

An up-dated version of this report was published in 2011.

Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree by Krisztina Teleki by the Insitutute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulaanbaatar. 2011 ISBN 978-99962-2-041-8

Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree, Ikh Khüree or Urga, the Old Capital City of Mongolia in the First Part of the Twentieth Century

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2006

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SUMMARY OF A SURVEY OF OLD MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES IN THE PRESENT ULAANBAATAR AREA

Survey Aim and Methodology

The survey on the old monasteries and temples in the present Ulaanbaatar area was carried out between September 2005 and March 2006.¹ The overall aim of the survey was to find and record the current situation of all the known monasteries that were operating in the capital at the time of the religious purges in 1937/9 or had been active at the beginning of the 20th century but were closed down ahead 1937. First there were those sites marked on B. Rinchen's map 31.² Second there were other temples not marked on Rinchen's map that were unearthed through sources and by individuals. Thus, in detail the survey aimed to: research the history of each temple; find those temples which remain intact (though it was known in advance that there are only partially intact ones which are scarce, too), those which had revived their monastic life in the partial remains and those which were only ruins or untraceable (i.e. built over); identify the exact sites (with GPS readings) of all the temples even those of which there were no remains at all.

The temples are described according to the number Rinchen gave (910-941), and other temples not marked by him are numbered from 942 (with the distinction NOT in Rinchen).

Sources used to identify the sites and determine their history were old maps, paintings and photos, books and articles published in Mongolian and also interviews with relevant data providers, especially old lamas. (See the main sources listed below or the Works Cited Section)

In addition to the entries describing the individual monasteries and temples, this report includes introductory chapters covering the formation and history of Ikh Khüree, the old capital (Historical Background) and an overall description of the old capital (City structure, Parts of the City and Their Temples).

Remarks on Transcription

A table is attached showing the transcription system used for Mongolian written in cyrillic. Classical Mongolian equivalents are given only in a very few cases. The Wylie system was used for transcribing Tibetan terms. Where a Sanskrit term has been used, they have been given without diacritical marks, as a compulsion. Chinese terms are also given without intonation marks.

The deity names and other Buddhist terms (names of monastery types, ranks, monastic vows etc.) are given in their Mongolian forms, which in many case means a distorted form deriving from the Tibetan and sometimes from the Sanskrit equivalent. In every separate entry at the first occurrence of the given term the Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents are given in paranthesis for easier understanding. Names of Buddha (*Sanjaa* or *Burkhan bagsh*, Tib. *sangs-rgyas*), Padmasambhava (*Lowon* or *Lowon Badamjunai*, Tib. *slob-dpon pad-ma 'byung-gnas*) and Tsongkhapa (Tib. *tsong-kha-pa*) are used in the text not in their Mongolian forms but in the way widely known from English sources (ie Buddha, Padmasambhava and Tsongkapa).

¹ The work of Krisztina Teleki was supported by the Hungarian Eötvös State Scholarship, and the work of Zsuzsa Majer by the Hungarian Scholarship Board and the Gate of Dharma Buddhist Foundation (Hungary, Budapest).

² Rinchen's map of Monasteries and Temples of Ulaanbaatar published in 1979 (the map, named *Khüree khiid Ulaanbaatar khot* [Monasteries and temples of Ulaanbaatar], is the 31st map in the collection edited by B. Rinchen and published under the name *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaatinii sudlal, khelnii shinjleliin atlas* [Ethnographic and Linguistic Atlas of the Mongolian People's Republic] Ulaanbaatar 1979)

In those entries for monasteries named in Rinchen's map, we have retained the name he gave in the first place. For name with a Tibetan origin, we have used his transliteration. In addition, a more correct transliterated form based on the current Mongolian pronunciation of Tibetan words is given together with the alternative names, where it was needed (*Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin* - *Ribogeji Gandanshaddüwlin*, *Narokhajidiin süm* - *Narkhajidiin süm*, *Dünjongarwiin süm* - *Dünjingarwiin süm*, *Shaddublin khiid* - *Shaddüwlin khiid*). Of course, there are other variations in spelling or transliteration in all cases. In the only case of *Tanshinjalbiin khural* we changed Rinchen's version to *Tantonjalbiin/Tantanjalbiin khural*, as *Tanshinjalba* is a mistaken form for *Tantonjalba*.

In references to temples we use the following abbreviations: 'Rinchen (and a number given)' for temples marked on Rinchen's map 31, 'NOT in Rinchen' for temples included in the Ulaanbaatar area survey but not marked on his map, and 'New Temples' for present-day temples included in a separate survey on the currently active Ulaanbaatar temples. Thus the reader can consult these referred entries for further details.

As for using the terms 'lama' and 'female lama' in the survey, we used these words for any member of an assembly (and individual lamas) as the best available option, being more suitable in the Mongolian context than using the terms 'monk' and 'nun'. In Mongolian the term *lam* (Tib. *bla-ma*), 'lama' is used for *gelen*, *getsel* (even for married lamas who do not keep the Vinaya rules purely) as well as *genen* (even though this is not a monastic vow but a lay vow) or *barmarawjin*, i. e. it is used for any member of an assembly thus all the above are considered *lams* in Mongolia. The same applies to the word *emegtei lam* ('female lama'), or to the more honorific *ane* (Tib. *a-ne*) for female lamas (members of nunneries/women assemblies), though *genenmaas* are often called *khandmaas* (Tib. *mkha'-'gro-ma*, dakini/yogini or female sky-goer, used for female practitioners) instead. It must also be emphasized that in Mongolia *genen* wear monastic robes. For many of them, becoming a *genen* is not the first step on the way to becoming fully ordained but a status they retain all their monastic life while still being considered full members of the assembly. Using the terms monk and nun seemed impossible in many of the above cases, therefore the terms lama and female lama were chosen.

The primary source: Rinchen's map

The map, named *Khüree khiid Ulaanbaatar khot* [Monasteries and temples of Ulaanbaatar], is the 31st map in the collection, published under the name *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaantii sudlal, khelnii shinjleliin atlas* ([Ethnographic and Linguistic Atlas of the Mongolian People's Republic] Ulaanbaatar 1979), edited by B. Rinchen. 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. D. Maidar and O. Pürew compiled the Ulaanbaatar map, under instruction from B. Rinchen. The map shows the palaces, temples and religious assemblies in the capital in the early part of the 20th century, and despite being deficient, is still the most complete record of them.

Maidar, one of the main contributors to Rinchen's atlas, also published a map of temples existing in Mongolia before 1937 in two books nearly a decade before the Rinchen atlas. In these, he listed 735 temples. (Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*. [Three maps of Mongolian Cities and Villages] Ulaanbaatar 1970, pp. 56-91. and Maidar, D., *Mongoliin arkhitektur ba khot baiguulalt*. [Mongolian Architecture and City Planning] Ulaanbaatar 1972, pp. 95-107.) In case of temples in the Ulaanbaatar area, Maidar lists fewer temples than the Rinchen atlas, again without descriptions, and this source was used to

compare with the Rinchen's map.

Oral sources: Data providers

At the time of the survey, several people were contacted who have precise data about the old capital (pre 1937/9). One of these is Dr O. Pürew 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. He has done extensive research for many years on the history of Ikh Khüree using the state archives and libraries. (His two principal books on Ulaanbaatar are mentioned below.) He provided useful information on those sites unknown to us from the written sources. 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.

B. Daajaw, an architect, is another researcher who has knowledge about Ikh Khüree. 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 sudlaliin ekspeditsiin 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 to us at the time of the survey. However, he published in 2006 three volumes on the history of Mongolian architecture (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tiiikh* [History of Mongolian architecture] 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 entries. Daajaw also provided useful answers to our questions.

