles are in the middle at the south end of the buildings on the two sides. The ornaments, style and characteristics of the remains show Chinese features. GPS was taken in front of the main gate.253

**Temple of the Lord of Death**

*Erleg nomon khaanii süm / Erlig nomun khaanii süm*

Besides a couple of written sources O. Pürew provided data on this temple. Although Rinchen marks only one temple with this name (R-929), according to O. Pürew, there were two temples dedicated to Erlig khaan or the ‘Lord of Death’ in Amgalan and he claims (Töriin golomt, p. 102.) that the temple referred here was inside the wall of the Chinese town, while the other was situated near the Chinese cemetery on the north-west (NR-948, see below). According to Pürew’s book Erleg khaanii süm was situated on the left (west) of Dar’ ekhiin süm (R-931) and on its left Urchuudiin süm (R-932) was located.

253 The main gate is on the Northern wall. During the winter, ceremonies are held in the temple room situated in the right side residential building. For further details on the new temple see www.fpmtmongolia.mn, www.mongoliantemples.net.
According to Rinchen’s map No. 44, there were also temples to the honour of Erleg/Erlig in Khowd, Uliastai and Khyagt as these towns also had Chinese inhabitants. According to Dulam (Döörwön uul, p. 106.) Erlig khaan was celebrated in the middle spring month, on the day of the deceased (Khansh neej ödör), and on this occasion a Chinese style theatre-style play was performed.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This temple was situated immediately to the west of Dar’ ekhiin süm.

Craftsmen’s Temple or Carpenter’s Temple
Urchuudiin süm, Mujaanii süm

Rinchen marks this temple on his map (R-932) and Pürew provides data on it. According to Rinchen’s map and Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, p. 102.) one of the Chinese temples situated in the south-east quarter (khoroolol) inside the walls of Maimaachen was Urchuudiin süm (Craftsmen’s temple) or Mujaanii süm (Carpenter’s temple). According to Pürew on the left of Dar’ ekhiin süm (R-931) Erleg khaanii süm and Mujaanii or Urchuudiin süm (R-932) were located. As for the inhabitants outside the wall of Maimaachen many carpenters (mu jiang in Chinese) and smithes lived. Maybe they erected or visited this temple. No other data was found on this temple.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This temple was situated to the west of Dar’ ekhiin süm.

Temple of Stars
Odon süm

This temple (NR-945) is not marked on Rinchen’s map. Only Pürew provides data on the temple in one of his books (Töriin golomt, p. 102.). It was situated to the south of the Tārā temple (Dar Ekhiin süm, R-931) within the same fenced enclosure, also inside the Chinese town’s wall. Maybe it was an astrological shrine.

There are no known remains. This temple was situated immediately to the south of Dar’ ekhiin süm.

Confucius Temple
Kunziin süm, Kunz bogdiin süm, Kunziin süm

Rinchen marks this temple under the name Kunziin süm (R-933). According to Rinchen’s map and Pürew’s book (Töriin golomt, p. 102.) the Chinese temple situated in the south-east quarter inside the walls of Maimaachen was Kunziin süm or Kunz bogdiin süm, erected to the honour of Confucius (Kong-tse in Chinese). According to Pürew Odon süm (NR-945) and Kunziin süm or Kunz bogdiin süm were situated in the south-east corner of the area of Maimaachen. North of Odon süm the temple of Dar’ ekhiin süm (R-931) was situated.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This assembly was situated to the south-east of Dar’ ekhiin süm.
Muslim Temple

_ Tsagaan malgai tin süm, Tsagaan malgaittnii süm, Laliin süm (T. kla-klo)_

Rinchen marks this temple as *Tsagaan malgai tin süm* (R-934) and Pürew provides data on it in one of his books (*Töriin golomt*, p. 102.) claiming that *Tsagaan Malgaitnii süm* or the ‘Temple of the White Hat lamas’ was one of the Chinese temples situated in the south-east quarter inside the walls of Maimaachen.

It was also called *Laliin süm*, which means a Mohammedan or Muslim temple. It was a temple of Chinese Muslims (*dungan*). According to Pürew’s book (*Töriin golomt*, p. 102.), the Chinese temples were in the south-east part: in the corner of this area was an astrological temple, *Od as süm* (NR-945) and another temple called *Kunziin süm* or *Künz bogdiin süm* to honour Confucius (R-933) on its left and a Moslem temple, *Tsagaan malgaittiin süm* (R-934) nearby on its west. The Chamber of Solicitors (*Zargachnii yaam*), the administrative board of Maimaachen, was situated on west of these temples but east of the Moslem temple.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This temple was situated immediately to the west of *Dar’ ekhiin süm*.

Roar Temple of the Lord of Death

_ Erleg khaani khoid süm, Erleg nomun khaanii süm_

One of the Chinese temples of Maimaachen was *Erlegiin süm* or *Erlegnomun khaanii süm*, the ‘Temple of the Lord of Death’. Some sources serve data on this temple and O. Pürew personally added some information on it, too. According to O. Pürew, two temples bearing the name of *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* stood here, one inside (R-929) and one outside the fence, on the north-west, near the Chinese cemetery (NR-948). According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, p. 104.), this latest was a large temple, also called ‘roar temple of Erleg khaan’ (*Erleg khaanii khoid süm*), as it stood in the northern area of the western quarter (*Baruun khoroo*). On Jügder's painting this large temple is shown on the north-west outside Maimaachen. It was a Chinese temple, though all the other temples outside the town fence were Mongolian temples.

According to S. Dulam (*Dörwön uul*, p. 106.), in the middle spring month *Erleg khaan* was celebrated, when a feast was held in honour of him on the day of commemorating the dead (*Khansh neej ödör*) and a Chinese style theatre play was performed. It is not clear in which temple it took place in Maimaachen.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This assembly was situated far to the east of *Dar’ ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town, east of Nomtiin püüs (N 47°54.438’, E 106°59.674’).
Mongolian Temples

Dashsamdanlin datsan

Dashsamdanlin khural, Dashsamdanlin datsan (T. bkra-shis bsam-gtan gling grwa-tshang, 'temple of auspicious meditative concentration'), Sandlin datsan (T. bsam-gtan gling), Ölzii dayanii süm, Erliiziin süm ('Temple of the half-castes')

Rinchen marks Dashsamdanlin khural on his map (R-935) and several sources mention it under the name Dashsamdanlin datsan. O. Pürew added valuable data on it as well. Three sources, O. Pürew, Jügder's painting and a drawing by unknown artist in Ulaanbaatar City Museum, show that Dashsamdanlin temple was situated on the left of the main entrance to Maimaachen in the south, outside the Chinese wall in the area known as the Western quarter (baruun khoroo) where Mongolians lived. It was a temple visited by not Chinese but Mongolians.

According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, pp. 104-105.), a wide road called Gaaliin Road ran from east to west in front of the south entrance to Maimaachen. The large Mongolian-Chinese style building of Dashsamdanlin datsan/ khural was situated in this road, in a separated fenced-off yard. In its courtyard there was another small building and some yurts.

According to Sereeter (Ikh Khüree, p. 82.), in 1774 Gonchig, a clerk of Ikh shaw’, and other believers initiated the establishment of a small assembly. Later it was dedicated to the 5th Bogd on the 1st of the 6th month, 1837, who gave the name Dashsamdanlin and the privileged right of a datsan to it. It was mostly Mongolians who lived in the area just outside the wall of the Chinese district, and, according to O. Pürew, the lamas of the temple were mixed Chinese/Mongolians. Thus another name for Dashsamdanlin temple was Erliiziin süm. On its east, also south-west of the fence, there was another temple, Dejidlin süm (NR-956) with a Zod tantric assembly on its west.

According to Sereeter, the main tutelary deity of the temple was Jigjid, while the main protectors were Gombo, Jamsran and Geser. Administratively the temple initially belonged directly to the tsogchin of Züün Khüree, but later it had its own jas and property. The following financial units (jas) belonged to the temple: Ikh jas, Mönkh zuliin jas, Mönkh-Erdenii jas, Dorjzodwiin jas, Mönkh 13-nii Geseriin jas, Mönkh 25-nii Narkhajidiin jas, Mönkh Maaniin jas, Mönkh Altangereliin jas. From these jas names we can draw the conclusion that a ceremony was held in honour of Geser on the 13th of the month and Narkhajid däkini was worshipped on the 25th.

According to Sereeter, lamas from the four Mongolian aimags (Choinkhorlin, Dejidlin, Puntsaglin and Dagdanlin) surrounding Maimaachen came here to celebrate, but not the lamas of Züün Khüree or Gandan. According to Maidar's list (Gurwan zurag, p. 72.), Dashsamdanlin had five temples and four financial units (jas). These numbers seem to refer to the above-mentioned four aimags and their aimag temples (NR-955-959).

According to S. Dulam (Dörwön uul, p. 106.), Sandlin datsan (his name for Dashsamdanlin) was a temple for Mongolian believers with daily chanting (tsogchin khural) and with a temple in honour of the Ganjuur. The tradition of the temple was to process the Ganjuur (Ganjuur ergekh) around the town (of Maimaachen) every year in the first summer month. According to L. Dügersüren (Khotiin tüükhees, p. 38.), the boots (boitog) worn by Öndör gegeen as a child were kept in the datsan as a relic.

The temple was forced to stop its operation in the autumn 1938. According to Dendew (Nawaan, Öwgön Dendew, p. 41.), artifacts from the datsan were moved to the Bogd khaan Museum.

196
All in all 171 documents about Dashsamdanlin datsan are available in the National Central Archives. It was one of the Ikh shaw’ monasteries. According to its catalogue (M-97) of the Manchu period, the temple was firstly initiated in 1774 by Gonchig, who was a clerk of the Manchu emperor, Kien-lung. The temple was dedicated to the 4th Bogd and operated for the benefit of the Teaching and that ministers (said) who resided in Maimaachen. Everyday and occasional ceremonies were held in the temple. Firstly, its expenses were covered by Ihk Tsogchin jas, but later the temple had an own priviledged financial unit (yambanii jas).

The Manchu collection contains 139 texts about the temple in different length. They were composed between 1852-1911. There are lists of artifacts, books, and objects of worship, and documents of the rules and tasks of the financial unit. There is a leporello about the year of foundation of the datsan, and another one honouring the high-ranking lamas of the temple. As it is clear from the titles the temple gave tea loans for people. The catalogue (A-88) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 23 texts that were written between 1912-1918. They are about the following topics: tea and other incomes of permanent ceremonies and of the eternal butter-lamp of the monastery, expenses of the necessaries of permanent and occasional ceremonies, loans and interest of tea and paper money, list of tea which were offered or sold by devotees at the ceremony of Danshigiin khangal. There is a document about the control and investigation of the several suspicious Chinese people who were wandering around the temple (1912). Other documents contain facts about the renovation of the temple building and its sculptures, the consecration procedure (arawnai örgökh), incomes and expenses in tea and möngö (1913). A command was issued about the incomes and expenses in tea and that of Luwsanjaw, who was the gürtembe (whose body during invocations are occupied by different protectors and who communicate their pronouncements) of Maimaachen. He had to be acknowledged as an oracle (choijin) and invited to the datsan monthly to interpret the protectors (sakhius), and people had to trust him (1915). There is a letter containing the decision of the Ministry of Finance (Sangjin yaam), about the rules of how to payroll leasing on wood. A command of the Bogd about the holy texts that had to be recited every day as jasaa khural in several temples of Niislel Khüree and a lot of countryside monasteries is also kept in the collection. There is a text about the traditions and customs of participation in particular religious events, such as Tsam dance, and a letter prohibiting the allowance of the datsan’s lamas to become laymen with holding their status (1918). A forecast of the incomes and expenses of the datsan and its services (alba garguulakh) were composed in 1918, too. Drawing the conclusion of the above-mentioned text types the most interesting texts are those which are about suspicious Chinese who appeared in 1912 (maybe soldiers), about the acknowledgement of a choijin in 1913, and about the prohibition of lamas to be laymen in 1918. It is also clear that the temple building was renovated in 1913.

The catalogue (Kh-195) of the Modern Period contains only 9 texts. They were recorded from 1925-1936 providing data mainly about the incomes and expenses of the datsan and its permanent ceremonies, its expected incomes and expenses, the way of collection of tax, and price of selling meat. A register lists each lama and novice who belonged to the datsan in 1936. From this period there is not information about the huge livestock property of the datsan which was relevant in the Bogd khaan’s period. These documents confirm that the temple was not put out of use in the 1920’s as were the Chinese Maimaachen temples.

There are no remains. This temple was situated somewhere to the south-west of Dar’ ekhiin süm outside the wall of the town.
**Choinkhorlin Assembly**

*Choinkhorlin süm / khural* (T. *chos-*khör gling, ‘temple of the wheel of Teaching’), *Nomiin khürdii süm*

According to Pürew’s book (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 104-105.), the small assembly of *Choinkhorlin* (NR-955) was situated in the south area of *baruun khoroo*, the western quarter outside the Chinese town.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 82.), the temples *Dagdanlin* (NR-958), *Choinkhorlin*, *Dejidlin* (NR-956) and *Puntsoglin* (NR-957) were temples of the four *aimags* with the same names situated around the Maimaachen. Forty lamas belonged to *Puntsoglin aimag* and 80-90 lamas to the others. These temples had their own financial units, along with the *aimag* believers’ donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of their operation. He also says that the lamas in these four *aimags* used to participate in the ceremonies of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

There are no remains. This assembly was situated somewhere to the south-west of *Dar’ ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.

**Dejidlin Assembly**

*Dejidlin süm / khural* (T. *bde-*skyid gling, ‘temple of happiness’), *Enkh amgalant süm*

Two sources mention this temple (NR-956). According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 104-105.), there was a wide road called Gaaliin Road from west to east in front of the south entrance of Maimaachen. *Dejidlin khural* was situated on this street, to the east of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935), also to the south-west of the fence. It operated in a large yurt-shaped temple.

As it was mentioned above Sereeter claims (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 82.) that *Dejidlin aimag* had a temple with about 80-90 lamas. It had its own financial unit(s), along with the *aimag* believers’ donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of its operation. He also says that the lamas in these *aimags* used to participate in the ceremonies of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

Written sources related to *Dejidlin aimag* are available in the National Central Archives from the Bogd khaan’s reign. Its catalogue (A-117) lists 9 titles. These texts, written from 1915-1921, were all written in Tibetan transliteration, serving data about the properties and tea capital of permanent ceremonies that were held in the *aimag*, about its total incomes and expenses, expenditure of permanent ceremonies, and extra costs of other issues. The existence of these texts confirms that the *aimag* temple was active with permanent ceremonies in the Bogd khaan’s period. However, one can suppose that the bookkeeper(s) of the assembly was not familiar with Mongolian script. No more texts deal with this assembly.

There are no remains. This temple was situated somewhere to the south-west of *Dar’ ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.

**Puntsoglin Assembly**

*Puntsoglin süm/ khural* (T. *phun-*tshogs gling, ‘temple of excellence’), *Khotol chuulalt süm*

According to Sereeter’s book (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 82.) *Puntsoglin or Khotol chuulalt süm* (NR-957) was also situated outside the Chinese town. It had an *aimag* temple with forty lamas, and had its own financial unit(s), along with the *aimag* believer’s donations and offerings
serving as the financial basis of its operation. Its lamas used to participate in the ceremonies of Dashsamdanlin datsan (R-935).

There are no remains. Its direction from Dar’ ekhiin süm cannot be determined.

**Dagdanlin Assembly**

*Dagdanlin / Dagdlin süm / khural* (T. *rtag brtan gling*, ‘temple of everlasting’), *Bat mönkhiin süm*

*Dagdanlin süm* (NR-958) or *Dagdanlin khural (Dagdlin khural)* was situated in the south of the town, on the east side of the protective wall (*yampai*) according to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 104-105.). He claims that it was a large temple.

According to Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 82.), 80-90 lamas belonged to the temple. It had its own financial unit(s), along with the *aimag* believer’s donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of their operation. He also says that its lamas used to participate in the ceremonies of Dashsamdanlin datsan (R-935).

The National Central Archives’ catalogue of the Bogd khaan’s reign (A-116) mentions 10 texts related to *Dagdanlin aimag*. They were composed between 1916-1919 in different length (5-47 pages). These sources serve data about the income and expenses of the assembly, and its *mönöö* and tea property putting out at interest. There are inventories of its artifacts and objects of worship, registers about the incomes of financial units flowing from recitation of texts for the request of individuals, data about the costs of ceremonies, and accessories and necessaries of permanent and occasional ceremonies, and tea loans. Four of the texts were written in Tibetan transliteration which indicate that the bookkeeper that time probably was not familiar with Mongolian script.

This assembly was situated somewhere to the south of *Dar’ ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town. There are no remains.

**Assembly of Zod Tantric Masters of the Nyingmapa (Red) Sect**

*Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural (Maimaachen, T. gcod)*

The Assembly of Zod tantric masters of the Nyingmapa (Red Sect) (NR-959) was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town. Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 104-105.), similarly to Maidar (*Gurwan zurag*, p. 72.), mentions this tantric assembly. According to Pürew’s description, the Assembly of Zod tantric masters was situated at the east end of Gaaliin Road. It belonged to the Nyingmapa or Red Sect and was founded during the reign of the Bogd khaan. Note that Pürew refers only to the type of the assembly not the name of the temple, which is unknown. *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935) was situated to the east of this Zod assembly.

There are no remains. This assembly was situated to the south-east of *Dar’ ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.
Three *Ikh shaw’* Monasteries on the North

In the area of the Chingeltei Mountain, north of the capital, there were two bigger monasteries, *Dambadarjaalin khiid* (R-939) and *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (R-936), and a meditation centre, *Shaddüwlin khiid* (R-937). All these three monasteries belonged to the *Ikh shaw’* area and are presented on Jügder’s painting. Although in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs of the National Central Archives numerous documents have remained concerning the operation of *Dambadarjaalin* and *Dashchoinkhorlin*, sources about *Shaddüwlin* are not abundant.

**Dambadarjaalin Monastery**

*Dambadarjaalin* (T. *bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling*, ‘monastery spreading and flourishing the Teaching’), *Dambadarjaa*, *Dambadarjalin*, *Damba*, *Dambadarjaagiin khiid*, *Shashniig badruulagch khiid*, *Shajniig badruulagch khiid*

GPS: N 47º58.953, E 106º56.263

A couple of books contain data about *Dambadarjaalin* monastery and some photos are available in books[^254] and in the collection of the Film Archives (K23777-K23791). Rinchen marks the monastery as *Dambadarjaagiin khiid* on his map (R-939) and Jügder’s map also shows it under the name *Shashniig badruulagch khiid*.

Dambadarjaalin monastery, one of the first three monasteries in Mongolia, was founded north of Ikh Khüree, at the confluence of the Right and Left Selbe Rivers. The Manchu emperor, Kien-lung ordered this large complex be built in 1759 (in the 24th year of his reign), dedicating it to the 2nd Bogd’s memory. Its construction was financed from the treasury of the Manchu emperor whose order was carved on stone steles in four languages (Mongolian, Tibetan, Manchu and Chinese). The language steles are housed in the two Historical temples (*Tüükhiin süm*).

The complex was built between 1761 and 1765. Daajaw claims (*Uran barilgiin tüükhees*, p. 122.) that for its site the area to the north of the present Ulaanbaatar, at the feet of Bogd Zonkhow uul, where Tselkhiin gol meets the eastern branch of Selbe gol was choosen. Administratively the site belonged to the area of Tüsheat Khan aimag’s Darkhan chin wangii khoshuu (parts of today’s Töw, Bulgan and Öwörkhangai aimags). According to Daajaw (pp. 122-125.), *Chin wan* Sanzaidorj was placed in charge of its building. Daajaw adds (p. 123.) that in 1762, Ikh Khüree moved to the bank of Selbe River, to the north of Dambadarjaalin khiid that was being built at that time, very near to it. According to him, it moved there because the many artists, sculptors and other workers that worked for the monastery being built could live nearby in this way.

The buildings of the complex were different in style, appearance and material. The main assembly hall was constructed in Tibetan style, while other buildings were made of bricks with ceramic titles in Chinese style, and there were wooden temples as well. According to Banzragch (*Khüree khiid*, p. 15.), the complex occupied an area of 335×370 *ald*. The monastery complex was surrounded by walls, with different separate courtyards inside, and the *aimags* situated outside.

---

[^254]: Tsültém: 122; Maidar: 84, 85, 123; Shepetilnikov: 119-121; Dashnyam: 255

[^255]: Daajaw claims that *Chin wan* Sanzaidorj was the oldest son of *Zorigt wan* Danzandorj (died in 1736), and became the ruler of *Zorigt wangiin khoshuu*. Many of the lamas of *Dambadarjaalin* monastery were from the area of *Zorigt wangin khoshuu*, and the neighbouring *khoshuus*, Süjigt günee khoshuu and Bishrelt günee khoshuu, the last two being ruled by the two younger brothers of Sanzaidorj, bearing the titles *Bishrelt güün* and *Süjigt güün*. 
According to Oyuunbileg (Dashnyam, *Mongol nutag dahk‘*, p. 255.) in 1774, a stūpa for the 2nd Bogd was erected in the north-west corner of the main courtyard, within a temple of relics (*Shariliin süm*). (According to Daajaw (p. 123.), this stūpa had stood here before, and it was one of the factors the place was chosen for building here this monastery, though he adds it is not known where that stūpa was situated, but may be that it was the one that stood in the western courtyard of the monastery with a yurt beside it.) In 1778, the relics of the 3rd and later the 6th Bogds were also placed to the monastery. However, Sereeter (*Ikh Khüree*, p. 92.) gives this data for the erection of the stūpa for the relics of the 2nd Bogd. According to Pürew (*Töriin golomt*, pp. 87-90.) and Daajaw (p. 127.) the relics temples of the 2nd and 3rd Bogds were situated on the north-west, while that of the 6th Bogd on the north-east.

Initially 40 lamas were appointed to hold ceremonies and according to archive data (National Central Archives, M-130/2) 340 lamas were sent here in 1790 from the different aimags of Ikh Khüree. In its heyday there were around 1,500 lamas in the monastery (presumably between 1911-1921, as the number of lamas decreased later in the 1920-30’s), living in the 12 aimags settled around the monastery. Jügder's painting represents the monastery and its aimags and aimag temples in details. There are three sketches of it in Daajaw’s book, too (p. 122., pp. 126-127.). As a drawing in Dambadarjaalin monastery and the sketches in Daajaw’s book represent the general view of the monastery the aimags surrounded the temple complex almost in a ∩ shape form but as there is a hill behind the monastery the shape was broken there. The aimags were the following in order from the south-west to the south-east: Shüteenii aimag, Jadariin aimag, Anduu nariin aimag, Toisomlin/Toislin aimag, Makhamayaai aimag, Jasiin aimag, Sangain aimag, and the kitchen (manz, T. mang ja) on west of the palace, while it was continued from the northeast as Zoogoin aimag, Dugariin aimag, Khiiukhen noyonii aimag, Bandidiin aimag, Örlüüdiin aimag were situated there. Dariimaa (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 44.) adds Setsen toinii aimag. Every aimag had its own temple, so in the whole territory of Dambadarjaalin there were about 25 temples. According to Daajaw (p. 126, 129.) a Jarankhashar stūpa was situated on the north-east of the monastery walls, outside it, at the back of Zoogoin aimag. On the south-east there was another stūpa.

Inscriptions in white stones of the three main Buddhist mantras in Tibetan script have been set into the hillside behind the monastery. According to Daajaw (p. 129. and the sketches), to the north-west of the monastery, on the south-western slopes of Zonkhow uul there were two stūpas. Above them there was an image of Tsongkapa carved in stone, inside a small wooden shrine. This image is now kept in Gandan, in the courtyard Zuugiin süm and Ochirdariin süm. On the top of Zonkhow uul there was an owoo worshipped by the monastery’s lamas.

As the drawing kept in the present monastery shows, and Daajaw’s sketches illustrate, the following buildings belonged once to the monastery: a protecting wall (yampai) in front of the main entrance on the south, a protective wooden hedge (shörgön khashaa), the Khaalgan süm, (‘Temple of Gate’) with two poles (chiga, awraga maaniin mod) on its two sides as an entrance, the aimag (Jin) Kharangiin or (Jin) Khonkhnii dugan/süm (‘the shrine of the bell’) and (Jin) Khengeregiin dugan/süm (‘the shrine of the drum’) on the right and left sides of the way leading to *Makhranziin süm*, the Temple of the four direction guards as a second entrance leading to the main courtyard. Then, housing the steles *Tüükhiin baruun süm* (‘the west side historical shrine’) and *Tüükhiin züün süm* (‘the east side historical shrine’) stood in the inner courtyard on the two sides of the way leading to the *Tsogchin dugan* (main assembly hall). The main assembly hall was a huge three-storey white coloured Tibetan-style building (36.4 x 36.4 metres according to Daajaw, p. 126.). West of the main assembly hall a yurt, which was used as the winter temple of
Tsanid datsan and behind it the building of Tsanid datsan (T. mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang, philosophical school) and the two-storey Guremiin dugan (T. sku-rim-gyi ‘du-khang) for healing services were situated from the south to the north and in the north-west corner of the main courtyard the relics temples (Shariliin süm) of the 2nd and 3rd Bogds stood. East of the main assembly hall on the south Mamba datsan for medical science, behind it the yurt winter temple of Jüd datsan and the wooden temple building of Jüd datsan (T. rgyud grwa-tshang) for tantric studies were located with the relics temple of the 6th Bogd in the north-east corner of the main courtyard. Behind the main assembly hall Zuuwigin dugan/süm (Buddha temple) stood once, in front of the three relics temples. In front of the main assembly hall, in the south-east corner of the main courtyard, a very high wooden platform used for calling the lamas to the ceremonies (bureenii shat) was situated. Behind the inner courtyard another courtyard housed the two-storey Serüün lawiran (summer palace) or Logshir süm (the temple of Lokevara) and Düünkhor datsan (T. dus-khor grwa-tshang), the Kālacakra temple in the north-east corner, and two Jodkhan (T. mchod-khang, ‘shrine room, chapel’) or, according to Daajaw (p. 129.) Khantsans (T. khang tsan, smaller regional section in a monastery) facing each other in the south. On the two sides of this northern courtyard there were two other small courtyards, that could be reached from this one. In the eastern one one temple building stood on the north and a yurt and a stūpa on the south. In the western one there was only one temple building. In the two long courtyards on the west and south, some jas buildings and yurts were situated.

Those who completed their studies in the philosophical datsan could take an examination (gawjiin damjaa) to attain the gawj (T. dka-beu) philosophical rank. The Tsam dance was not held in this monastery although the Maitreya circumambulation was performed every year. Representations of the complex (Daajaw, pp. 126-127. and the drawing kept in the monastery) marks the Tsam dance field in front of the main monastery gate in the south, between it and the yampai protecting wall, which was in fact the usual site of Tsam dances in monasteries of this arrangement. However, Tsam was not held in the monastery at all, but sagar (T. sa gar, ‘Earth-dance’, a kind of religious dance in honour of the local spirits) and chogar (T. mchod gar, ‘offering dance’, a kind of religious costumed meditative dance) were performed in Düünkhor datsan.

According to the Golden Annals (160v)256 nearby Khüree, on the north, the monastery called Dambadarjaalin which was founded for the command of the 2nd Bogd is situated. The main deity of its shrine was a santalwood Lokevara (lo-ki-shwa-ra) known as the self-arisen manifestation of Janraiseg (only one from the four divine brothers). All kinds of datsans and districts (khams-tshans) of lamas belonged to the monastery.

Dendew (Naawan, Öwgon Dendew, p. 12.) mentions that the other name of the monastery was Logiishurai (Mongol distortion of Sanskrit Lokevara, T. ‘jig-rt'en dbang-phyug) referring to its main idol, Logshir Janraiseg, the two-handed standing emanation of Janraiseg. Darimaa claims (Burkhan zuraach, p. 44.) that the santal sculpture of Logshir was situated on the first-floor of the main assembly hall. This original sculpture is presently kept in Gandan monastery (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist, pp. 285-286.).

As Daajaw says (Uran barilgiin tūkhees, p. 130.), the temple buildings were repainted between 1880 and 1886 and according to Ólzii’s book (Mongoliin dursgalt, pp. 97-98.) and Daajaw, the buildings of the complex were repaired in 1907.