Nowadays there are a very few old lamas still alive who were lamas in the old capital, before the purges. However, it was not easy, especially for female foreign researchers, to find them or especially, once found, to get them to talk about the religious life of the old capital. Furthermore, 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. Despite all this, we were able to meet and gather data from some of them. Among them who contributed the most to the survey was Dashtseren lama (born 1921) who we interviewed several times. He is now in the present-day *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery and witnessed events in the old capital having been a lama from 1926 until 1937. He became the lama of *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* in 1926 where he studied for ten years after which he took the *domiin damjaa* exam. He lived in *Choinkhorlin aimag* of Züün Khüree. During this time, he often visited the Red Sect temples in the laymen district of Khüree as well (which was especially important for the survey and, without his help, we would have no data on these small assemblies as there are absolutely no written sources on them). In 1938 he was forced to become a layman, and, after graduating in a financial school, he worked in a bank for many years. In 1982 he retired and in 1990, when the revival started, he became a lama in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery.

Other old lamas who provided data on their aimag temples and the religious life of Ikh

Khüree, were: Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (*ikh gesgüi*) 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*, Tib. *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, Töv 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 Ikh Khüree, but they either now live in the countryside, or did not become lamas again after 1990, which makes finding them more difficult.

The ceremonial language of Mongolian Buddhism is Tibetan, and Mongolized Tibetan words are much more widespread in religious vocabulary than Mongolian translations. It is sometimes very difficult to identify the original Tibetan root words of these Mongolized, distorted Tibetan words. Despite this we made every effort to find the original Tibetan terms for the Mongolian versions. Especially hard to identify were the names of special deities that were worshipped and some of the less common ceremonies held in specialized temples in the old capital. In some of these cases G. Buyandelger, the chanting master of *Dashchoilin* monastery, gave us assistance in finding the Tibetan root words.

In the case of some individual entries, others also contributed to the survey with their data. Their names are given at the separate entries.

The full English text of this survey was corrected by Sue Byrne, the ex-programme manager of Tibet Foundation's Buddhism in Mongolia programme. Without her help this text would not have been converted into what we hope is an enjoyable experience for our readers. She also gave us useful suggestions on how to modify the text in some places to make it more comprehensible for those with no or less background information on Mongolian Buddhism and encouraged us to include several explanations to improve clarity.

We would like to thank all our informants and the above people for their kind help and support in our work. Without their assistance this survey could not been completed.

Other published sources: Paintings, maps, old photos

For the survey we had other very important sources in addition to the Rinchen map. Firstly, the Jügder painting of Ikh Khüree, which he painted in 1913 having been commissioned by the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. According to Dendew (pp. 10-11), Jügder was a disciple of the famous sculptor, Gendendamba *agramba* who lived in *Zoogoin aimag*. Jügder climbed the surrounding mountains of the city to paint the map of Ikh Khüree. This picture is now in the collection of the Bogd khaan museum but prints of it are widely available in shops. Then there is a picture painted by Manibadar, in the Ulaanbaatar City Museum, which is based on Jügder's painting and shows the extent and details of the city. It is a large painting so the temples and individuals' buildings within them can be seen in detail. There is also a map drawn by an unknown painter, in the Ulaanbaatar city museum, which marks the places of the city with their names. 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. Another painting, by an unknown painter was published in a book on Mongolian architecture (Tsültem, N, *Mongolian architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988, picture number 45 which is a detail of the full

picture). This gives Tibetan inscriptions of the names of temples and the *aimags* showing the two main sections of the city.

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 history or art. (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.)

An atlas of the city published in 1990 (*Ulaanbaatar. Khotiin Atlas*. Ulsiin geodezi, zurag züin gazar. Ulaanbaatar) represents a map based on the picture painted by Jügder and a part of the painting *Naadam* of D. Damdinsüren. It is probably more easily available for those who are interested than the reprinted map of Jügder itself.

O. Pürew is intends to publish (in 2007) his map of Mongolia at the beginning of the 20th century (*XX зуунii ekhen üyeiin ar mongol (1900-1930 on)*) showing all the territorial units and monasteries. It will have a smaller map of Ikh Khüree with its component parts. We had the opportunity to examine and use this map as well.

Photographs taken in the time of Ikh Khüree prior to 1939 have also had great importance in researching the history of the old capital. The Film Archive in Ulaanbaatar houses a unique collection of old photographs containing many from different parts of Ikh Khüree with numerous pictures of temples, *datsans* and religious events (Boxes 92, 93, 95, 96, 21, 163). Descriptions from the aspect of architecture and some old photographs appeared in print as well, such as in the books on Mongolian architecture by Shepetilnikov (Shepetilnikov, N. M., *Arhitektura Mongolij*. [Mongolian Architecture] Moskva 1960), D. Maidar (Maidar, D. *Mongoliin arkhityektur ba khot baiguulalt*. [Mongolian Architecture and City Planning] Ulaanbaatar 1972) or N. Tsültem (Tsültem, N., *Mongolian architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988). Photographic references can also be found in researchers and travellers' books. We had only access to some of the them, such as the photographs taken by Sakari Palsi (a Finnish explorer, writer and anthropological filmmaker) (Halen H., *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Palsi. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der Nordlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909*, Helsinki 1982) or Geleta József (Forbáth, L., *A megújított Mongolia* [The New Mongolia], Franklin, A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára, Budapest 1934, see also its English translation Geleta, J., *The New Mongolia*, by Ladislaus Forbath, as related by Joseph Geleta; translated by Lawrence Wolfe, London, Toronto 1936). Some other old photographs are shown in Sereeter's book (Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. [Short History of Monasteries of Ikh Khüree] Ulaanbaatar 1999). Photographs of the present appearance of surviving temples appear in several publications. For example in the book on the cultural heritage sites of Mongolia (Dashnyam, L. (ed.), *Mongol nutag dakh' tüükh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümüünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999 [Monuments of Mongolian History and Culture].

These photos were used for the descriptions of individual temples where relevant. (These are referenced in the source section for the temple entry.) We also listed the availability of some of the old photographs in the separate entries, basically the film archive photographs and those pictures that appeared in one of the above books that are more easily available for the readers.)

Written sources

The most wonderful books on the old buildings and history of the capital are two books by Dr O. Pürew (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. [Centre of the Mongolian State]

Ulaanbaatar 1994, and *Mongol töriin golomt*. [Fire-place of the Mongolian State and Government] Ulaanbaatar 2004). These served as the basis of our research work.

The excellent book of Ö. Sereeter is the result of his research in the State Archive (*Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tiiükhen bütetsiin towch*. 1651-1938. [Short History of Monasteries of Ikh Khüree] Ulaanbaatar 1999). The books contain short but very detailed and useful information about the *aimags*, largest temples and palaces in the old capital.

Other useful sources were the books based on the reminiscences of two old ex-lamas published by Damdinsüren (Damdinsüren, Ts., *Öwgön Jambaliin yaria* [Reminiscence of Old Jambal], 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) and Naawan (Naawan, D., *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal* [Reminiscence of Old Dendew], Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961). 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 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.

The book *Öwgön Jambaliin yaria* ([Reminiscence of Old Jambal], published in English by Bawden under the title ‘Tales of an Old Lama’, further referred to as: “Jambal”) contains material from his 1950’s interviews with an old lama, B. Jambal (born 1882), who had been a lama of Ikh Khüree. He lived in *Khüükhen noyonii aimag*, belonging to *Badma yogo* college. 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. (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.)