About the operation of the monastery 145 individual texts are available in the

---

256 (160v) hu-re'i byang phyogs nye-sar 2 gong-ma chen-po'i bkas phyag btah mdzad-pa'i dgon-sde bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling-du rten-gyi gtsos-bor rang-hyang 'phags-pa mchod-bzh'i'i ya-gyal-du grags-pa'i tsan-dan jo-po lo-ki-shwa-ra bzhuṅs-shing grwa-tshang dang khams-tshan chi rigs yod/
collection of the National Central Archives, as all the others are arranged in the catalogue of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, because Dambadarjaalin was one of the monasteries that belonged to the Ihk shaw’. Besides, individual catalogues of the monastery serve important data, too. Its Manchu catalogue (M-130) referring it as Shashniig badruulagch Dambadarjaalin khiid contains 94 texts that were composed between 1765-1911. The very first text of the catalogue is the original inscription of the stele of the monastery written in Tibetan and Mongolian (1765), whilst the second text is a leporello which lists the names of the first 345 lamas of the monastery who were delegated from different aimags (1790). Lots of texts discuss the incomes and expenses of the monastery. However, there is a contract which was drawn between Mongolians and Chinese about the renovation of the monastery in 1857. An evaluation of quantity and price of wood which was required for the renovation was compiled in 1859. As interesting pieces of material nominations of bookkeepers of the treasury (1877), a lama holding healing rituals (gürmiin lam) (1878), the nomination of Tsseween as chief officer (zaisan) of the monastery (1881), a nomination of the chanting master of the monastery (1883) were issued as well as a register of ranked lamas of the monastery (1884), and the nomination of a donir. There are leporellos about the investigation of the people who had spent the property of the jas for their own purpose. Further nomination and withdrawal of ranked people were recorded in 1888, and lamas, their needed food, incomes, expenses, and number of herds and flocks were counted in 1906. A summary of the number of new and old wood required for the renovation of a temple was compiled in 1908. A summary including the names of people who supported the departure of a Tibetan lama to return home with donations, and a list of people who donated to the construction of the loilon, relief monastery as well as a register of lamas’ ordinary register were composed in 1909.

The catalogue (A-121) of the Bogd khan’s reign contains only 7 texts which were composed between 1914-1920. Some concern the total number of lamas, and the settlement of lamas coming from the countryside to the 12 aimag that surrounded the monastery (1916). There are lists of the 5 kinds of the livestock, incomes and expenses of the monastery and its main treasury (ikh san), together with documents on the reparation of the temple buildings and taking gawjiin damjaa (1920). Number of herds and flocks of tsanid datsan and name of their herders are also known, indicating that the financial units of the monastic schools had their own properties.

Documents of the Modern Period relevant to Dambadarjaalin are wrongly arranged into two catalogues. One of them (SKh-232) under the name of Shashniig badruulagch khiid contains 40 items which were composed between 1922-1933. From their titles we can conclude that at least three financial units belonged to the monastery in this period, namely Ihk jas, Tsogchin jas, and Maaniin büteeliin jas, and two treasuries. The catalogue mentions Zoogoi(n), Sangai(n), Makhmanaya, Anduunar, Jadar, Khiükhen noyon, Dugar, and Tsetsen toinii aimag, as well as Tsanid datsan, Emchiin datsan, Jüüd datsan, and Mönkh Sanjid and Dar’ ehk ceremonies, thus, they were surely related to the monastery. The documents were composed in the following topics: properties of the monastery and its main treasury (ikh san) for example animal leather, milk, felt, and leasing of bulls (shar  rękher). Tsanid datsan and Emchiin datsan surely had their own herds and flocks as a texts from 1928 mentions. There are registers of the aimags, the livestock of the treasury and the financial units, and the buildings of the monastery (1926), as well as property and number of the livestock of Tsogchin jas, and other financial units and the aimags (1927). There is a list of firewood, coal and economic products of the monastery from 1928 while another list talks about the herds and flocks of the Three Stūpas’ treasury (Gurvan suvarganii san, i.e. stūpas of the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th Bogds) (1929). Following the
events of the political change a list cleargy the silver accessories of the monastery that were sold to make it possible to pay the tax which was levied to the monastery (1930). There is a contract about the incomes and expenses of the monastery and an order to give the livestock into co-operatives to herd (sürgig khamtralaar kharulgaakh) (1930). Moreover, from the same year there are registers of lamas living in the aimags around the monastery, with and without their properties and livestock. A list of tax having paid by Dambadarjaalin and Dashchoinkhorlin monastery was conducted in 1931. Another one contains the name of each lama of the aimags (1933). The other catalogue of the Modern Period under the name of Dambadarjaalin khid (TSKh-240) contains not more than 4 texts. Among them there is a register of lamas (1936), a list of permanent ceremonies which were held in the monastery (1937), and two other texts without date, which registered the lamas and high-ranking lamas of the monastery. All these latest sources typically show the events of the period and have great value.

The register (Kh240/1/2) of ceremonies is a very detailed one containing valuable data not only about the name, date and the number of lamas who were expected to participate and who actually participated ceremonies but also texts which were recited during the ceremonies. The whole register were composed by the same person at it is obvious from his handwriting. Besides the main assembly hall, ceremonies of Dashchoinbel, Emchiin and Düinkhor datsan, and ceremonies of some aimag temples are also listed which give a complete picture about the religious life of the monastery. Approximately 90 ceremonies are listed which were permanently performed there in 1937 (i.e. in the 27th year).

According to the text in the main assembly hall (Tsogchin) the following 16 ceremonies were held with fix date: Tsogchin ceremony, i.e. reading of tsogchin and kharanga was held every day by all the expected approximately 10 lamas. Gürem ceremony (i.e. reading the text of the 9 khangal) was held every day by 4 appointed lamas. Yerööl ceremony (reading of magtaal and kharanga) was held for 15 days from the 1st of the Lunar New Year. About 50 lamas participated in it from the expected 120. Sakhius ceremony (reading of the texts of each khangal) was held on the 15th of the first summer month with the participation of all the expected 30 lamas. Ganjuur ceremony (reading of Ganjuur) was held for 6 days from the 10th of the last summer month. 30 lamas from the expected 130 lamas participated in the ceremony. Khailen ceremony (reading of magtaal, kharanga) was held for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month till the 30th of the first autumn month. 22 lamas from the about 22 gelen and getsel participated in it. Büteel ceremony was held for a day on the 19th of the last summer month with the participation of all of the approximately 120 lamas who were expected to come. Logshirin wan ceremony (reading of Logshirin wan) took place for seven days from the 21st of the last summer month. All the about 30 lamas participated who were expected to come. Sakhius ceremony (reading of Gombo’s texts) was held for a day on the 29th of the last summer month. All the 30 expected lamas came to the ceremony. Gongor Namsrai ceremony (san dallaga) was held for a day on the 30th of the last summer month with the participation of all the 30 lamas who were expected to come. Sojin ceremony (holding sojin) was held on the 15th and 30th of every month. Dash Sojin ceremony (auspicious fasting) was held for a day once a season. It was held twice a day with the participation of 3 from the expected 20 lamas who had gelen or getsel vows. San ceremony Rigschen barma san (?)257 was held on the 2nd of every month with the participation of about ten lamas who were all expected to participate. Öwliin türüün sarin 25-nii yerööl (prayer) ceremony was held for a day on the 25 of the first winter month with the participation of all the about 80

257 Exact meaning unknown. M. erengčen barma sang, probably T. rigs chen (?) ‘bar-ma bsang (?)
lamas who were expected to come. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony (dedicated to each *khangal*) was held for 3 days from the 27th of the last winter month together with Sor. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held for a day on the 30th day of the last winter month. According to the source everyday chanting, monthly and annual ceremonies were held in the main assembly hall even in 1937. The temple owed the volumes of the Kanjur. There were about 20 lamas with vows. The most lamas (120 in number) participated in the *Büteel* ceremony. The majority of the fix date rituals were held in the last summer month, and emphasis was laid on ceremonies closing the lunar year.

In Dashchoimbel *datsan* the following more than 23 ceremonies took place: *San* ceremony (*Namdag san, T. rnam-dag bsang*, called *Choigüanaw* (?)) was held on the 2nd and 15th of every month with the participation of 20 from the 20-100 lamas. *Janraisegiin chogo, Ayuushiin chogo, Mintügiin chogo, Günregiin chogo, Nitt chogo* ceremonies (these 5 texts were read from the 1-15 of the Lunar New Year) were held by all the required 5-5 lamas. *Shakya* (?) ceremony (reading of *san dorbul*) was held in the *tsogchin* temple with all the about 6 lamas who had to come. The six prayers ceremony (*Zurgaan nii khural*) was held for 15 days from 3-17 of the middle spring month with the recitation of *san, dorbul* and *demberel* every day. 30 lamas participated in it from the expected 100. *Gawjiin damja* took place for 15 (?) days from 8-20 of the middle spring month. All the 130 lamas who had been supposed to come were participated in the ceremony. On this occasion the content of the 5 books of philosophy (*tawan bot*) was discussed with debate and *daj* practices (*daj kheleltsekh, daj ergekh* (?)). *Khawriin süül sarin khural* (‘ceremony in the last spring month’) was took place for 30 days from the 3rd of the last spring month till the 2nd of the first summer month. From the expected 100 only 10 lamas participated in it reading the same books every day. On the 30th day *Tonjil* (?) was read together with praises. On the 15th of the first summer month *Sanjid khural* was performed for a day with the participation of 80 lamas from the expected 100. During this ceremony *Sanjidiin chogo* was recited. *Sarin khural* took place again from the 17th of the first summer month to the 2nd of the middle summer month. 50 lamas from the expected 100 participated in the ceremony, which was detailed above. *Gawjiin damja* was taken from 8-20 of the middle summer month with the same *daj* practice and books mentioned above. All the 120 lamas who had been expected to come were participated in the event. *Sarin khural* was held again for 30 days from the 17th of the middle summer month to the 16th of the last summer month with the same ceremony described above. 30 of the 100 lamas participated in it. *Sarin chogo, Mintüg chogo, Jambiin chogo, Migzemiin büteel, Awidin chogo* ceremonies were held parallelly from the 10th of the last summer month with a *düitsen* on the 15th day. 30 of the 100 lamas participated in the ceremony. *Lingseb* (T. *gling-gseb*, lowest of the four grades of geshe) ceremony (reading of *san, sojin* and *magtaal*) was held on the 3rd and 4th of the last summer month. All the expected 16 lamas gathered together. *Sakhius dallaga* ceremony (*Gombo, Lkham, Sendom, Namsrai, Tawan khaan*) was held for a day on the 17th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected about 100 lamas. *Namriin dund sarin khural* was the same as mentioned above, took place for 12 days from 3-14 of the middle autumn month with the participation of 20 from the 100 lamas. *Lkahawawiin dom* ceremony (its reading is

---

258 Exact meaning unknown. M. *Čovigüänaw* (?), T. *chos ... (?)*

259 Exact meaning unknown. M. *Šag. ja (?), T. (?). Skr. *Shākya (?).*

260 Exact meaning unknown. M. *dang kelcémü, daju ergekä. For daj ergüulekh see Soninbayar, Gandantegchinlen khiid, p. 66.

261 Lasting only for 12 days it hardly can be the same *Sarin khural* (‘ceremony lasting for a month’) which has been mentioned above.
the same as Lyankhiin dom)\(^{263}\) was held from 22-24 of the month by all the expected 16 lamas. Öwliin türiiin sarii khural (its reading is the same as that of the other 30 day ceremonies) was held for 17 days from the 16\(^{th}\) of the first winter month to the 3\(^{rd}\) of the middle winter month. 100 lamas were expected to come (the number of the actual participants cannot be made out in the text). Choinjid dom (T. chos-mdzad ston-mo), and Donchid ceremony (T. stong-mchod, which texts were described above) were held from the 16\(^{th}\) of the first winter month for 5 days or till 5\(^{264}\) by 16 lamas. Biziyagii donchid was held for a day on the 20\(^{th}\) of the month by 100 lamas. Dar’ ekihiin khural (reading of Dar’ ekihiin chogo) was held for a day on the 30\(^{th}\) of the first winter month by 100 lamas. A feast, called Züji dom (?),\(^{265}\) the texts of which were the same as Lyankhiin dom’s, was held for 10 days from the 13\(^{th}\) of the middle winter month with the participation of 14 lamas. Öwliin dund sarii khural (texts is the same as before) was held for 30 days from the 17\(^{th}\) of the middle winter month to the 17\(^{th}\) of the last winter month with the participation of 50 lamas from the 100. Düitsen khural (magtaal reading) was held for a day on the 12\(^{th}\) of the month with the participation of 100 lamas. 18-nii don was held on the 18\(^{th}\) of the last winter month by 14 lamas (its reading was the same as that of Lyankhiin dom). 19-nii dom was held on the 19\(^{th}\) of the last winter month with 16 lamas (its reading was the same as that of Lyankhiin dom). 20-nii don was held on the 20\(^{th}\) of the last winter month by 16 lamas (its reading was the same as that of Lyankhiin dom). Domii donjaa was held from 20-23 of the last winter month with the debate on the content of the five books of philosophy. 100 lamas were expected to participate in the event. From the text it is clear that philosophical exams were held even in 1937. Gawjiin donjaa was held twice, and Domii donjaa was held once. More than 100 lamas appeared in these events. The temple had ceremonies that are typical for philosophical schools, such as ceremonies lasting for a month, and special feasts (dom).

In the medical monastic school (Emchiin datsan) the following 9 ceremonies were held with fix date: as a New Year ceremony Manaliin zürkh (‘brief text (?) of the Medicine Buddha’) was read for 15 days from the 1-16 of the first spring month with the participation of about 10 lamas from the 35 expected ones. San ceremony, called Jiniin san (?)\(^{266}\) was held on the 2\(^{nd}\) of every month by 8 from the 30 lamas. Manal recitation was performed on the 8\(^{th}\) of every month by 2 from the 30 lamas. Sakhius ceremony (during which Shanlan and Damjin’s texts were recited) was held on the 15\(^{th}\) and 19\(^{th}\) each month with the participation of 10 lamas from the 30. Sakhius ceremony (during which Damjin’s texts were recited) took place for a day on the 15\(^{th}\) of the middle summer month when all the 35 lamas gathered together. Manaliin khural (during which Manal’s text were recited) was held till 7 p.m. (?) on 24\(^{th}\) of the middle summer month with the participation of all the 35 lamas. Sakhius ceremony (reading of Shanlan and Damjin’s texts) was performed on the 28-29 of the middle summer month with the participation of all the 35 lamas. Manaliin donchid ceremony (reading of Manal’s texts) were held for a day on the 19\(^{th}\) of the last autumn month. Magtaal ceremony (reading of yerööl and magtaal) was held on the 14\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) of the last winter month. Khuuchin nom ceremony (texts of Shanlan and Damjin) was held for a day on the 29\(^{th}\) of the last winter month. From these facts it is obvious that 35 lamas belonged to the datsan in 1937. Its permanent ceremonies show the features of medical monastic schools, as the Medicine Buddha, and the two main protectors of such datsans, Shanlan and Damjin were celebrated several times. The end of the lunar year was honoured by holding the Khuuchin nom ceremony for one day. Only few ceremonies were

\(^{263}\) It should refer to Lingseb ceremony.

\(^{264}\) Its exact meaning cannot be identified. M. tabun daysital-a, ‘till five’.

\(^{265}\) Exact meaning unknown. M. Joshi dom (?), T. sku bzhi ston-mo (?).