Another eyewitness of the events was N. Dendew (born 1891), who moved to Ikh Khüree when he was 9 and became a lama. His memories were collected by Nawaan, D. and published under the title *Öwgön Demdewiin durdatgal* (‘Reminiscence of Old Dendew’).

However, the most significant description of religious life in the capital is in a book entitled *Mongolia and the Mongols* written in Russian by Pozdneev (Pozdneev, A. M., *Mongoliya i Mongoli*. T. 1-2. Sainkt-Petersburg. 1986, 1988) and translated into English (Pozdneyev, A. M, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank, D., Bloomington, Indiana University 1971). Pozdneev who later became a professor at the University of St. Petersburg, made several journeys (1876-1879, 1892-1893) to Mongolia. His first trip, which he went on with the famous Russian explorer G. N. Potanin, was sponsored by the Imperial Russian Geographic Society. He wrote various books about the state of Mongolia and Mongolian Buddhism at the time (see bibliography.)

During this survey other sources were also used. These have been listed in ‘Works cited’ and are mentioned as used in the entries for individual temples.

In some cases, written Tibetan and written Mongolian sources were used and are mentioned as well. However, we are aware that the findings of the present survey could be developed further to yield more detailed information about Ikh Khüree by the use of yet more sources such as written Tibetan and written Mongolian sources along with archive materials, which we have identified. For further reference, we have listed many works in the Bibliography section, which were not used for the survey or to which there are no references in the individual entries. (In the few cases where we have used written Tibetan and written Mongolian sources we have listed them in the individual entries.)

As Tibetan was the ceremonial language of Buddhism in Mongolia, several

Mongolian scholars composed Tibetan language works dealing with the religious history and biographies of masters, which also serve as data about Ikh Khüree. Some of them were published or translated to English or European languages as well, such as that of Dharmatala Dam-chos rgya-mtsho (Bira, Sh., *The History of Mongolia. (Tibetan text in Roman transcription. Dharmatala Dam chos rgya-mtsho.* Sata-Pitaka Series. Vol. 235. New Delhi 1977.; Darmadala, *Ikh Mongoliin orond deediin nom yamar met delgersen yosiig todorkhoi ögüülegch tsagaan lyankhuan erkhis khemeekh orshwoi.* Translated by S. Gombojaw. Ulaanbaatar 1995.); Gu-shri dka'-bcu Tshe-'phel (Huth, G., *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei. Aus dem Tibetischen des 'Jigs-med nam-mkha'.* Karl J. Trübner. Strassburg 1892.); Zawa lam Damdin (Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Golden Annals of Lamaism. Hor chos-'byung of Blo-bzang rta-mgrin. 'Dzam-gling byang phyogs chen-po hor-gyi rgyal-khams-kyi rtags-pa brjod-pa'i bstan-bcos chen-po dpyod-ldan mgu byed ngo-mtshar gser-gyi deb-ther zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so.* Sata-Pitaka Series. Vol. 34. New Delhi 1964; Zawa Damdin, *Khor Choinjün zawa. Umar zugiin Mongol ornoo deediin nom erdene üüden garsnii tüükh tsadig ölzii khutgiin müsheelh lawain egshig duun,* translated by Luwsandarjaa, Beijing 2007). Some recent works by Mongolian scholars on religious history use data from these sources, such as the book of Bürnee, D. and Enkhtör, D. (Bürnee, D., Enkhtör, D., *Mongoliin Burkhanii shashnii tüükhen surwalj.* Ulaanbaatar 2004).

Mongolian manuscripts also contain data about the history of the capital, mainly the biographies of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*. One of these sources was published and translated to English by Charles Bawden (Bawden, Ch. R., *The Jebtsundamba khutukhtus of Urga. Text, Translation and Notes.* Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1961). The most valuable source relevant to Ikh Khüree is the Mongolian chronicle, *Erdeni-yin erike* published and translated to Russian by Pozdneev (Pozdneev, A. M., *Mongol'skaya Letopis' "Erdeniin erihe". Materialy dlja istorii halhi 1636-1736.* Sankt-Petersburg, 1883).

Besides these chronicles, there are many other sources with incidental information on the temples of Ikh Khüree, which we only used at random. These include books written by travellers, pilgrims, or missionaries (such as the works of Ramstedt, Przevalskij, Tsybikov etc.). Some of them are listed in the Bibliography for further reference.

A unique collection of manuscripts and typescripts in written Mongolian are available in the State Archive, Party Archive and the Archive of the State Intelligence Agency (*Tagnuuliin Yerönkhii Gazar*) of Mongolia, containing much authentic information about the ceremonies, incomes and expenses of the given temples although they mainly concern the political events of the 20th century. Even though the researchers had access to the State Central Archive (*Ündesnii töw arkhiw*) and the Party Archive (*Namiin Arkhiw*), the amount of material was too enormous to include all of it in the survey, although some material has been used and is referenced.

OVERVIEW OF SURVEY RESULTS

The starting point for the survey was Rinchen's map, which records 31 temples and monasteries in Ikh Khüree. However, using information from other maps, published sources and the information given by our informants, we found 19 temples and monasteries to add to those recorded by Rinchen. Thus in all, the survey covered 50 temples.

However, if all the temples in the 30 *aimags* of Züün Khüree and the monastic schools and temples within the big monastic complexes, are considered separately, it could be said that there were about 100 temples in the old capital, Ikh Khüree before 1937/38. As Rinchen's map contains serious inconsistency in marking the big monastic complexes and their temples, we decided to make an additional entry to cover all of Züün Khüree (NOT in Rinchen 942), the eastern monastic part, and to describe the *aimag* temples in detail. On

Rinchen's map, this extensive monastic complex, Züün Khüree, is only marked by its central building or central complex, *Nomiin Ikh Khüree (Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin)* (Rinchen 910). In addition Rinchen marked one of the temples of this central part of Züün Khüree, *Dechingalawiin khural* (Rinchen 925) as well as one of the 30 *aimag* temples (*Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural*, Rinchen 926) on his map. These were kept as separate entries. 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* (Rinchen 912) as a separate entry. We have given a detailed description of the old complex and all of its temples and institutions in the entry for *Gandantegchenlin khiid* (Rinchen 912), retaining the separate entry for *Migjid Janraisegiin süm*. The remaining 18 additional entries for temples not recorded on Rinchen's map are for individual temples.

The outcome of the survey is a description for every site. For each entry Mongolian variants of the temple names are included and the original Tibetan version of the name is given as well. For the 'English name' of the temples, we used the method of simply translating the name(s) given by Rinchen and the other names used in the sources, together with the category given by Rinchen and the other sources.

Rinchen used special terms to indicate different kinds of temples, like monastic city (*khüree*), monastery (*khiid*), temple (*süm*) or shrine (*dugan*, Tib. 'du-khang, which has the same meaning as *süm* 'temple') and assembly (*khural*), but he is not consistent in their use. For example: the palaces, mainly founded by the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* are marked as temples (*süm*), although these were not used for religious ceremonies (911, 921, 922). Furthermore, many of the temples marked in the map had different names, for example *Dechingalawiin khural* ('Dechingalaw assembly') or *Dechingalaw datsan* (Tib. *grwa-tshang*, 'Dechingalaw monastic school or temple with privileged rights'), though in most cases, Rinchen gives only one name.

Among the 31 entries in the map, there is a Christian Orthodox Church (928), 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) dominates, although some temples combine Gelukpa and Nyingmapa features as well. Rinchen marked only two small Nyingmapa (Red Sect) assemblies (919, 920) although several others were discovered and included in the survey.

The entries under which the separate monasteries and temples are described contain the following: name of the temple (with all the name variants and alternative names), Tibetan name and the English translation of the name(s), a GPS reading (where it was possible to determine the exact location), and the description of the monastery/temple and its present state under the History and Current Situation headings.

The history section of the entries contains data on the circumstances of the initial foundation of the monastery/temple, the number and function of the buildings, description of religious life, deities worshipped, special ceremonies and religious events. The descriptions of the prominent monasteries, palaces and temples are lengthy due to the abundance of information from different sources. Unfortunately, there was very little information on the smaller assemblies in the available sources or from our informants.

The entries for current situation include: the present state of the temple buildings i.e. if there are remains or not, and, if yes, what are they used for and what condition are they in. In those very few cases, where an old temple/monastery has been revived since 1990 (see the 'Categories of Temples' list below) on the same or, in some cases, on a different site, the current situation part includes the description of the activities of the new temple as well: its re-foundation, the tradition it follows, the identity of the founder and the present head (if different), educational activities, connections with other Mongolian or Tibetan temples and

institutions, the number of lamas, the ranks held (titleholders), vows of lamas and, most pertinently, details of the religious practice i.e. specific rituals and ceremonies, and the principal deities worshipped.

In the case of many other temples where there are no visible remains of the temple as the site has been completely built over, it was not always easy to identify the exact location. (In some cases there was contradictory evidence as to the location of the site). It should be also stated that following Rinchen's map was quite difficult. It was hard to find the exact sites of many of the temples as the city structure has totally changed in the seven decades since the period to which it refers. Only a few of the buildings remain today (2005). In a few cases, with no published sources to help, and being unable to find any living informants (old lamas or people who had lived nearby) who could provide information on a temples or area, it was not possible to determine the exact site of a temple.

All in all, the importance of the outcomes of the present survey 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 been fully listed or mapped. Furthermore, the present survey covers 19 more entries than Rinchen's records. Moreover, until now, except for the most those historically important monasteries, the majority of the temples covered in this survey have not been described at all, or have only scattered references. With the help of our data providers we were able to include data even on some of the smaller assemblies that have no written sources. In addition we have been able to add specific data on the ceremonial life of many temples from the first hand information. Thus the survey results can serve as the basis for further research into the history of the individual temples as well as into the religious life of the Khüree overall.

Categories of Temples According to their state at the time of the survey

51 old monasteries and temples were surveyed including monasteries and temples marked on Rinchen's map and those not marked. They can be grouped into the following categories according to their current state:

No monastery complexes or individual monasteries/temples survived completely intact i.e all the old buildings still standing in their original state

In **11** temples/monasteries there are **partial remains** of old building(s) in different state of repair and used for different purposes:

- Monasteries in which some buildings remained and have been revived as active monasteries and temples: *Gandantegchenlin khiid* (Rinchen 912) with *Migjid Janraisegiig süm* as one of its temples although this was marked separately by Rinchen (Rinchen 913), *Dambadarjaagiin khiid* (Rinchen 939)
- Two of the yurt-shaped temples of Züün Khüree (NOT in Rinchen 942) survived and have been revived as *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin khiid*
- Ruined or partial remains of monastery buildings, which are now being used by new assemblies unrelated to the original one: *Baruun Geser süm* (Rinchen 914) and *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931).
- Practically intact historical complexes/temples now functioning as religious museums: *Bogd khaanii nogoon süm* (*Bogd khaanii öwliin ord*) (Rinchen 911), *Choijin lamiin süm* (Rinchen 915).
- An other temple building of Züün Khüree that survived intact but has been reconstructed several times and is now used for different purpose: *Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural* (Rinchen 926) (now a Circus College)
- Temples with partial remains that are now being used for different purposes: *Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm* (*Bogd khaanii serüün ord*) (Rinchen 921) (used as a domestic dwelling), *Khutagt Troitskiin süm* (Rinchen 928) (now a warehouse)

Of **40** temples/monasteries there are **no surviving remains** and, in about half these cases, it was impossible to locate the exact site of where the monastery/temple had stood.

- For **19** of them the exact site is known and the GPS was taken based on the sources and information given by informants: *Nomiin Ikh Khüree (Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin)* (Rinchen 910), *Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural)* (Rinchen 916), *Töwdiin khural* (Rinchen 918), *Tantonjalbiin khural (zodiin khural)* (Rinchen 919), *Tsagaan süm (Güngaa dejidlin)* (Rinchen 922), *Narokhajid süm* (Rinchen 923), *Dünjingarwiin süm* (Rinchen 924), *Dechingalawiin khural* (Rinchen 925), *Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural* (Rinchen 927), *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (Rinchen 936), *Shaddublin khiid* (Rinchen 937), *Bogdiin khiid (dugan)*, (*Tsetsee güinii khural*) (Rinchen 938, only the foundation of the temple remained), *Norowlin/Norowlinkhai* (NOT in Rinchen 943), *Lowon Jalbiin süm* (NOT in Rinchen 944), *Yonzon khambiin süm* (NOT in Rinchen 947), *Manj ambanii khurliin dugan* (NOT in Rinchen 949), *Jagarmolomiin khural (Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural)* (NOT in Rinchen 950), *Agwa datsan* (NOT in Rinchen 953), *Tsagaan suwragiin khural* (NOT in Rinchen 960)
- For **13** temples in the old district of Maimaachen (Chinese Town) individual GPS readings were not taken. All of them are in the district of Amgalan where our sources could only determine the sites roughly in relation to the buildings of *Dar' ekh Temple* (Rinchen 931) that did survive and the ruins of a Chinese store building. However, all these temples were situated in a relatively small area, only some metres from each other. In these cases we give the GPS of *Dar' ekh Temple* for each entry with the remark that it only marks the area: *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* (Rinchen 929), *Amgalangiin Geser süm* (Rinchen 930), *Urchuudiin süm* (Rinchen 932), *Kunziin süm* (Rinchen 933), *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (Rinchen 934), *Dashsandanlin khural* (Rinchen 935), *Odon süm* (NOT in Rinchen 945), *Erlig nomun khaanii süm 2* (NOT in Rinchen 948), *Choinkhorlin* (NOT in Rinchen 955), *Dejidlin* (NOT in Rinchen 956), *Dagdanlin* (NOT in Rinchen 958), *Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural (Maimaachen)* (NOT in Rinchen 959), *Puntsoglin* (NOT in Rinchen 957)
- In **4** cases there was contradictory data about the exact site, so the location could not be determined: *Dar-ekhiin khural* (Rinchen 917), *Dorjzodwiin khural* (NOT in Rinchen 952), *Yutawiin khural (Dagwa zodchiin khuraltai neg khashaand)* (Rinchen 920), *Dagwa zodchiin khural/Dagwa zodchiin süm (Yutawiin khuraltai neg khashaand)* (NOT in Rinchen 951)
- In **3** cases there was no precise information about the exact location though GPS readings were taken for some in the known vicinity of these temples: *Züün salaanii khural* (Rinchen 940), *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* (Rinchen 941), *Baruun salaanii khural* (NOT in Rinchen 946)
- **1** temple was not visited in the survey thus no GPS measurement was taken, as there was no informaton about its exact location. It seems there are no remains of this temple *Sanzain uuliin khiid (Sanzaidorjiin khural)* (Not in Rinchen 954).