\(^{266}\) Exact meaning unknown. M. Jīng-yin sang, T. ?
Three ceremonies were held with fix date in the Kālacakra monastic school (Dūinkhor datsan). Thus, on the 2nd day of the lunar new year smoke-offering was performed by 10 monks instead of 18 who were expected to participate. On the 16th (?) and 25th day of each month texts of Dūinkhor and Demchog were recited by 8 lamas instead of 18. A three-day Khangal ceremony was held in honour of the wrathful deities from the 17th (?) of the middle summer month where 12 lamas appeared from the 18. From the text it turns out that the school had 18 lamas and specialized ceremonies.

The texts also contains data on ceremonies that performed in some aimag temples of Dambadarjaalin. Thus, in Shüteenii aimag the following ceremonies were held with fix date: Yerööl ceremony (reading of prayers) was held for a day on the 24th of the New Year by 30 from the 40 lamas (of the aimag). Sanjidiin khural (where Sanjidiin chogo was recited) was held on the 25th of the New Year by 30 from the 40 lamas. Magtaal khural (reading of eulogies) was held for a day on the 28th of the New Year by all the 40 lamas. Sakhiusnii khural was held for a day on the 27th of the New Year with the readings of Gombo, Namsrai and Tsamba by all the 40 lamas. Vairocana ceremony (Namnan khural, Nannangiin chogo) together with Gongor Namsrai was held for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by all the 40 lamas. Danshigiin khangal ceremony was held for two days on the 3rd of the middle winter month with the celebration of the 9 khangal together with thanksgiving offering. Khuuchin nom ceremony was performed for a day on the 29th of the last summer month when texts of Choijal were recited. Tsedor Lkham ceremony with Lkham’s reading was held for a day on the 30th of the last winter month. We can conclude from the above-mentioned data that the aimag had 40 lamas in 1937. Most of the ceremonies were held in the first spring month, and a special ceremony honouring the wrathful deities was held on the 8th of the last summer month. Namnan could be honoured in the temple as he was worshipped in Shüteenii aimag of Züün Khüree as well.

Concerning Bandidiin aimag and Örliüüdiin aimag together, the text mentiones their five ceremonies: Magtaal ceremony with the recitation of eulogies was held for 2 days from the 15th of the middle spring lamas with the participation of all the 15 lamas. Sakhius ceremony was held for a day on the 17th of the middle spring month when texts of Choijal, Lkham, and Jamsran were recited. 15 lamas came instead of the supposed 10. Sakhius ceremony with Mandalshiwaa and Lkhamiin dallaga was held on the 8th of the last summer month for a day. 14 lamas participated in it instead of the supposed 10. Niit khangal ceremony was held for 2 days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. Tsedor Lkham ceremony with Lkham’s texts were recited during the night of the 30th of the last winter month. It is clear that the aimag had 15 lamas. The most of the ceremonies were held in the middle spring month. An important ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities was held on the 8th of the last summer month. Lkham was also the protector of Örliüüdiin aimag situated in Züün Khüree.

The texts list six permanent ceremonies that were held in Noyonii aimag. On the 14th of the New Year Yerööl was recited with the participation of 13 lamas from the 22 who were expected. Mandal recitation was held for a day on the 15th of the middle spring month with the participation of 12 lamas from the 22. Gombo Namsrai recitation was held for a day on the next day, on the 16th of the middle spring month with the participation of 12 lamas from the 22. Yerööl was read for a day on 25th of the first winter month; coming of 22 lamas were expected. Danshigiin khangal was held for 3 days from the 3rd of the middle winter month when 22 lamas were expected to come. Lkham’s recitation called Tsedor was held for a night on the 30th of the last winter month when 22 lamas were required to come. We can conclude that 22 lamas belonged to the aimag. However, only 12-13 lamas appeared on ceremonies.
Six ceremonies that took place in Sangai aimag and Zoogoi aimag are discussed together in the text. Tsagaan saririn 14-nii yerööl was held on the 14th of the New Year when the 32 eulogies, and the 6 prayers were recited. 15 lamas appeared from the 18 who had been expected to participate. Chagsh(i) Gombo, Choijal, Lkham, Jamsran (Jamsrin) ceremonies were held for two days on the 8th of the last summer month when all the 18 lamas of the aimag gathered together. Ikh yerööl (Yerööl chenbo khural which means 3 magtaal, 6 yerööl) was held for a day on the 25th of the first winter month. Danshigiiin khangal ceremony was held on the 3-4 of the middle winter month at 6 p.m. (?), during which texts of each protector (niit khangal) were read. Khuuchin nom ceremony with the reading of Choijal dügiüü was held for a day on the 29th of the last winter month. Tsedor Lkham ceremony with the reading of Lkham’s text with thanksgiving offering took place for a day on the 30th of the last winter month. Studying the text it seems that 18 lamas lived in the two districts. On the 8th of the last summer month a ceremony was held to honour the wrathful deities, and Danshigiiin khangal ceremony was also performed in this temple. In Züün Khüree Zoogoin aimag’s protector was Chagsh Gombo, whilst Sangai aimag’s was Jamsran. Thus, their rituals are evident here.

In Anduunar and Dünkhör aimags several ceremonies were held: Yeröölin khural, when prayers were read, was performed for a day on the 15th of the New Year with the presence of 16 lamas from the 23. Magtaal ceremony with readings of prayers and eulogies was held on 3-4 of the middle spring month with the participation of all the 20 expected lamas. Sakhius ceremony with reading of Gombo’s and Jamsran’s text, was held for a day on the 8th of the middle spring month with the presence of all the 20 lamas. Jalwajamts ceremony (with reading of Gombo, Choijal and Lkham’s texts) was held for 4 days from the 18th of the middle spring month with the participation of 10 from the 20 lamas. Danrag thanksgiving ceremony was performed together with the readings of Gombo’s and Jamsran’s texts for a day on the 8th of the last summer month with the participation of 15 lamas from the 20. Khuuchin nom ceremony with texts of Damdin and Jamsran was held on the 29th of the last winter month. According to the source the two districts had 20 lamas. Jalwajamts was honoured in Anduunariin aimag of Züün Khüree, too. On the 8th of the last summer month ceremony was held here in honour of Gombo and Jamsran.

In Jas and Makhamaya aimags the following seven rituals were performed: Tsagaan saririn yerööl was held for a day on the 14th of the New Year with the participation of all the expected 6 lamas. Magtaal ceremony was held for 2 days from the 1st of the last spring month with readings of benedictions. All the 10 lamas, who had been expected, participated in the ceremony. Sakhius ceremony for Damdin and Jamsran was held for a day on 4th of the last summer month by all the 10 lamas who were expected to participate. Danshigiiin khangal ceremony when texts of each khangal were recited was held on the 3rd of the middle winter month. On the 20th of the first winter month a ceremony was held in honour of Damdin (this remark is not clear in the text). Khuuchin nom ceremony with the texts of Damdin was recited for a day. On the 29th of the last winter month Tedor Lkham ceremony with the texts of Lkham was held on the 30th of the last winter month. According to the source the two districts had 10 lamas. Danshigiiin khangal ceremony was held as well as the rituals of the New Year Eve. Honouring Damdin was a practice in Jasiin aimag of Züün Khüree as well, whilst Jamsran was the protector of both Jas and Makhamaya aimags.

All in all, the source gives the names of more than 90 ceremonies. Everyday chanting was performed only in the main assembly hall, whilst the monastic schools had specialized ceremonies related to their fields. The most significant events of the year were the philosophical exams where lamas participated in large number (120). Approximately
125 lamas lived in the surrounding districts. For bigger ceremonies (New Year Eve, philosophical exams) they gathered in one temple. The source does not mention the tantric monastic school that belonged to the monastery, thus probably it had not lamas that time. It seems that in some shrines (Logshiriin süm, stb.) ceremonies were not held, only an offering preparer could belong to to burn butter lamps. According to the document the lamas lived in ten aimags in 1937. Jadariin aimag, Toislon aimag, Dugariin aimag, and Tsetsen toinii aimag are not mentioned, but the text adds Düinkhor aimag. Int he text the aimags are mentioned not in order. While Shüteenii aimag and Noyonii aimag are mentioned individually, Anduunar and Düinkhor, Jas and Makhamaya, Sangai and Zoogoi, Bandid and Örliüüd are mentioned in pairs. Shüteenii aimag had 40 lamas, Noyontii had 22, whilst the others had at most 20 lamas in pairs, thus they hold ceremonies together.

In the 1920-1930’s the number of lamas decreased and according to Dashtseren lama there were only 150 lamas before the 1937/8 purges. The daily, monthly and annual cycle of ceremonies continued uninterrupted until 1930. As a result of the political repression in 1937, the monastery was closed and many wooden temples within the monastery complex and also in the aimags outside were destroyed. A huge white building for a holiday resort was built in 1940-41 on the foundation platform of the Tsogchin temple, which was pulled down just before this. In 1939, the monastery and all its buildings were transformed into a hospital for the Japanese prisoners of war, with a Japanese doctor who tended to the Japanese prisoners. Some of the buildings were used as pharmacies or drug stores. According to Ōlziī’s book (Mongoliin dursgal) following its use for the Japanese, the monastery was used as a tuberculosis hospital from 1946-47 while between 1987 and 1997 it was used as an old people’s home. In 1971, all the remaining monastic buildings became strictly protected by the State.

North of Dambadarjaalin to the direction of Dashchoinkhorlin khiid (R-936) there is a cemetery where Japanese victims of war were buried between 1945-1947. The cemetery was converted into a memorial place in 1966. In 1972 for the invitation of the Red Cross in Mongolia, relatives of the victims came to express their last honour. Between 1995-1999 the corpses were exhumated and the relics were delivered to Japan. In 2001 a memorial statue was erected here and the site is maintained from Japanese funds. According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 89.) the place was a burial place of lamas of Dambadarjaalin before the revolution.

Today, the whole territory of the yurt quarter, situated 8 km north of the capital, is called Dambadarjaa (shorty Damba) or Dar’ ekh and the area surrounding the monastery fence has been built over. The inscriptions in white stones of the three main Buddhist mantras in Tibetan script remain on the hillside behind the monastery. A stūpa has been recently erected outside the monastery wall on the initiative of the monastery and there is another smaller stūpa on the hillside. On the top of the hill behind the monastery there is a large and several smaller owoos.

Senior lamas, D. Dashrenchin and G. Ochirjaw, initiated the revival of the monastery in 1990. The lamas, who joined the community reconstructed the yurt-shaped temple of Setsen toinii aimag and began to hold ceremonies once again. The eleven temples of the monastery that survived in part or in full the destruction of 1937 are: Jin khonkhnii süm (the shrine of the bell, survived and renovated), Jin khengeregiin süm (‘the shrine of the drum’, survived and renovated), Tüükhiin baruun süm (‘the right side historical shrine’, survived and renovated, contains a stele carved in Mongolian), Tüükhiin zuün süm (‘the west side historical shrine’, survived and renovated, contains also a stele carved in Mongolian), Serüün Lawiran (summer palace, survived and renovated in 2005), two Jodkhans (T. mchod-khang, ‘shrine room, chapel’, survived and renovated), the main gate and two gates to the east and west (survived and renovated in 2005), outer fence
(survived and renovated in 2005), inner fence surrounding the Lawiran. Two smaller buildings right and left of the fence of the Lawiran’s courtyard also survived but they are in a very poor condition so there is an urgent need to renovate them. The Lawiran has been renovated. This two-storey building houses the new statue of Logshir Janraiseg (Skr. Lokevara), the two-handed standing emanation of Janraiseg (Skr. Avalokiteśvara) as the main deity of the monastery. The main goal of the community today is to restore the monastery to the way it was in the past.

**Dashchoinkhorlin Monastery**

*Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (T. bkra-shis chos-’khor gling, ‘monastery of the auspicious wheel of Teaching’), *Buyan yeröölt(iin) süm*

GPS: N 48°00.477’, E 106°56.194’

Rinchen marks this monastery as *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* on his map (R-936) and Jügder also represents it on his painting. Some books contain sporadic data about this complex and also some photos are available in books and in the collection of the Film Archive. Dashtseren lama and B. Daajaw provided relevant data on the monastery.

The fenced-off temple complex of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery was situated on the left bank of Selbe River, north-west of Dambadarjaalin monastery in Chingeltei Mountain area. It was founded in 1778 with the participation of Zorigt wan, Yündendorj (1778-1828), who was a governor (amban) at the time. According to Pürew, (*Uls törin töw*, p. 34., *Törin golomt*, pp. 88-89.), the monastery was founded in 1789. According to Banzragch (*Khüree khiid*, p.15), the area occupied by the monastery was 238×201 ald and more than 100 lamas belonged to it. According to Dashtseren lama, before 1937 the monastic complex comprised of about ten buildings with about 50-60 lamas in residence. According to Pürew’s book (*Törin golomt*, pp. 88-89.), in the beginning this monastery was independent, but later it came to belong to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Photographs in the Film Archives and in Forbáth’s book, and two pictures in Daajaw’s book (*Uran barilgiin tüükh*, pp. 232-233.) show a monastic complex with Tibetan-style white buildings and a protective wall (yampai) in front of the monastery. On either sides of the main entrance (with the main gate and two side gates), there were two

---

267 One of them to the left of the Lawiran is still used for reading requested texts to individuals.

268 It is on the second floor. The statue was donated by Gurudeva rinpoche (a highly esteemed lama of Inner-Mongolian origin who has made a significant contribution to the revival, restoration and reopening of temples in Mongolia) It is similar to the one that was worshipped here before the purges, which can now be seen in Gandan. During the summer, ceremonies are also held in this building.

269 In 2004, the Jarankhashar stūpa was erected behind the yurt-shaped temple. A square-shaped stūpa-complex in honour of the Buddha was built in 2003 sponsored by a director of the Narantuul market at the site of the ruins of Sharilii süm. It is surrounded by prayer wheels and functions as a chapel called Isheepandelin dugan (T. ye-shes phan bde gling). Photos showing the monastery before 1936 and statues made in Tibet and Nepal can be seen inside. It is also the place where the Oroin yerööl ceremony, performed in order to gain better rebirth for the deceased ones, is conducted. A shrine to the memory of Japanese soldiers who lost their lives in Mongolia was constructed in 2005. It bears the name of Khonshim bodhisattva (another name for Janraiseg). In the monastery complex of today, as well as the original and new temples, some of the white hospital buildings, built after the purges, remain. For example: the main building of the hospital (at the site of the old Tsogchin temple) and the hospital laundry, situated on the south-east of the yurt-shaped temple building. A description of the activities of the revived temple is available at [www.mongoliantemples.net](http://www.mongoliantemples.net).