LIST OF THE OLD MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES SURVEYED

- 910 Nomiin Ikh Khüree (Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin)
- 911 Bogd khaanii nogoos süm (Bogd khaanii öwliin ord)
- 912 Gandantegchinlin khiid
- 913 Migjidjanraisegiin süm
- 914 Baruun Geser süm
- 915 Choijin lamiin süm
- 916 Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural)
- 917 Dar-ekhiin khural
- 918 Töwdiin khural
- 919 Tantonjalbiin khural (zodiin khural)
- 920 Yutawiin khural (Dagwa zodchiin khuraltai neg khashaand)
- 921 Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm (Bogd khaanii serüün ord)
- 922 Tsagaan süm (Güngaa dejidlin)
- 923 Narokhajid süm
- 924 Dünjingarwiin süm
- 925 Dechingalawiin khural
- 926 Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural
- 927 Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural
- 928 Khutagt Troitskiin süm
- 929 Erleg nomun khaanii süm
- 930 Amgalangiin Geser süm
- 931 Dar-ekhiin süm
- 932 Urchuudiin süm
- 933 Kunziin süm
- 934 Tsagaan malgaitiin süm
- 935 Dashsambanlin khural
- 936 Dashchoinkhorlin khiid
- 937 Shaddublin khiid
- 938 Bogdiin khiid (dugan), (Tsetsee günii khural)
- 939 Dambadarjaagiin khiid
- 940 Züün salaanii khural
- 941 Bayanzürkhiin dugan
- NOT in Rinchen 942 Züün Khüree
- NOT in Rinchen 943 Norowlin/Norowlinkhai
- NOT in Rinchen 944 Lowon Jalbiin süm
- NOT in Rinchen 945 Odon süm
- NOT in Rinchen 946 Baruun salaanii khural
- NOT in Rinchen 947 Yonzon khambiin süm
- NOT in Rinchen 948 Erleg nomun khaanii süm 2
- NOT in Rinchen 949 Manj ambanii khurliin dugan
- NOT in Rinchen 950 Jagarmolomiin khural (Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural)
- NOT in Rinchen 951 Dagwa zodchiin khural/ Dagwa zodchiin süm
- NOT in Rinchen 952 Dorjzodwiin khural
- NOT in Rinchen 953 Agwa datsan
- NOT in Rinchen 954 Sanzain uuliin khiid (Sanzaidorjiin khural)
- NOT in Rinchen 955 Choinkhorlin süm/ khural
- NOT in Rinchen 956 Dejidlin süm/ khural
- NOT in Rinchen 957 Puntsoglin süm/ khural
- NOT in Rinchen 958 Dagdanlin süm/ khural

NOT in Rinchen 959 Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural (Maimaachen)
NOT in Rinchen 960 Tsagaan suwragiin khural

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The settlement, that later became the capital city of Mongolia known variously as Khüree, Ikh Khüree, Da Khüree, Bogdiin Khüree, Khutagtiin Khüree, or Urga was, in the beginning, a simple camp established by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar consisting of some yurts. The settlement moved many times. Although in the beginning other 'cities', such as Khowd, Uliastai and Khyagta were more important being Manchu administrative centers, 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 *jewtsündamba khutagts* (*jebcundamba qutuytu* in Written Mongolian, Tib. *rje-btsun dam-pa*) or *gegeens*, *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 on.

Manchu Overlordship

In 1691, a great part of Mongolia, the *Khalkh* territories, became a dependency of the dominant power in Asia, the Manchu Qing (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 Qing emperor in 1691 to send troops to fight them. At this time, the *Khalkh* Mongol territory was divided into four *aimags*, each led by their *khan* (Tüsheet khan aimag, Sain noyon khan aimag, Zasagt khan aimag and Setsen khan aimag). Each *aimag* was subdivided into numerous smaller territorial units (*khoshuu*). 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* ('bondsmen of a monastery' literally: disciples'), who were independent from feudal lords and were entitled to many privileges. The *Ikh shaw'* or 'Great *shaw'* had a key role in the life of Khüree as these areas and people were subordinated directly to the *jewtsündamba khutagt* himself (and his ecclesiastical estate).

The Manchu emperors, especially Kang-xi (1663-1722) and Qianlong (1735-1796) actively supported the spread of Buddhism. The emperors were known by their Mongolian names: Enkh amgalan (Kang-xi, 1663-1722); Tenger tetgesen (Qianlong, 1735-1796); Saishaalt yeröolt (Jiaqing, 1796-1820); Tör gerelt (Daoguang, 1821-1850); Tügeemel elbegt (Xianfeng, 1850-1861); Bürent zasagch (Tongzhi, 1861-1874); Badruult tör (Guangxu, 1875-1908) and Khewt yos (Puyi, also known as Xuantong, 1909-1910). They created a nobility among the Mongolians giving titles such as *wan*, *gün*, *beis*, *beil*, *zasag* and ranks for lamas such as *shireet*, *nomiin khan* to increase their influence in Mongolia. Many nobles and lamas chose Manchu princesses as their wives. Together with the *jewtsündamba khutagt*, the Manchus worked to spread Buddhism in (the present areas of) Inner and Outer-Mongolia. Despite being the religious leader of the country, the *jewtsündamba khutagt* had to refer important questions to the Manchu emperor, which could not be decided without the his

agreement. However, the *Oirads* in the western territory of Mongolia, resisted the Manchu conquest. However, by 1732 they too were defeated by the Manchus. 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* (literary ‘great’ in Manchu language). 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*: Establishment of Örgöö as his Camp

According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, *The Golden Annals of Lamaism*, 79r-93r) the 1st *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Luwsan dambii jaltsan (Tib. blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan) or Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723) was the most influential person in the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia and for its flourishing from this time onward. Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar 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, Öwörkhangaï aimag).

After studying in the biggest Tibetan monastic universities, he received initiations from the 5th Dalai Lama and from 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 Taranatha (1575-1634), who was a famous writer and historian, the last great representative of the Tibetan Jonangpa (Tib. *jo-nang-pa*) sect. He was given the title of *jewtsündamba khutagt* (Tib. *rje-btsun dam-pa*) by the 5th Dalai Lama. He also received a seal, numerous presents and fifty Tibetan lamas to help him to organize religious life and to found monasteries in his homeland, Mongolia.

Pozdneev published the Russian translation of a Mongolian chronicle, called *Erdeni-yin erike* (Pozdneev, A. M., *Mongol'skaja Letopis' "Erdeniin erihe". Materialy dlja istorii halhi 1636-1736*. Sankt-Petersburg 1883). Referring to this valuable source, which is the first account of Urga concerning its early history and re-locations, Pozdneev emphasizes the following data (*Mongolia and the Mongols*, pp. 44-45.): In 1651 Öndör gegeen, on returning from Tibet, founded ‘bras-spungs dge-rgyas gling with seven aimags (on the aimags see details below) at the “*nomun yikhe khüree*” (*Nomiin Ikh Khüree*). The exact location of this first residence is unknown. Its design was based on the Tibetan Drepung monastery (*Breiwen/Bereewen*, Tib. ‘bras-spungs), which was founded by ‘Jam-dbyangs chos-rje in 1416. Pozdneev draws the conclusion that the phrase Örgöö (‘residence, palace dwelling’, *örgöge* in written Mongolian) 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). Urga, the name cited for Mongolian capital in many Western sources derives from the Russian pronunciation of the word, *örgöö*. So it was that the city of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* became known by this name outside Mongolia. Öndör gegeen founded *Shankh* Monastery (later called *Baruun Khüree*) around 1650 and he also enlarged the nearby monastery *Erdeni zuu*.

In the lifetime of Öndör gegeen, his camp consisted of his palace and some yurts. With the establishment of the assembly hall it became a place of worship, with ceremonies and services held.