270 Tsültem: intr. 32, 123; Maidar: 83, 116; Shepetlinikov: 118; Geleta/Forbáth: 40 (*Tsam* dance), 152 (two pictures)

271 Film Archives: K23612-K23635, 24746, 24782, 24787, 24796, 24815, 24817, 24829
high wooden flag poles (called chiiga/chiigan). The Makhranziin süm housed the statues of the guards of the four direction.

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 45.), the main temple (Tsogchin) was a two-storey brick building with a painting showing demberel yanlag junai (T. rten-'brel yan-lag bcu-gnyis), the twelve aspects of interdependent origination on the wall of the first floor. B. Daajaw, whose description and sketches are based on old pictures and an interview made in 1966 with an old ex-lama of the monastery, Dorj, marks three small shrines at the roar part of the second floor of the Tsogchin temple in his book. Accordig to him, the middle one was called Shagjitw (T. shākyā thub-pa) dedicated to Čākyamuni Buddha. Here, on the second floor, was displayed a huge sculpture of Shagjitw. The Tsogchin temple had a very interesting design with these three temples on its upper floor, this way its southern part being a one-storey building, its northern part being a two-storey building with a third storey on the central Shagjitw temple.

Geleta gives a vivid (Forbáth, pp. 158-168.) description of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery as he witnessed a ceremony there. Its main temple was a masterpiece of the Tibetan style. According to Geleta (Forbáth, p. 162.), the monumental north temple of the monastery housed a huge statue of Buddha (it is the Shagjitw sculpture mentioned by Daajaw) surrounded by only three walls as in the south there was a roof-terrace on the first floor from where people could enter. In addition, there were two small rooms one on the right and the other on the left (the two smaller shrines on the two sides of Shagjitw temple). Religious accessories, clothing and other ritual objects like masks for the Tsam dance were stored in the east room. The western room housed ‘equipment’ that was kept secret, such as special robes and musical instruments, bows, swords, hats and helmets and embroidered ceremonial robes.

Three other temples surrounded the main temple: two on the west, namely the Buddha temple (Zuu süm, T. jo-bo) and the Kālacakra temple (Dūinkhoriin süm) in front of it, and one on the east, called the temple of the ‘Five Kings’ (tawan khaan).

In the north-east corner of the complex, a two-storey wooden temple called the Green Palace (Nogoon Lawran/Lawrin) stood within its own fence, attached to the wall of the complex. It is said that the Bogd khaan and the Ekh Dagina stayed in this palace when they visited the area. After Dondogdulam passed away, the Bogd khaan built a stūpa for her.

There was also a wooden shed on the hill. According to B. Daajaw it housed the stone carvings of Jigjid.

According to Dariimaa (Burkhan zuraach, p. 45.), a lama with either a gawj or agramba degree was nominated from Bogdiin Khüree to perform the highest, tsorj rank of Dashchoinkhorlin.

According to Dashtseren lama, a Tsam ritual dance was performed in the monastery on the 29th day of the last winter month. Dariimaa claims (p. 45.) that Tsam was held once a year on the 29th of the last summer month. It is most probable that it was performed twice a year, with significant differences. Photos in the Film Archives show how big this complex was (K-23612-23635, box 92), and there are also many pictures showing scenes of Tsam dance performed here (together with Sor and Jakhar, K-24725- 24891, 95 box, see also the photos in Forbáth’s book) in the summer. The Tsam dance field was to the south of the main gate, between it and the protective wall (yampai).

Lamas lived in fenced-off wooden buildings to the south-east and south-west of the monastery. According to Dariimaa (p. 45.) they lived in Zoogoin aimag which was the only aimag belonging to the monastery.

30 sources about Buyan yeröölt Dashchoinkhorlin monastery are available in the individual catalogues of the National Central Archives. As it was one of the Ikh shaw’
monasteries several texts discussing its economic life, being arranged in the catalogues of
the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs. However, some texts are available in individual
catalogues, too. The catalogue (M-132) of the Manchu period contains 13 texts dated
between 1870-1909. They give information about the herds and flocks of the monastery
and their herdsmen, and its stallions which were prepared for military services (1870). The
catalogue (A-222) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 8 texts, most of them about the
incomes and expenses of the monastery, the number of ordinary lamas (1912), and the
lamas who gave donation to the jas of the monastery. Tha catalogue (TSKh-237) of the
Modern period contains 10 texts dated between 1923 and 1937 dealing mostly with the
herds and flocks and the agricultural field belonging to the monastery. As an interesting
source the collection contains a register of lamas (without date). Moreover, a register of
ranked lamas of the monastery was compiled in 1937, before the monastery demolition.
From the titles of the three collections it is evident that the monastery was known under the
names of both Dashchoinkhorlin and Buyan yeröölt süm or khiid. Among the texts, which
are very small in number, there is not any information about Tsam. The fact, that the
ranked lamas were listed in 1937 confirms that the monastery had been operating that time.
It was forced to cease operation in 1937.

There is nothing remaining of this large monastic complex beyond some lines and
heaps of bricks and stones. After the destruction local people delivered all the bricks away
to build their shelters. Today, the exact area where the monastery once stood is fenced-off
and a pillar wrapped in blue khadags stands in its center. There is a small hut in the
enclosure but it is new. GPS was taken at the gate of the fenced-off area.

**Shaddüwlin, Retreat for Meditation and Contemplation**

Shaddüwlin/Shadiwlin/Shaddublin khiid (T. bshad-sgrub gling, ‘monastery of theory and
practice’), Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin (T. bshad-sgrub dge’-phel byang-chub gling),
Shaddüw jambal janchüwlin (T. bshad-sgrub 'jam-dpal byang-chub-gling), Ikh shawin
Dayaanii Shaddüwlingin Khüree, Nyamba dayaanii Shaddüwlin khiid; Nomlon büteeliin
khiid; Nomlol büteel bayan arwidakh Bod’ tiw

GPS at the old tree marking the monastery site: N 48°00.843’, E 106°54.195’

GPS data of the presumed meditation temple remains: N 48°01.071’, E 106°52.863’,
elevation 1766 m

Rinchen marks this monastic site on his map as Shaddublin khiid (R-937) and Jügder also
represents it on his painting. Besides written sources Gonchig lama, the main disciplinary
master of Dashchoimbel datsan (born 1917), and Jan Felgentrau, founder of Tilopa Centre
provided information on the old temple.

As a place for meditation (byasalgal, M. bisilyal), it was also called Dayanii
Khüree (Skr. dhyāna, meditation). Sixteen fully ordained monks (gelen) and four novices
(getsel) lived there, all being contemplative lamas (dayanch).

According to the Golden Annals (160v) behind Khüree, in the valley of
Chingeltei Mountain, a retreat or isolated place, called Shaddüw janchüwlin (bshad-sgrub
byang-chub-gling), founded by the 4th Bogd was situated housing the statue of Tsongkapa
(saying rje bla-ma) accompanied by his eightfold pure retinue in its sacred main chapel

---

272 At least two of them are related to Kharaa Dar’ ekh lam.

273 (160v) hu-re’i rgyab ri ching-gil-thu’i khug-tu skyabs mgon rje btsun dam-pa sku-’phreng bzhai-pa’i dben
gnas bshad-sgrub byang-chug gling-du rje bla-ma’ khor-dag-pa rnam brgyad bcas-kyi dri gtsang-khang/ 2
khong-gi gzims chung dang/ bya btang (161r) ba-tsho’i spyil-bu-rnams-su gnas bla-ma dge-slong bcu-drug
bcas/rung-khang-du zhal-ta-pa dge-tshul bzhai bcas bzhugs-so’/
(dri gtsang-khang). In the two small retreat houses, (bya-btang), huts of grass of herds and flocks, a disciplined elder lama and 16 fully-ordained lamas lived together with four novices who were servants in the kitchen (rung-khang).

One of the main sources about the monastery is the text composed by the 8th Bogd in Tibetan, a modern Mongolian translation of which has been published by Iderbayar. Apart from the history of the founding of the monastery, it also contains the very strict monastic rules (dictated by the 8th Bogd) that had to be applied in the monastery. According to a text of the 8th Bogd (Iderbayar, p. 4.), the 4th Bogd expressed his wish to sit in meditation in a place lacking the disturbance of masses of people, which was beautiful with a pleasant garden full of a multitude of flowers and greenery and with its fresh crystal clear water springs. Nor did he wish it to lack trees and other plants indeed he wished it to be abundant with them. He wanted the place to be not too far away from but not near settlements, which was complete with the ten signs of the good virtues. So it was that the nice place in the valley of Bumbat, Shaddüw geipel Janchüwlin monastery, on the southeast of the Chingeltei mountain, was found. The text also mentions that the 4th Bogd had used this place for meditation.

According to Banzragech (Khüree khiid, p. 13.), the meditation place (samadiin dayaantii Khüree), called Shaddüw jambal janchüwlin (T. bshad-sgrub ‘jam-dpal byang-chub-gling) was founded in 1807 near Dambadarjaalin monastery (R-939) in the valley of Bumbat. The territory of the complex was 70×186 ald (p. 15.).

According to Gangaa (Khüree tsam, p. 29.), the sixteen lamas of Shaddüwlin spent ten days in meditation from the 1st of the last spring month and prepared the incense and holy water used later to purify the Tsam dance field for the Tsam held in Bogdiin Khüree.

According to Dulam (Dörwön uul, pp. 88-90.), a monastery called Shaddübgeppillin (an alternative spelling variation being Shaddüwgepellin, T. bshad-sgrub dge-’phel gling) was founded in 1858 in the Chingeltei mountain about 10 km far north of Ikhh Khüree, on the right bank of the Selbe river in Shaddüwlin valley. The place was also known for the sculptures kept there: Shaddüwlingin Ochir-Dar’ (Vajradhara of Shaddüwlin) or Shaddüwlingin Dagwanamdal (T. dag-pa rnam-grol (?) of Shaddüwlin). There was a yurt-shaped temple with the sculpture of Bazarsad or Dorjsembe with his consort. According to Dulam, this is now kept in Gandan monastery. According to Gonchig, the main disciplinary master of Dashchoimbel datsan, the main worship object of Shaddüwlin monastery was of Naidan jüdüg (T. gnas-brtan bcu-drug), the sixteen arhats.

Jügder’s painting of Ikhh Khüree shows the complex and Dulam describes the place as well. A large wooden fence surrounded the complex with the main gate in the south with two other gates on the east and west. According to the text of the 8th Bogd (Iderbayar), the sculptures of Tsongkapa and the statue of Ochirdar’ were kept here. According to Dulam, in the north of the complex there was a yurt-shaped temple, Ochirdariin örgöö (‘Palace of Vajradhara’) with other places for worship and prayer such a temple (süm), a palace (lawrin örgöö) and other places scattered around. The statue of Ochirdar’ which was kept in the Ochirdariin örgöö, is presently in Gandan monastery (Bilgiin melmii, p. 3., Northern Buddhist, pp. 285-286.).

The two southern corners were fenced off and enclosed the lamas residences: sixteen yurts for the sixteen fully ordained lamas (gelen). According to Dulam these lamas held the gawj (‘ten hardships’, philosophical degree) rank, although this is not supported by any of the other sources used. They followed very strict rules and spent a great deal of

---

274 Iderbayar, B., Shadüw geipel janchüwlin khemeekh büteeliin khidiin diyanch narinn tsaa jayagin altan üseg jewzündambiin aman zartig orshwoi, In: Erdeniin tülkhüür, Ulaanbaatar, (date unknown) pp. 4.,5.,8. (*The golden letters of the rules and regulations for the lamas of the meditational monastery called Shaddüw geipel janchüwlin, being the command of the Bogd*)
time in meditation. Rituals were held during the day and night as well. According to Gangaa (p. 29.), the sixteen Shaddüwlin lamas spent ten days in meditation from the 1st of the last spring month, when they also prepared the incense and holy water that was later used to purify the Tsam dance field for the Tsam held in Ikh Khüree.

The monastery was part of Bogdiin Khüree, which administered it with the great treasury providing the funds.

According to Dulam (p. 88.), the gelens wore yellow, not red orkhimj (the scarf worn over the left shoulder by lamas, but here this yellow-coloured one may refer to not orkhimj but another piece of garment, lagoi (T. bla-gos, yellow upper robe, a big shawl worn only by gelens) and yellow ceremonial hat (shar owoodoi) with its flaps folded down not only in winter but in summer as well. It could be worn with its flaps folded up only when they rode a horse or a vehicle. The ‘head’ of the monastery was called Shaddüwlingin naidan (T. gnas-brtan) or “the saint of Shaddüwlin”.

According to the 8th Bogd’s text, the lamas of this monastery were highly educated in the three classes of the Buddhist texts (gurwan aimag saw, T. sde snod gsum, Skr. Tripiṭaka), and especially in discipline (Vinaya). Only gelen and getsel lamas could belong to the community. From among the gelen and getsel lamas only those who had a great wish to learn and were older than 25 years old were allowed to join the monastery. The gelens of the monastery always had to wear the yellow coloured bansha or wanshü (T. pan-zhwa, ‘pandita hat’), and wear the pieces of lama garments called namjar (T. snam-sbyar, a loose mantle), lagoi (T. bla-gos, yellow upper robe, a big shawl worn only by gelens) and orkhimj (the red coloured shawl worn over the left shoulder). It was impossible for getsels to wear any kind of ornaments such as the ornamented bag for the bowl (ayaganii uut), knife and the tools for making a fire (khet khutga). (Mongolian men traditionally wear these items on their belt.) In summer, lamas had to take off their boots when they gathered for the ceremonies. Gelens and getsels had to wear all items of the nomiin khuwtsas (T. chos-gos, Skr. cīvara, ‘religious robe’, the collective name for the different pieces of monastic garment of lamas - originally there were three) at all times except when they were riding a horse.

The text, being the Bogd’s regulations of the monastery, includes other details as well. For example, it was forbidden for the lamas in the monastery to go far from it if they did not have an important reason so doing. It was not allowed to let cows, horses, dogs, goats and any other animals inside the confines of the monastery, nor were beggers and other sinful people let in. Drinking alcohol was not allowed nor was it permitted take any kind of intoxicating or narcotic drinks into the monastery. The text also mentions that all impure water such as dishwater, dirty water, or sewage should be disposed off far away from the monastery site. And, of course, it was forbidden to kill any animals or living beings here.

The 8th Bogd’s text also describes the conditions for letting visitors enter the monastery. Thus, those married men given permission to worship, prostrate and make offerings in the monastery, had to be controlled when they entered. The text also specifies that the lamas should try to keep out any suspicious person who tried to enter. Women were not allowed to enter at all, except on the three blessed days of the year (ikh adist gurwan ödör): the 8th of the first summer month when Buddha left his home and became a lama; the 15th of the same month, that is, the anniversary of three events of his life on the same day (his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he passed away); and the 4th of the last summer month when he first preached the Dharma, often referred to as ‘when he first turned the wheel of Dharma’.

According to Pürew (Uls töriin töw, p. 45.), during the reign of the Bogd khaan and on his orders Shaddüwlin became a training centre (often referred to as nuuts tagnuuлин
gazar, ‘centre of secret agents’ in the Socialist period). The lamas studied languages and foreign culture, with the aim of getting foreign support for the country. Many of them were sent abroad to countries such as China, Japan and Germany. The apparent reasons for these missions were diplomatic. Dilow khutagt Jamsranjaw (1884-1965) was the last such ‘diplomat’ lama. He fled away to Inner-Mongolia and finally to the USA after being arrested in 1932 at the beginning of the purges when he was accused of spying for the Japanese though he was only given a suspended sentence.275

About Shaddüwlin 28 individual sources are available in the collection of the National Central Archives. Its catalogue (M-137) of the Manchu period contains 5 long lists (36-51 pages) dated between 1897-1909. These are relevant to the treasury, artifacts, holy scriptures and objects of worship of the retreat place. It is interesting that relevant material from the period of the Bogd khaan’s reign is not available. The catalogue (TSKh-229) of the Modern period contains 23 texts dated between 1922-1937. Among them there are texts about lamas and ranked people of the complex, its cattle, properties of its financial units (Ikh jas, Lawrangiin jas, Shadawlin jas) and the livestock of the monastery which were herded on north and south pastures. There are lists of religious necessaries such as butter, flour, juniper, and tea as well as goods like butter, flour, wheat, and juniper again which were sold by the monastery (1937). From these data we can conclude that Ikh jas, Lawrangiin jas, and Shadawlin or Shaddüwlin jas surely belonged to the complex. Its herds and flocks were herded on north and south pastures. The complex sold products such butter, flour, wheat and juniper even in 1937. It is interesting that there is no data from the Bogd khaan’s reign as the complex housed “spies” according to other sources. Unfortunately, there is no data about the dwellers of the site, and the rituals and meditation they had practiced.

All the buildings of the monastery complex were wooden as was the fence. Today there are no remains. A tree, decorated by ceremonial silken scarves (khadag) (GPS: N 48°00.843’, E 106°54.195’), is the only marker of the place where the complex was situated. There are two owoos next to the tree. This ancient place of meditation now is totally occupied by weekend houses. However, according to Jan Felgentreu, there was a smaller building, supposedly a retreat temple about 500 meters up on the hillside from the complex. (It is highly possible that it was used for retreats although there are no written sources confirming this.) Some bricks remained on the site and the foundation of the temple is indicated by mounds or a brim.276

Temples and Shrines in the Outskirts

There were chapels with temporary assemblies in the surrounding countryside, which were dedicated to worship the local mountain spirits. Such temples were: Dünjigarwiin süm (R-924), Tsetsee günii khural (R-938), and Bayanzürkhiin dugan (R-941). Other assemblies worshipped the spirits (lus, T. klu) of springs and rivers, such as Züün salaanii khural (R-940), Baruun salaanii khural (NR-946) and Lowon Jalbiin süm (NR-944). It is likely that there were many other such assemblies, where a few lamas lived permanently, around the city, in addition to those marked on Rinchen’s map, especially on the four holy holy.

---

276 The Tilopa Centre (Dilaw töw) a Drikung kagyü (T. ’bri-gung) organization founded in June 2004 by Jan Felgentreu, has built a new retreat center there, with a small temple and four huts intended for meditation for their members and anyone else who wishes to do a retreat. On the website of Tilopa center (www.tilopa.net) there is a picture showing the remains of what is said to be the remnants of the old meditation temple. See also www.mongoliantemples.net.
mountains (Bogd khan, Songino, Chingeltei, Bayanzürkh) surrounding the capital. Local shepherds were the main visitors to these shrines. (One such assembly was the Sanzaidorjiin khural, NR-954). Most of these temples are not represented on Jügder's painting as they were situated a long way from the centre. According to O. Pürew this kind of small temples were abandoned and neglected after 1937-38. Sources about these shrines are not available in the archives.

Assembly at Tsetsee gün Peak of Bogd khan Mountain

*Tsetsee günii khural, Bogdiin khiid (dugan), Dünjingaraw, Dünjingaraw(iin süm) (T. dung-skyong dkar-po)*

GPS: N 47°48.492’, E 107°00.164’, elevation 2261 m

This assembly is marked on Rinchen’ map under the name Bogdiin khiid (dugan), Tsetsee günii khural (R-938) but not marked on Jügder’s painting. This small complex was built on the Tsetsee gün, the highest peak of Bogd khan Mountain, the northern range surrounding the capital. Some photos of the small old temple complex are displayed in the Manzshir temple museum, Zuunmod, and a photo is available in the Film Archive, too (K23846). The temple is known as Bogdiin khiid or Tsetsee günii khural though Maidar calls it the Dünjingarawiin süm (Maidar, Gurwan zurag, p. 72.). However, this is the name of another temple mapped by Rinchen (R-924).

The honour of Tsetsee gün is connected to the worship of local mountain spirits and also the national heroes and ancestors of Mongols. Therefore, the belongings of famous descendansts of Chinggis khan (see below) were kept here and used for worshipping the *owoos*. Later, lamas from Ikh Khüree and from the nearby Manzshir monastery also came here to hold rituals in honour of the local spirits. Women were forbidden to enter the temple or take part in the ceremonies.

According to Dulam (*Dörwön uul*, pp. 74–76.), the 2nd Bogd once visited the mountain Khan Uul, and since that time, it has been known as the Bogd khan Mountain. On the initiative of Zorigt wan Yündendorj (1778-1828), the *amban*, three mountain areas were officially declared protected sacred areas to be conserved and revered. They were: Bogd khan uul in 1778, Khentii Khan Uul in 1797 and Otgontenger Uul (in the Altai mountain range) in 1818. Thus, the Bogd khan Mountain was the very first strictly protected area in the world. Ritual ceremonies were held on the two highest peaks of Bogd khan Mountain, Tsetsee gün and Tüshee gün, annually. The 2nd Bogd asked Raden khanchen Agwaanprinlajamts (T. rwa-sgreng mkhan-chen ngag-dbang ’phrin-las rgya-mtsho) to compose the text for the ritual ceremony, which also included offering incense and a golden drink offering (*san serjim, T. bsang gser-skyems*) all of which were presented to the local spirits of the mountain. The main protector spirit of Bogd khan Range is Garid (Skr. Garuḍa, T. khyung), the mythical bird. On Tsetsee gün, the *owoos* of Bogd khan Mountain was in front of a cliff in whose face was a formation looking like a Garuḍa bird with extended wings. In front of the *owoos*, there was a square table that was used for food and drink offerings. In either side of it there were two smaller *owoos*, the left one being the *owoos* of religion, and the right one the *owoos* of politics.

Pozdneev (*Mongols*, p. 51.), has a similar account to Jambal (English text pp. 16-18., Mongolian text pp. 693-695.), saying that offerings were made twice a year to Khan uul. Jambal states that the Bogd khan mountain was worshipped twice a year, with the Manchu *amban* attending the spring worship and the Mongol *amban* the autumn one, the latter staying at the nearby Chuluut valley for almost two months on these occasions.
There was also a temple complex, which can be seen in an old photo taken in 1925 by a German tourist, Schulz in the exhibition hall of Manzshir monastery. The photos show a complex consisting of three small wooden shrines, with a tower on the right used for calling lamas to the ceremony in the right. The main temple was decorated with a top ornament, and its roof spines were decorated with a thousand of carved elephant heads (Dulam, p. 76.). In the background, behind the temple, the owoo can be seen on the top of the cliff. (Today in the museum situated at the site of Manzshir khiid there is a makett showing the old Tsetsee ginii khural, based on these pictures.)

Dulam adds that rituals were held here from time to time. Bows and arrows, saddles and harnesses of the two heroes, called Büüwei Baatar (Baatar beil) and Shijir baatar (Zasag beil) who was the younger brother of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar were kept in the temple. Both Dendew (Nawaan, Öwgön Dendew, p. 41.) and Jambal (English text p. 16., Mongolian text p. 694.) say that the bow and arrows of Baatar beil or Büüwei baatar were kept here. According to legend, Büüwei baatar was sometimes seen on the north-east of the peak as if looking around (Nawaan, p. 41.). Thus, the peak was said to be his watch post. Moreover, one day before the ceremony to the mountain spirits, which was to be led by a prince from Tüsheet khan clan (descendants of Chinggis khan) the following items were delivered from Dünjingaraw temple (R-924, see below) on two white camels to Tsetsee gün: the black weapon (Dulam, p. 76. khar tsakhiur buu, ‘black rifle, gun’), bows, arrows, swords and armor belonging to Awtai sain khan (16th century statesmen of Tüsheet khan aimag) and Baatar beil, as well as a tiger-skin, leopard-skin, bear-skin, wolf-skin etc.

Jambal (English text p. 16, Mongolian text p. 694.), relates how môngö was sent from Beijing to be offered on the Bogd khan Mountain’s owoo because the Bogd khan Mountain bore the rank ‘Tüshee gün’. There was a hole in a building situated beside the owoo and the môngö used to be thrown into this hole. (Jambal used the word baishin, meaning building. It must be identical with the temple complex described above.)

According to Dulam (p. 76.), for the great incense offering (san) many sackfuls of different kinds of incense and juniper branches were burnt in the Tsetsee gün incense vessel, which was decorated with three elephant heads. The worshippers arrived at the temple the day before the ceremony to make offerings at the table. The tsorj went to the Bogd to ask for the religious and political symbols of the country such as the flag, the golden helmet, golden silk robes etc. to be delivered in a procession to the mountain. Dulam adds (p. 75.) that in 1845 tea, flour, oil and other ingredients were delivered to worship the owoo by Manba datsan, the medical monastic school.

According to B. Daajaw’s view before the annual ceremony, the nobles and the participating lamas prepared for it in nearby valleys to the south-east of Tsetsee gün called Shashin khurakhiin am (‘the valley of religious gathering’), and Tör khurakhiin am (‘the valley of political gathering’). After the ceremony, they held a naadam festival in each of the two valleys.

There are other sacred places in Bogd khan Mountain, such as Baruun shireet/shiweet, where Öndör gegeen’s meditation cave (Öndör geegenii agui) can be found with an incense vessel (boipor, Т. spos-phor, incense burner) placed near it. According to Dendew (p. 41.), in this cave there was a rock, which became black (no other or more exact data is given). According to Jambal (English text pp. 17-18., Mongolian text p. 695.), Yünden wan (the same Zorigt wan Yündendorj mentioned above) also erected a monumental statue on the Baruu shireet peak of Bogd khan Mountain. Dendew (p. 41.) confirms this and adds that the statue had an inscription on it saying “It was presented by the holy Yündendorj” (“Bogd Yündendorj khicheengüilen örgöw”). Dünjingaraw peak (on the south-west of Zaisan tolgoi, elevation: 1755 m, N. 47°52.124’, E. 106°53.503’) was also worshipped (no information is given on which days or by whom it was worshipped).
Nowadays there is a large owoo complex, called Khiimoriin owoo, on the northern slope of the mountain.

According to Jambal (English text p. 17., Mongolian text p. 695.), it was also Yünden wan who, in about 1837, set out the words OM ĀH HŪM in white stones on the north side of Bogd khan Mountain so as to make the Bogd khan’s drinking water pure. It was replaced in 1936 on the 15th anniversary of the revolution with the Soyombo, the national Mongolian symbol, which can be seen today.

According to Mönkhbat (Dursgaliin lawлага, p. 31), Tsetsee gün temple was destroyed in 1924.

Tsetsee gün is still the name of a rocky peak which is reached after a 10 kms walk through the forest from Manzshir khiid. The owoo is on a rocky peak of the mountain. According to Dulam (pp. 82-83.), after the democratic change the Mongolian President, P. Ochirbat, issued a decree (Number 110) on the 16 of May, 1995 to resume the practice of worshipping the three holy mountains. On the 7th of October 2004, N. Bagabandi, the President of Mongolia along with other statesmen, took part in a ceremony and made offering to the local spirits of the mountain. Nowadays the President visits this place once a year to pray for the good fortune of the country. The square ruined foundation platform of the old temple serves as the base (7x7 m) for a new owoo. Some rocks carved with reliefs of vajra or lotus can still be seen, remaining possibly from the original temple. There are also a table, a cauldron and some stone benches. There is a pile of stones each with a hole in it, forming a six-sided structure in front of the owoo, which is used to display the State flags and the Ulaanbaatar city flag at the annual ceremony. A wooden pole decorated by ceremonial silken scarves, prayer flags and a Shaman drum stands nearby. A 1,500 kg white marble monument was erected here in 2004. Its purpose, according to its inscription, is to ensure that the spiritual power of Bogd khan Mountain penetrates the sky and earth. According to Mönkhbat (p. 31.), a 900kg Garuða statue is inside the marble monument.

**Dünjingaraw Temple**

*Dünjingarwiin süm, Dünjingaraw, Dünjingarbo, Dünjongaraw (T. dung skyong dkar-po, ‘White näga king’)*

GPS: N 47º 54.830’, E 106º 55.344’, elevation 1286 m

Dünjingaraw (T. dung skyong dkar-po) is the name of one of the eight kings of water spirits (T. *klu*, Skr. nāga). One of the sub-peaks in the Bogd khan Mountain, which is near Zaisan tolgoi has the same name (Elevation 1755m, N 47º52.124’, E 106º53.503’). According to Dashtseren lama, this temple was used to worship the spirit of the Bogd khan Mountain. High-ranking lamas were invited to celebrate the ceremonies held here. There were no resident lamas in the temple just a guard who lived nearby.

According to Dulam (*Dörwön uul*, p. 74.), the day before the ceremony to worship the spirits under the leadership of a prince from Tüsheet khan clan (descendants of Chinggis khan) the following things were delivered by two white camels from *Dünjingaraw* temple to Tsetsee gün, a shrine on the highest peak of Bogd khan Mountain:
black weapon (Dulam, p. 76. khar tsakhiiur buu, ‘black coloured rifle/gun’), bows, arrows, swords and armor belonging to Awtai sain khan (1534-1589, statesman of Tüsheet khan aimag) and Batar beil, as well as a tiger-skin, leopard-skin, bear-skin, wolf-skin etc.

According to Pürew (Uls töriin töw, p. 40.), the area between Dünjingaraw hill and the Middle River (Dund gol) was under the authority of Zorigt wan Osorbazar (1841-1895) or O. wan, a Mongolian noble from Tüsheet khan aimag who had a Chinese wife. Dünjingaraw shrine was built in the 19th century (Pürew, Töriin golomt, p. 57.) as his private property and the two-storey temple building had a pleasing garden with flowers and trees within the fenced-off area (see Jügder’s painting).