Pozdneev claims (p. 44.) that in 1651 the population surrounding the palace (*Örgöö*) was divided into seven territorial units or districts (*aimag*). Initially, the *aimags* had names with a specific meaning, like *Sangiin aimag* (‘aimag of the treasury’), *Zoogiin aimag* (‘aimag

of food'), *Jasiin aimag* ('aimag of the financial and administrative unit'), *Darkhan emchiin aimag* ('aimag of the honoured doctor'), *Anduu nariin aimag* (aimag of the Tibetans from Amdo district), *Örlögüüdiin aimag* (named after the nunny or nurse (*örlög ekh*) of Öndör gegeen or after his general (*örlög*)) and *Khüükhen noyonii aimag* ('aimag of the Noble Lady' ie. Öndör gegeen's wife). According to the Short history of Mongolian Buddhism (G. Diwaasambu, D. Taiwansaikhan, *Mongoliin burkhan shashnii tүүikhen toim*, p. 89.), Öndör gegeen created separate aimags for each of the Nyingmapa, Sakyapa and Karmapa sects, as all had been followed in Mongolia in this era. According to Sereeter (p. 9.), four new aimags were added during Öndör Gegeen's old age to the original seven: *Shüteenii aimag*, *Setsen toinii aimag*, *Bargiin aimag*, and *Bandidiin aimag* (See details of the aimags under entry 942).

In 1654 Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar moved to the Khentii Mountain area where he laid the foundations for a great assembly hall (*tsogchin*, Tib. *tshogs chen*), which was called *Riwogejigandanshaddublin* (Tib. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub-gling*). This settlement became known as *Züün Khüree* ('Eastern Khüree' (also known as *Sardagiin khiid*)), while *Shankh*, the previous residence of Öndör Gegeen, which is in today's Öwörkhangaï aimag, became known as *Baruun Khüree* ('Western Khüree'). From 1706 onwards, Öndör gegeen's camp became known as Ikh Khüree (Written Mongolian: *yeke küriyen*, Tib. *hu-re chen-mo*). The Mongolian word *khüree* means circle, ring, district or fenced-off territory, monastery or, in this case, a monastic city with its buildings situated in a circle or U-shape. He also established a retreat in Khangai Mountain, near his first home, called *E-Wam dga'-khyil* in Tibetan, or *Duwkhan/Töwkhön* (Tib. *sgrub-khang*). [In 2004 this was included on the list of the World's Cultural Heritage Sites, together with other sites in the Orkhon valley.]

Re-location of the Capital and the Formation and Development 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. It was known under various names in different periods of Mongolian history, such as Khüree [Monastic city], Ikh Khüree [Great monastic city], Nomiin Ikh Khüree [Great monastic city of the Teaching], Da Khüree [Great monastic city], Khutagtiin Khüree [Monastic city of the *khutagt*], Niislel Khüree [Monastic capital], Bogdiin Khüree [Monastic city of the *bogd*], then Ulaanbaatar, Niislel khot [Capital city]. According to Dendew (p. 10.), the city of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* was called Khaanii örgöö between 1639-1706, Bogdiin Khüree or Ikh Khüree khot between 1706-1911 and Niislel Khüree between 1911-24.

Pürew shows a sketch of the re-locations of Ikh Khüree over time (Pürew, *Ulaanbaatar 360*, p. 12.) that correspond with many other sources. Thus the residence (i.e. the capital city) of the *jewtsündamba khutagts* 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), Tsetserlegiin Erdene Tolgoi (1700), Daagandel (1719), Usan Seer (1720), Tamir (1722), Jargalant (1723), Iween gol, Ugtaal Jargalant (1724), Khujirtbulangiin Jargalant (1729), Burgaltai (1730), Sögnögör (1732), Terelj (1733), Uliastai (1734), Khüi Mandal (1736), Khuntsal (1740), Üdleg (1742), Ögöömör (1743), Selbe (1747), Uliastai (1756), Selbe (1762), Khüi Mandal (1772), Selbe (1778), Tolgoit (1839), Selbe (1855).

From the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* (1729-1757) the city was called *Khüree*. During this time eleven new aimags were added to the eleven founded by Öndör Gegeen, to give a total of 22.

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 (Yeke küriye qota in Written Mongolian). It moved west to Tolgoit, near Songino Mountain, in 1839 but then 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, which was called Yellow Palace (*Shar ordon*, ‘Yellow Palace’) or ‘The Yellow Palace or zone of the Bogd’ (*Bogdiin shar ord/ Bogdiin shar büs*) was on the right bank of Selbe River in the Eastern area (Züün Khüree) of the capital, which, according to Banzragch (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*. 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.

Between the period the capital settled in the area of today’s Ulaanbaatar and 1903, eight new aimags were added to the 22 making 30 in total. The *aimags* were residential and economic units, where people originating from the same territories in Mongolia lived together.

Ikh 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 Ikh Khüree increased throughout the centuries.

Capital Forming Activities of the *Jewtsündamba khutagts*

Pozdneev gives details about the gradual elevation of Urga and its formation into the main administrative center (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Luwsan dambii donme (Tib. blo-bzang bstan-pa’i sgron-me, 1724-1758) founded a tantric assembly (*jüd*, Tib. *rgyud*) called *Dechenshanaglin* (Tib. *Bde-chen gsang-sngags gling*) in 1739, and the first philosophical assembly (*tsanid*, Tib. *mtshan-nyid*) in 1756 based on the philosophical view of the Tibetan Gomang philosophic monastic school (*Goman datsan*, Tib. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*) of Drepung monastery. Pozdneev claims that the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 (*shaw’ nar*, ‘bondsmen’) affairs, and their administration was commended to the *shanzaw/shanzodwa* (the head of the *Erdene shanzodwiin/shanzudbiin yaam*, 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 (Sereeter, 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*. As the *khutagt* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Ish dambii nyam (ye-shes bstan-pa’i nyi-ma, 1758-1773) founded a medical monastic school in Khüree, called *Erdene emch* (Tib. *sman-pa grwa-tshang*) in 1760. Pozdneev adds that after the death of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1758 Huang-ti emperor issued a command considering the office of *shanzodwa*: “Although the *shandzodwa* 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 (Written Mongolian form for *shaw' nar*). For this reason it is commanded that the *Khalkh tusalakchi Chiang-shün* (*Khalkh: 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 Ikh Khüree. In 1761 a second *amban* was appointed for the same purpose, a Manchu one.

According to the Golden Annals (101v-116v) the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Luwsan tūwden wanchug jigmed jamts (blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug 'jigs-med rgya-mtsho) (1775-1813) after studying in Tibetan monastic universities, founded an astrological monastic school (Tib. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*) in Khüree in 1789. He was a highly intelligent and well qualified lama, attaining the *agramba* (Tib. *sngags-rams-pa*) degree, the doctor of vajrayana tantric studies. He founded the *Dechingalaw* temple (Tib. *bde-chen bskal-pa*) for the ceremonies of Kalachakra (*Düinkhor*, Tib. *dus-'khor*) in 1806, and re-named the tantric school, which was founded by the 2nd *jewtsündamba*, as *Badma yogo* (Tib. *pad-ma yo-ga*). Furthermore, in 1807 he established *Shaddublin/Shaddüwlin* (Tib. *bshad-sgrub gling*) (Rinchen 937) in a valley on the outskirts of Urga, as a place for meditation. In 1809 he founded the second philosophical monastic school (*choir*, Tib. *chos-grwa*) in Gandan next to the previous one in Khüree, based on the philosophical views of Losel Ling monastic school (*Losalin datsan*, Tib. *blo-gsal-gling grwa-tshang*) of the Tibetan Drepung monastery. In 1786 a decree was issued in Peking 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.

According to the Golden Annals (117r-120r) the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Luwsan tsültim jigmed dambii jaltsan (Tib. blo-bzang tshul-khrims 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1815-1841) renewed the two philosophical monastic schools in 1837 giving them the names *Dashchoimbel* (Tib. *bkra-shis chos-'phel*) for the first one and *Güngaachoinlin* (Tib. *kun-dga' chos-gling*) for the second one. 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 (Tib. *dga'-ldan theg-chen gling*) and the palace of the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* were built in 1838 in front of them. During the 5th's reign, the Maitreya temple to house the statue of Maitreya, the future Buddha, was erected behind the main assembly hall. Furthermore, palaces like *Güngaadejidlin* palace (Rinchen 922) and *Pandelin* (Rinchen 923) were established. In this time about 10,000 lamas belonged to Ikh Khüree.

Both the 6th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Luwsan baldan jaltsan or Luwsan dambii jaltsan (Tib. blo-bzang dpal-ldan rgyal-mtshan or blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1843-1848) and the 7th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Agwaan choiji wanchug prinlei jamts (Tib. ngag-dbang chos-kyi dbang-phyug 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho, 1849-1868 or 1850-1870) died before they reached adulthood.

As for the relics of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*, relic temples were built to house their funerary stupas. Amarbayasgalant monastery (in the present Selenge aimag), with its isolated and calm atmosphere, was built to the honour of the 1st *jewtsündamba khutagt* by the Manchu emperor and became a kind of retreat or summer monastery of subsequent *jewtsündamba khutagts*. The wooden relic temple of the 1st and the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagts* still stand there, but the relics disappeared during the purges. The relic temples of the 2nd, 3rd and 6th

jewtsündamba khutagts were built in the area of *Dambadarjaa* monastery (see Rinchen entry 939) but these were also destroyed during the purge. The temples which housed the stupas of the 5th, 7th and 8th *khutagts* still exist in Gandan though again their stupas were destroyed (see Rinchen entry 912).

The reign of the Bogd khaan: the autonomous period (1911-1921)

The 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Agwaan luwsan choiji nyima danzan wanchug (Tib. ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-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 (Qing, China's last dynasty). The 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 Khyakhta limited authority was granted to Mongolia (signed by Mongolia, China and Russia).) The Bogd khaan established a monarchy with a government of five ministers at the beginning. The Bogd and his ministers proclaimed Ikh Khüree as the capital of the newly established Mongolia. This period is called 'the period of Bogd khaan' or 'the period of autonomy' (*Bogd khaant üye*, *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 Kuo-min-tang or Chinese Nationalist Party, which was set-up in 1912 and led 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 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 Ikh Khüree in February 1921 and forced the Bogd khaan to move to *Manzshir* monastery (46 km to the south of Ulaanbaatar). According to Jambal (English text p. 57., Mongolian text p. 739.) Ungern's troops occupied Urga and killed many Chinese both *Gamin* soldiers or merchants. Jambal also recounts how, on the 15th day of the Mongol new year in 1921, Ungern went to *Manzshir* monastery with lamas and nobles and brought the Bogd khaan back to Urga. A *Danshig* (Tib. *brtan-bzhugs*, ceremony for longevity) ceremony was performed the next day in the *Tsogchin* temple to honour the Bogd 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 Party led by Bodoo, Danzan and Sükhbaatar. 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, after the Bogd khaan had passed away.

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 Ikh Khüree, such as *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*, *Janraisegiin süm* and the Green Palace. The Bogd khaan issued many commands (*lünden*, Tib. *lung-ston*) to preserve the pure life of lamas, and to keep disciple purer. He forbid lamas to go in parade robes to lay districts, to flirt with women, to do business or act as merchants, to play games such as cards and *shagai* (lamb's anklebone), and to fight.

The treasury of the Bogd and the treasuries of clericals and financial units of temples became much richer than ever before due to donations and high taxes.

1921-1940: The Gradual Suppression of the Church and the Purges

In English three great classical works give details about the stormy events of the 20th century of Mongolia (Rupen, R. A., *Mongols of the 20th Century*, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 37. Indiana University, Bloomington and Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1964 (new edition: Curzon, Richmond 1997); Bawden, Ch. R., *The Modern History of Mongolia*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London 1968 (revised edition: KPI, London 1989); and Moses, L. W., *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism*. Indiana University Uralic Altaic Series. Vol. 133. Bloomington, 1977). Other publications on the period include the works of Baabar (Baabar B., *Twentieth century Mongolia*. White Horse Press, Cambridge 1999), an other book of Rupen (Rupen, R. A., *How Mongolia is really ruled*. Hoover Institution, Stanford, California 1978) and the *History of the Mongolian People's Republic*. (Translated by William B. and Urgunge Onon. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1976). Other more recent books such as that of Ewing, T. E., Onon, Urgunge, Derrick P.; Stephen K., Bruce A. E. (ed.); or Morozova, I. Yu. are listed in the bibliography (none of them was available for the researchers).

Recently, Mongol researchers have started to publish books about the events during the Soviet era (Sandag, Shagdariin, Kendall H. H., *Poisoned arrows- the Stalin-Choibalsan Mongolian massacres, 1921-1941*. Westview, Boulder, Col. 2000; Soni, S. K., Dashpürev, D., *Reign of terror in Mongolia, 1920-1990*. South Asian Publishers, New Delhi 1995). The work of Ölziibaatar is based on extensive archive materials (Ölziibaatar, D., *Yaagaad 1937 on? [Why 1937?]* Ulaanbaatar 2004); and the book of Rinchin was published by the State Committee of Political Rehabilitation (Rinchin, M., *Uls töriin khelmegdüülelt ba tsagaatgal* [Political Persecution and Rehabilitation], Tsagaatgakh ajiliig uirdan zokhion baiguulakh Ulsiin komiss, Ulaanbaatar 2000).

What follows is a short sketch of the events of the period known as *khelmegdüüleltiin üye* ('the era of political persecution'). It aims to provide some background information to enable easier interpretation of the references to historical data that appear in the separate entries. The above books can be consulted for a more thorough study of this period.

After the the revolution of 1921, which brought the communists to power, though more specifically, after the death of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, 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 lived in the about 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, the Bogd khaan died, the communist government prevented a successor from being found. A prophecy which forecast that the *jewtsündamba khutagts* 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 (*san*) and the financial units (*jas*) 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 Archive, during the 1930's 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, Ikh Khuree, 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 State Party Archive's documents the religious activities, festivals, ceremonies and rituals, and all the requests of individuals for readings 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 Ölziibaatar, the first revolts against the monastic repression was in 1924-25 in *Bayantiimen*, *Namnangiin Khüree* (p. 288.). In the following years there were uprisings in the biggest monastic cities such as *Zayaaiin 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 (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 was 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. 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 about 900 monasteries and many smaller assemblies were closed most of them being completely destroyed between 1932 and 1940. In the two years between 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, *khutagts* ('saints') and *khuwilgaans* ('reincarnations') 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 became laypeople. 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. (It is estimated that there were about 1,000 monasteries in Mongolia before the purges, though the actual number may well be higher.) 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 recast 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 (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p 38.), and the outcomes of the present survey, 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 (p. 367.) 'Practically nothing survives in Ulaanbaatar to suggest that it lies on the site of the old Uрга, the centre of Mongol Lamaism and once a rival in artistic splendour to Lhasa'.

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 tölөөлөгч*) were appointed with the response to report to the Party and to participate in religious conferences to Moscow.

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.

CITY STRUCTURE, PARTS OF THE CITY AND THEIR TEMPLES

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.

Jügger'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. (Naturally, it does not mark the few temples founded after 1913.) The picture shows the structure of the capital city (Niislel Khüree) naming its main parts with Classical Mongolian inscriptions.