According to Jambal (English text p. 17, footnote 8), who also mentions that Dünjin garbo süm was established by O. Wan, there were a number of bronze buddha images inside the temple. It was said that the spirit lord of the Bogd khan Mountain inhabited this temple.

There are three photos in the collection of the Film Archives (K24087-89), which have been identified with the name Dünjingaraw. However, the three pictures seem to show three different temples, as neither the surroundings, nor the number and characteristics of the buildings in each are the same. One of them (K24089) seems to show the real Dünjingaraw temple.

According to the drawing kept in Ulaanbaatar city museum Osorbazar wangiin khoroo and Setsen khaanii khoroo were located north of Dünjingaraw. There are no remains today. The temple was located on the east side of the fun-fair park, next to the present-day Bulgarian Embassy. Thus, GPS was taken at the presumed site, in front of the embassy.

Temple of the (King of the) Näga Spirits, Assembly of the Holy Water Spring

Lowon Jalbiin süm (T. slob-dpon rgyal-ba), Lusiin jalbaa khaanii takhiiliin süm, Lümbümgaraw (T. klu-'bum dkar-po), Rashaanii kural (Skr. rasayāna), Lusiin süm, Luwsanjambiin süm (T. blo-bzang rgyal-po)

GPS: N 47°57.768’, E 106°55.925’, elevation 1336 m

Pürew mentions this temple in his books and also provided additional data personally. Although not marked on Rinchen’s map (NR-944), Jügder’s painting and a drawing by an unknown painter in Ulaanbaatar City Museum show the yurt and building of Lowon Jalbiin süm situated on the left bank of Selbe river between Dambadarjaalin monastery (R-939) and the Züün kharchuud (‘Laymen living in the Eastern region of the city’) district. It is also mentioned by other sources but with different names: Luwsanjambiiin süm or Lusiin jambaa khaanii takhiiliin süm (Pürew, Töriin golomt, p. 90.), Lusiin süm, Luwsanjambiiin süm (Pürew, Uls töriin töw, p. 67.). However, it seems that jamba is mistaken for jalba (T. rgyal-po, ’king’), which refers to the king of the nägas (lus, T. klu, Skr. näga) or water spirits. Jügder’s painting also shows this temple but it is hard to make out the details of the temple layout.

According to O. Pürew, this Rashaanii kural was a shrine for the worship of the spirit of the holy water (Lusiin süm, ‘temple of water spirit’). Outside the city there were many chapels with temporary assemblies where the spirits of springs and other holy waters were worshipped, therefore Lusiin süm can be considered as a general term for this type of shrine, not as the name of this individual temple. According to Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 90.), there is a place about 2 km south of Dambadarjaalin, called Rashaanii khöl, having many springs. The most important of these springs is called the ‘Spring of Dambadarjaa’ (Dambadarjaagiin rashaan). Pürew asserts (Töriin golomt, p. 90.) that the näga king of
Rashaanii khöl was worshipped here from the beginning of the 18th century. According to Dashseren lama, there was a shrine here, called Rashaanii khural. It was called Lümbuggaraw (T. klu-'bum dkar-po), which refers to the title of a text, ‘White Scripture helping against the harmful influence of water spirits’ (originally it was a Bon text entitled klu-'bum sde-tshan dang-po (Bon is the traditional Shamanist or native religion of Tibet prevalent before the Buddhism spread and influenced it). This text is also related to the water spirits this temple was erected to and was named after. According to Dashseren lama lamas did not reside there permanently. Pürew (Töriin golomt, p. 90.) claims the temple was destroyed in 1938. In the 1960’s, at the initiative of the scholar, O. Namnandorj, a building was built here to protect the spring with the water being used by the tuberculosis hospital for curative purposes. Later the building was reconstructed (post 1990) and surrounded by an iron fence. Today a holy hot water spring can be found in the area called Rashaant (‘The place with holy water’) which is on the left side of the road leading to Dar’ekh and Dambadarjah suburbs, on the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar. The area is fenced-off with a wooden gate construction some metres away from the spring. A small bridge over the spring with a pavilion on it was built in 2004. Local people come here for the water. The exact site of the chapel is not known but presumably it stood near the spring (GPS was taken there).

Assembly in Züün salaa
Züün salaanii khural
GPS: N 47°59.664’, E106°53.157’, elevation 1440 m

Rinchen marks the place of the assembly by and large on his map (R-940), but it is not marked on Jügder’s painting. However, Pürew provides data on this assembly in one of his books. The temple was situated in Tolgoit, a mountain and the surrounding area to the north-west of Ulaanbaatar. The two side valleys in the mountain north-west of Ulaanbaatar are called Züün salaa and Baruun salaa (right and left branches of the road/valley). Prior to 1937 there was a small temple or chapel in each valley, which were visited mainly by nomads from the surrounding area. Today, two smaller valleys can be reached from the final bus stop of Züün salaa. The one to the north, called Lam nariin baaz/lager, is now full of weekend houses, while the one to the north-east is military territory, which cannot be entered. According to the soldiers interviewed in the survey, there are no ruins in this valley and no-one could be found who had heard of the temple.

The Bayankhoshuu monastery (Namdoldechinlen khhid, Jagarmolomiin neremjit ulaan yosnii töw, a present-day monastery located nearby) disciplinary master informed us that the temple was in the place called Lam nariin baaz/lager (‘the weekend area with weekend houses of lamas’) in the valley north of the final bus stop. He mentioned Bayan khlugait as another name for the place and has even visited it searching for the ruins, but, according to him, there is nothing left. Pürew (Uls töriin töw, p. 71.) gives a different location for this temple, claiming it was situated in the valley called Belgüünii am. According to Pürew, Züün salaanii khural, like Baruun salaanii khural, was a chapel for the worship of water spirits (lus sawdag, T. klu sa-bdag) and only ever had a temporary assembly. These kind of smaller temples scattered on the outskirts of the capital were neglected after 1937-38 and nowadays nothing remains of them. According to Pürew (Uls töriin töw, p. 71.), this temple was destroyed in 1937-38.

The temple site is at the current area of Tolgoit, in (Tolgoiitiin) Züün salaa, on the north-west of Ulaanbaatar. Presumably there are no remains left. The exact site was not
found having contradictory data on its exact location. The whole area is built over with weekend houses. GPS was taken at the final bus stop of Züün salaa, as the exact location is unknown.

**Assembly in Baruun salaa**

*Baruun salaanii khural*

GPS: N 47°58.190’, E 106°48.491’ m elevation 1378 m

The assembly is not marked on Rinchen’s map (NR-946) nor on Jügder’s painting. Only O. Pürew provides data about this assembly saying that apart from *Züün salaanii khural* (R-940), there was another temple in Tolgoit. The two side valleys are called Züün salaa and Baruun salaa. Both areas are now built up with weekend houses. Presumably this temple was built beside a source of holy water called Takhiltiin us (‘saint water’) which exists even now. Dondogdulam, the 8th Bogd’s wife, used to go there to drink the fresh water. According to Pürew (*Uls töriin töw*, p. 71.), this temple was situated on the slope of the mountain near the weekend house area for the workers of Biokombinat (*Kombinatiin amralt*).

*Baruun salaanii khural* was a temple where holy water spirits were worshipped. According to Pürew (*Uls töriin töw*, p. 71), this temple was closed in 1930-31.

The exact place could not be identified, so the GPS reading marks only the area, where it was situated. It is presumed that there are no remains. Today, there is a new temple in the area of Baruun salaa, *Dashchaglin* monastery (*T. bkra-shis phyag gling*), which was founded in 2004, but it has no connection with the old shrine. GPS was taken in Tolgoitiin baruun salaa area, near the present-day temple unrelated to this old one.

**Temple in Bayanzürkh**

*Bayanzürkhiin dugan*

GPS: N 47° 53.309’, E 107° 04.097’, elevation 1364 m

Bayanzürkh Mountain, one of four mountains around Ulaanbaatar, is situated on the east of the valley in which the city lies. Rinchen marks the temple on his map (R-941). O. Pürew served information about this assembly which is not marked on Jügder’s map as it was situated in the outskirts.

In *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* the dog-headed spirit (*Chidon* or *Nokhoin nüürt*, T. *khyigdong*) of Bayanzürkh Mountain was worshipped, as well as this holy mountain, one of the four surrounding the capital. Apart from those marked in Rinchen’s map, Pürew claims there must have been many others such temples around the city, for example for the other two mountains, Songino and Chingeltei, surrounding the capital, but there are no extant records of them (some are marked on the maps of the conjoining aimags by Rinchen).

According to Dariimaa (*Burkhan zuraach*, p. 50.), poor Mongolians lived in this territory, which is next to the bridge on Tuul River. The “settlement” called *Khöliin modchin* (‘carpenters of the foot of the mountain’) was at the foot of the mountain next to the bridge and *Deed modchin* (‘upper carpenters’) in the east, near the mountain. It was divided into two fenced off districts each with yurt dwellings. The two place names contain the word woodmen or carpenters (*modchin*, M. *modučin*), as the inhabitants were woodmen, and made vehicles and objects for everyday use such as buckets, containers, vessels, etc. They exchanged their products for food with those who came to the capital from the countryside on the trading route. Maybe they also visited *Bayanzürkhiin dugan*. 
Geleta (Forbáth, p. 225.) describes this place east of Ulaanbaatar in the following way: leaving the city of Maimaachen, from the road one could see a huge timber-yard on the left bank of Tuul River, which was the property of the state. The mountain-inhabitants used to float the logs down on the river to transport it. Above the timber-yard, there was a small temple with a sharp red Chinese-roof with the green Bogd khan Mountain in its background. This was situated before the bridge, on the south of the river, as Geleta describes it. However, it may have been situated not in Bayanzürkh, but near, or on the north slopes of Bogd khan Mountain. Considering the data above it is evident that there was a shrine near the bridge to the east of Khüree, but it may also be the case that different sources mention more than one temple in this area.

There are no remains. The exact place of the temple is unknown, and no information about its exact whereabouts could be obtained. The GPS was taken over the bridge on Tuul River at the city border crossing post, which is the presumed site according to Rinchen’s map.

**Assembly of Sanzaidorj, Temple at Sanzain Mountain**

*Sanzaidorjiin khural, Sanzain uuliin khiid*

This assembly is marked neither on Rinchen’s map (NR-954) nor on Jügder’s painting. Only Mönkhtbat’s book (*Dursgaliin lawlaga*, p. 41.) provides data on the temple mentioning that, there was a small temple that was situated in the mountain called Sanzain uul near the ‘Golden basin’ (Altan tewshiin khöndii) of the Chingeltei Mountain. Unfortunately, he does not name his source, so its authenticity cannot be judged. He claims that in the former times, Sanzaidorj, a doctor lama (*otoch*), was famous for making up prescriptions and preparing medicines from herbs. He felt that making medicine to cure people was more useful than reciting texts. However, this view did not meet with approval of his fellow lamas so he founded his own assembly in the mountains with some of his disciples. He chose an area where many different herbs and medicinal plants grew. He and his lamas collected the plants here and made a great variety of herbal medicines from them. Later, the mountain got the name, Sanzain uul, after this doctor lama. Even later the area became known as Sanzai amralt (‘the weekend house area in Sanzai’) as weekend houses were set up there for transport workers. The temple is most probably one of the many set up by individual lamas or small communities in the outskirts of the city. It is hypothesised that many such temples existed prior to the purges.

The site of the old temple is unknown. Therefore, GPS was not taken. As it is likely to have been a small wooden temple, it is almost certain that nothing remains of it.
SUMMARY

The result of the present thesis is an overview about what we call Bogdiin Khüree. Its history starts with the establishment of a camp which grew to become the most prominent monastic city of the country, and ends with its demolition in and after 1938 to offer a place to the modern buildings of Ulaanbaatar.

The most significant outcome of the study lies in the fact that other than Rinchen’s map, which is incomplete, the temples and monasteries of the Mongolian capital city prior to the purges have not even been fully listed or mapped. Until now, except for the very few historically important monasteries (Gandan, Dambadarjaalin), the majority of the temples covered here have not been described at all, or have only scattered references. Using all the available sources and interviewing old monks it was possible to include data not only about the vivid religious life of the city, but even on some of the smaller assemblies that have no written sources.

If all the temples within the big monastic complexes are considered separately, we can conclude that there were about 100 temples in the old capital before 1937/38, and the present piece of work deals with all of them one by one. It means the description of the history, function, religious life, deities worshipped, special ceremonies, and other characteristics of 47 sites, namely 2 monastic complexes (i.e. 20 central and 30 aimag temples of Züün Khüree, 11 temples of Gandan), 6 palaces (5 palaces of the Bogd on the banks of the Tuul River, and the temple complex of Choijin Lama), 3 suburban monasteries (Dambadarjaa, Dashchoinkhorlin, Shaddüwlin), and 36 individual temples (1 in Gandan hill, 4 near Choijin Lama’s temple complex, 8 in the layquarters, 1 next to the Russian Consulate, 14 in the Chinese town, 1 in the Chinese merchant district, 7 in the outskirts), among them 1 Manchu, 1 Orthodox, 9 Chinese (among them one Muslim, one in honour of Confucius, two in honour of Guan-yu, two in honour of the Lord of Death), and at least 6 Red Sect assemblies. It is obvious that majority of the temples belonged to the Yellow Sect (each temple of Züün Khüree, Gandan, Dambadarjaa, Dashchoinkhorlin, Shaddüwlin, etc.).

Meanwhile, the contents of 159 local catalogues (Manchu Period: 51 catalogues, Bogd khaan’s reign: 52, Modern Period: 56) of the National Central Archives are briefly summarized here, representing various text types and the features of the changing political and administrative system. The collection includes documents about 57 temples of the city (among them 39 temples of Züün Khüree, 7 of Gandan, 3 palaces of the Bogd (White Palace, Green Palace, Pandelin, Choijin Lama’s temple complex, a Zod assembly in the layquarters, Dashsamanlin datsan and two aimag temples in Maimaachen, and the three suburban monasteries. An additional 5 catalogues of administrative organizations (Erdene Shanzodiin Yaam, etc.) exist as well as the catalogue of a Chinese store.

Apart from the most attractive religious festivals (e.g. Tsam, Maitreya circumambulation) more than 400 ceremonies are mentioned here (by analyzing 15 data sheets kept in the archives) which were annually held until 1937 in at least one of the temples of the city.

Evaluating the effects of the purges and the monastery destruction it must be concluded that not much remained from the old city and faith. During a field study the exact and presumably site of the temples and their present-day condition were determined. We must state that no monastery complexes or individual temples survived completely intact. In case of the majority of the temples there are no surviving remains and, it is impossible to locate the exact site where the temple had stood in the present entirely built in Ulaanbaatar (for example in the area of Maimaachen). What has remained from the old capital city is: 3 yurt-shaped temple buildings of Züün Khüree (the temples of Wangain
aimag and Erkhem toinii aimag were revived in 1990 and house Züün Khüree Dashchoilin khid, whilst the building of Ekh Daginiin aimag is still used as a Circus College; the main courtyard and Avalokiteśva temple of Gandan functioning as an active monastery; the Bogd’s Green Palace together with the Winter Palace housing a museum; some buildings of Khaistai lawran used as domestic dwellings; the temple complex of Choijin lama functioning as a religious museum; Geser temple of the Chinese merchant district used by new assemblies unrelated to the original Chinese one; a part of the small Ortodox church used now as a warehouse of the nearby food shop; Tārā Temple of the Chinese town housing an assembly of Buddhist nuns; a couple of buildings of the walled-off and revived Dambadarjaalin monastery; the foundation of Tsetsee güm assembly in Bogd khan Mountain, on which an owoo was erected for the good fortune of Mongolia.

All the remained artifacts are exhibited in museums or in Gandan, while the Buddhist texts which were not burnt are kept in the National State Library or in Gandan. The National Central Archives preserves the documents related to the administration of the old city.

Of the more than 10 000 lamas of Bogdiin Khüree only seven were found. Though it is obvious that the purges decimated the population considerably, and numerous lamas escaped to the countryside, or disrobed, and joined the army, the number of still alive old lamas of the city is extraordinarily low. In 1990 still more lived and helped the revival of a couple of temples and the basic Buddhist traditions. After the democratic change several new temples were established as well and Buddhism is said to be refloourishing again. However, comparing the present with the Golden Age of Buddhism it is a very disputable statement. Although the most important religious practices (everyday chanting, Tsam, Maitreya circumambulation, etc.) were revived, today the number of lamas, and especially their morals, education and practice are extremely moderate.

The present study is dedicated to the memory of the lamas of Bogdiin Khüree. Its results can serve as the basis for excavation, further archive research to get to know the events of the Manchu Period, the Bogd khan’s reign, and the 1920-1930s, and can help the revival of the faded Buddhist traditions of the Mongols.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Catalogues of the National Central Archives’ Three Collections
Manchu:  M-85, M-86, M88-124, M-130, M-132, M-137, M-171, M-173, M-174, M-207, M-208, M-210, M-211, M-216, M-219

Sources of the National Central Archives’ Modern Collection (keeping their spelling)
Kh193/42  without title [Annual ceremonies of the medical monastic school]
Kh196/8  Gandantegčinling-yin dangsa [List of Gandantegchenlin]
Kh199/55  Barrya-yin aymayγ-un toγtamal qural-ud [Regular ceremonies of Bargiin aimag]
Kh200/21  Wanggai aymayγ-un qural-ud nersiin bürtgel dans [List of Wanggai aimag’s ceremonies]
Kh208/73  Duyar-yin aymayγ-un nigen jil-dü toγtamal qurday qural-yi todqailaysan küsünügtü [Data sheet of Dugariiin aimag’s regular ceremonies]
Kh211/18  Jamyangsüren-yin aymayγ-un nigen jilün toγtamal qural-ud-un neres [Name of regular ceremonies held in Jamiyaansürengiin aimag]
Kh216/44  Toysisamling aymayγ-un büküi qural-ud dangsa [List of all ceremonies of Toisamlin aimag]
Kh218/18  Mergen q.ambu-yin aymayγ-un qural-un ungsilyå-a-un dangsa [List of ceremonies in Mergen khambiiin aimag]
Kh224/9  Örligüd-ün aymayγ-yin 27 on-u toγtamal qural-udün bürgüdel-e [Regular ceremonies in Örüüdiin aimag held in 1937]
Kh240/1/2  27 on-u Dambadariyin keyid-ün toγtomal qural-ud dangsa [List of permanent ceremonies held in Dambadarjaa monastery in 1937]
SKh188/144  Gungaachoilin datsangiin 1 jild khurdag khurliin nersiig todorkhoilson dans [List of annual ceremonies held in Gungaachoilin datsan]
SKh189/2  Yidgg.açoyingling daçan-un nigen jilün toγtamal quriday qural-yi küsünügtü: [Data sheet of regular annual ceremonies of Yidgaachoinzinlin datsan]
SKh209/66  Jöoyai aymayγ-un toγtamal qural-ud dangsa [Regular ceremonies in Zoogoii aimag]
SKh212/38  Namdolling aymayγ-un toγtamal qural-ud [Regular ceremonies in Namdollin aimag]
TsKh227/48  without title [Regular ceremonies of Erkhem toinii aimag]

Other Sources
• BAABAR B. (BAT-ERDENE BATBAYAR), Twentieth century Mongolia. White Horse Press, Cambridge 1999
• BAABAR, B. (Bat-Erdene Batbayar), History of Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar 2005
• BADARCHI, O. S., DUGARSÜREN, SH. N., Bogd khaanii amidraliin on daraalliin towchoon. Ulaanbaatar 2000 [Events of the Bogd Khaan’s Life Year by Year]
• BANZRAGCH, CH., SAINKHÜÜ, B., Mongol khüree khiiidiin tüükh (emkhtgel).Ulaanbaatar 2004 [History of Mongolian Monasteries]
• BATBAYAR, Ts., Kodama, mitsui, piüüs khüreeend baisan yaponchuud 1911-1921 on.
Ulaanbaatar 1993 [Kodoma, Mitsui, Store: Japanese who visited Khüree between 1911-1921]
- *Bilgiin melnii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/ [Eye of Wisdom]
- BYAMBA, D. *Ulaanbaatar khotiin namiin baiguullaga (1921-1940)*. Ulaanbaatar 1972 [Party Organization in Ulaanbaatar (1921-1940)]
- DAAJAW, B., *Ikh Khüree*. (forthcoming) [Ikh Khüree]
- DASHBADRAKH, D., *Mongoliin khutagtuudiin nomtrii oillogo /XVII-XX zuun/, Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Thoughts about the Biographies of Mongolian Reincarnations]
• DULAM, S., Khüree dörwön uuliin takhilga, belgedel. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Worship of the Four Mountains Surrounding Khüree]

• DÜGERSÜREN, L., Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükees. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999 [Views about the History of Ulaanbaatar]

• FORBÁTH, L., A megújódott Mongolia, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934 [The New Mongolia]

• GANGAA, D., Khüree tsam. Ulaanbaatar 2003 [Masked Dance in Khüree]

• GELETA, J, The New Mongolia, by Ladislaus Forbath, as related by Joseph Geleta; translated from the Hungarian by Lawrence Wolfe, London, Toronto, W. Heinemann ltd. 1936


• IDERBAYAR, B., Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin khemeekh büteeliin khiidiin diyanch nariin tsaaaz jayagiiin altan üseg Jewzündambi in aman zarlig orshwoi, In: Erdeniin tülküüir, Ulaanbaatar, (date unknown) pp. 4..5..8. [The golden letters of the rules and regulations for the lamas of the meditational monastery called Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin, being the command of the Bogd]

• IDSHINNOROW, SH., Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui. Ulaanbaatar 1994 [Short History of Ulaanbaatar]

• ISHTAWKHAI, SH., Nom zokhiul tuurwisan mongol lam nariin bürtgel. Ulaanbaatar 2006 [Mongolian Eminent Polymaths]

• KHATANBAATAR N., NAIGAL, YO., Erdene zuugiin tüükh (XVI-XX zuun). Ulaanbaatar 2005 [History of Erdene zuu]

• LAAGAN, B., Khalkhiin tamga bükhii khutagtutudiin towchis. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Short Story of Mongolian Saints Decorated by Seal]


• LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part 2, . Çata-Piṭaka Series 29. New Delhi 1963


• LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), Life and works of Jibcundampa I. Çata-Piṭaka Series, 294. New Delhi 1982

• LOKESH CHANDRA, Biography of Jibcundampa IV. Çata-Piṭaka Series, 295. New Delhi 1983

• MAIDAR, D., Mongoliin arkhitektur ba khot baiguulalt. Ulsiin Khewleeliin Gazar, Ulaanbaatar 1972 [Mongolian Architecture and City Planning]
• MAIDAR, D., Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag. Ulaanbaatar 1970 [Three Maps of Mongolian Cities and Villages]
• MINIS, A., MAKhN-aa süm khüid, lam nariin edin zasgiin khüchini chadliig ewdej uste gakhiiin tölöö yavuulsan tentei. Ulaanbaatar 1972 [The Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party’s Struggle to Annihilate the Economy and the Reputation of Monasteries and Lamas]
• MÖNKHBAT, D., Mongoliin tüükh soyoliin dursgaliin lawlaga. Ayalal juulchlaliin mergejiliin angiin oyuutnuud zoriulaw. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Brief Account of Heritages of Mongolian History and Culture]
• NAWAAN, D., Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal, Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Reminiscence of Old Dendew]
• NAWAGCHAMBA, TS., Yewrop khelberiin ankhnii baishi n. In: ? [The First European style Building]
• Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development, Ulaanbaatar 2005
• ÖLZII, J., Mongoliin dursgal uran barilgiin tüükhees. Ulaanbaatar 1992 [About the History of Mongolian Architecture]
• ÖLZIBAATAR, D., Yaagaad 1937 on? Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Why 1937?]
• OYUUNBAT, R., Khüree duu khögjmiin üüsel, khögjil. Ulaanbaatar 2005 [Origin and Development of Music in Khüree]
• POZDNEEV, A. M., Goroda severnoj Mongolii. Sankt-Peterburg 1887, 1980 (repr.)
• POZDNEEV, A. M., Mongolija i Mongoly. T. 1-2. Sankt-Peterburg 1896, 1898 (repr.)
• POZDNEEV, A. M., Očerki byta buddijskih monastyrej i buddijskogo duhovenstva v Mongolii, Sankt-Peterburg 1887
• POZDNEEV, A. M., Urginskie hutuhty. Istoriičeskij očerik ih prošlago i sovremennago byta. Travaux de la Troisième Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes, Sankt-Peterburg 1880, 1880 (repr.)
• POZDNEEV, A. M. (ed.), Boyda jihbündamba qutçuqy-yin Erdeni juu-du jalaraysan turyüji, Mongol’eskaja Krestomatija. Sankt-Peterburg 1900
• PÜREW, O., Mongoliin uls töriiin töw. Ulaanbaatar 1994 [Centre of the Mongolian State]
• PÜREW, O., Ulaanbaatar 360. Ulaanbaatar 1999 [The 360-year old Ulaanbaatar]
• PÜREW, O., Mongol töriiin golomt. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Fire-place of the Mongolian State and Government]
• PÜREW, O., XX zunii ekhen üyeiin ar mongol (1900-1930 on) (map) (forthcoming) [Mongolia in the Beginning of the 20th Century]
• PÜREWJAW, S., Khuwsgaliin ömnökh Ikh Khüree. Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Ikh Khüree before the Revolution]
• PÜREWJAW, S., Mongol dakh’ shariin shashnii khuraangui tüük. Ulaanbaatar 1978 [Brief History of Mongolian Buddhism]
• PÜREWJAW, S., DASHJAMTS, D., BNMAU-d süm khiiid, lam nariin asuudliig
shiidwerlesen ni. 1921-1940 on. Ulaanbaatar 1965 [Resolution of the Question of Mongolian Monasteries and Lamas in the Mongolian People’s Republic (1921-1940)]

- RINCHEN, B. „Ulam saikhan bolj baigaa Ulaanbaatarin tüükhee“, Ulaanbaatarin medee” sonin, No. 1. (146), 1956. [About the history of the flourishing Ulaanbaatar]
- RINCHIN, M., Uls töriin khelme gdüülelt ba tsagaatgal, Tsagaatgakh ajiliig udirdan zokhion baiguulakh Ulsiin komiss, Ulaanbaatar 2000 [Political Persecution and Rehabilitation]
- SAMBUU, J., Shashin ba lam narirti asuudal. Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Question of Religion and Lamas]
- SEREETER, Ö., Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiiidiin tüükhen bütetseii towch. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999 [Short History of Ikh Khüree and Gandan Monastery]
- SHEPETILNIKOV, N. M., Arhitektura Mongolij. Moskva 1960
- SONOMDAGWA, TS. Manjiin zakhirgaand baisan üyeiin ar mongoliin zasag zakhirgaanii zokhion baiguulalt (1691-1911). Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Structure of the Mongolian Administration during the Manchu Period (1691-1911)]
- TSEDEW, D., Ikh shaw’. Ulaanbaatar 1964 [The Bogd’s Subordinates]
- TSÖLTEM, N., Mongol zurag. Ulaanbaatar 1986 [Mongolian Painting]
- TSÖLTEM, N., Mongolian Sculpture. Ulaanbaatar 1989
APPENDICES

Transcription of Mongolian words

Paintings, lists, maps
- List of monasteries and temples marked on Rinchen map No. 31. (Rinchen B, Maidar D. (ed.), *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaattii sudlal, khelnii shinjleliin atlas*. Ulaanbaatar 1979)
- Örgöö (1639) and *XIX zuunii Ikh Khüree* painted by unknown authors (*Ulaanbaatar. Khotiin atlas. Ulsiin geodezi, zurag zuin gazar*. Ulaanbaatar 1990, pp. 8-9.)

Photos of the Film Archives
- Züün Khüree: Maitrey Temple (K-24100), Square-shaped *aimag* temples (K-24056), *Dechingalaw* and the main assembly hall (K-24782), *Erkhem toinii aimag* temple (present-day Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery)
- Gandan hill: Avalokiteśvara Temple, *Lamrim datsan* and *Güngaachoilin datsan* (K-24735), Gandan hill (K-24228), the White Stūpa Assembly (K-24703)
- Palaces: White Palace (Geleta, p. 301.), Temple of Yonzon khamba (K-23983), Khaistai palace (Geleta, p. 185.), Temple Complex of Choijin Lama (K-23934)
- Foreign belief: Geser Temple (K-23974), Geser Temple (K-23973), Ortodox Temple (2708a, H-50377), Tārā Temple (K-23980)
- Outskirts: *Dashchoinkhorlin* (K-24782), *Tsetsee gün* (K-23876), *Dambadarjaalın* (K-23779), *Dünjingaraw* (K-24089)
- Festivals: *Tsam* (K-24863), *Tüü* (K-24803), Lamas (K-24802), Pilgrims K-24835

Data providers
- Dashtseren lama, Tserenpuntsog lama, Choinsüren lama

Charts
- Glossary
- Names of financial units (*jas*)
- Archives catalogues
- Vocabulary of Archives Sources
- *Aimag* and their corresponding countryside areas (*ew towkhan* relation)