For this section of the report, we used the above mentioned two primary sources, in addition to the descriptions given by our data providers and informants and the written evidence of other sources. Therefore our 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.

What follows is a detailed description of the capital city and its different areas, with all the monasteries and temples surveyed being indicated by an identifying number.

Ikh Khüree

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 and 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 *Konsuliin denj*; and the Chinese merchant quarter Maimaa khot (Maimaachen).

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 *jewtsündamba*

khutagt 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 become independent; in 1924 when Mongolia became a People's Republic with a constitution after the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*'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.

Züün Khüree

Züün Khüree ('eastern monastic district') or Nomiin Ikh Khüree (*Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin*) as identified by Rinchen (Rinchen 910), was the biggest district in the city. This was the administrative centre as well as housing the fenced-off Yellow Palace (*Shar ordon*, founded first by Öndör gegeen in 1639 as his residence) of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*. The main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dуган*), called *Bat tsagaan* temple, was in the centre. The whole of the Züün Khüree area with its constituent buildings can be seen in the detail in Jügder's painting.

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 (*tümen gelen*) gathered here for the biggest ceremonies coming from all the temples in Züün Khüree and in Gandan. There were special ceremonies on the 8th, 15th and 30th of the lunar month. The other ceremonies depended on the wishes of the sponsors or donors (*jandag*, Tib. *sbyin-bdag*). The *Tsam* religious dance was performed twice a year in front of *Shar ordon* (Yellow Palace): a smaller one in winter (according to Gangaa, 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*, Tib. *brtan-bzhugs*) was also performed (Gangaa, *Khüree tsam*, p. 19.). The Maitreya procession (*Maidar ergek*), where the statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya was processed through the city, attracted many people. Other great annual ceremonies were held as well, such as the celebration of the Lunar New Year (*Tsagaan sar*, 'white month') with its ceremonies commemorating Buddha's defeat of six masters, the holders of heretical doctrines for fifteen days on in the first spring month.

The most imposing buildings of Züün Khüree and, indeed, the whole capital, were the golden roofed *Dechingalawiin khural* (Rinchen 925) within one fenced area with *Dorj powran*, the octagonal temple of the 3rd *jewtsündamba khutagt*, *Ochirdariin süm* (Vajradhara temple) and other yurt-palaces, temples and yurts which served as a place for religious and political meetings inside the enclosure of *Shar ordon*. Other buildings, yurt palaces were also situated here: for example, *Khökh torgon tugdum/ Töriin khökh 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 *Tünkhagiin khural*, *Namsrain khural* cannot be determined exactly, but they surrounded the residence of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*.

On either side of the *Tsogchin* temple, there were the *Noyon shüteenii süm* and the *Mamba datsan* (1760) for medical, *Zurkhain datsan* (1789) for astrological, and *Jüüd 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 *Maidar* temple housing the 16m high Maitreya statue. During the reign of the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* the abbot (*khamba*, Tib. *mkhan-po*) of Ikh Khüree, Agwaan Luwsan Khaidüw (Tib. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-grub, 1779-1838) 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.

Baruun örgöö or *Awtai sain khanii örgöö* ('Palace of *Awtai Sain khan*' or 'Palace on the west') was situated on the left side of *Shar ordon*.

Moreover, the central complex (described above) was surrounded by the 30 *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. It followed the principle of *khüree deg*, that is the arrangement of the *aimag* temples and the lamas' dwellings in a circle or, more exactly, a U-shape around the central area comprising the main assembly hall and the principal monastic institutions all of which faced south. Countryside monastic cities throughout Mongolia were arranged in the same way sometimes with separate *aimags* (such as *Daichin wangiin khüree*, present Bulgan aimag or *Sain noyon khanii khüree* / *Uyangiin khüree*, present Öwörkhangaï aimag), but in every case the lama population and laymen lived in yurts or fenced-off yurts placed around the temples of monastic complexes.

Every *aimag* in Züün Khüree (described in entry NOT in Rinchen 942) had many hundreds of lamas and its own square or yurt-shaped wooden or felt temple. One of them was *Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural* (Rinchen 926), the only *aimag* temple of the 30, which, for unknown reasons, is marked on Rinchen's map.

There were several printing houses (*barkhan*, Tib. *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.

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 whole district. It is said that policemen secured this order. There was a police unit called *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 latter half of the 19th century to patrol the environs of Urga and other settlements for fifteen miles around. (Bawden quotes this data from Natsagdorj, p. 167.)

On all sides of the boundary of Züün Khüree there were rows of prayer wheels on the peripheral road (*goroo*, Tib. *skor*, 'circumambulation, circumambulate'). That on the south were called *Dashchoinkhoriin khüird* (*ölzii khutag nomiin khüird*, Tib. *bkra-shis chos-khor*, 'prayer wheels of auspiciousness'). There were also stupas throughout Züün Khüree. 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.

Within Züün Khüree the streets and lanes were narrow and twisting with only a few gardens and trees. The gates of the *khashaas* (courtyards) were painted red, crowned with a tablet with the OM syllable carved on them (Pozdnev, p. 64.). 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.

According to Pozdnev's description (p. 64.), one saw hardly any signs of life in the streets of Züün Khüree. The *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *gegeen*'s palace was closed. Then, the worshippers either gathered in their lama friends' yurts or spent the whole day in the market place. This was where the majority of lamas, along with other residents of Khüree, passed their leisure time.

Gandan

Gandan (Tib. *dga'-ldan*) was the place of monastic education and pure morality in Ikh Khüree. As for the origins of its formation in the 19th century as a district in the capital, Pozdneev claims (p.76.) that *tsanid* rites (Tib. *mtshan-nyid*, philosophical studies) were introduced to the Khüree by Tibetan lamas, who came during the time of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* with the leadership of Namjal *gawj* (Tib. *rnam-rgyal dka'-bcu*) and Rinchin Dorj *gawj* (Tib. *rin-chen rdo-rje dka'-bcu*). When their number reached fifty, the *jewtsündamba khutagt* established a separate *aimag* for them in *Erdene zuu*. In 1756 he founded a temple for the study of *tsanid* (philosophy) in the area of Khüree and ordained Düinkhor Manjushri lama as its head. Those who completed the course and took the examinations could receive a degree, which only the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* he established in 1809 a large and a small temple for philosophical studies. The 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* enlarged the small temple and named the two philosophical temples, *Dashchoimbel* and *Güngaachoinlin datsan*. He also built his winter residence (*Didipowran*) on Gandan hill in 1838 on the terrace of Dalkh (*Dalkhiin denj*). The name of this district of the city became Baruun Khüree (*Barayun küriyen* in written Mongolian, 'western monastic district') or Gandan. The main assembly hall (*Tsogchin*) called *Gandantegchenlin* (Rinchen 912), which later became the name of the whole temple complex, was in a fenced area along with three temples built to house the stupas for the relics of the 5th, 7th and 8th *jewtsündamba khutagts*. In 1838, when Züün Khüree was moved to Tolgoit, some of the *datsans* were settled in Gandan (Pürew, *Mongol töriin golomt*, p 23-24.) behind the fenced area, namely *Dashchoimbel datsan* (originally founded in 1756), *Güngaachoinlin datsan* (1809) and *Badma yogo datsan* (1806). Later the temples of *Lamrim datsan* (1844), *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* (1910) and *Migjid Janraiseg* (Rinchen 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*.

This *Gandan* became the educational area of the city with only lamas living there studying in one of the monastic schools (*datsan*). 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 allowed to visit the temples and *datsans* for worship and prayer. This day commemorates three events in his life on the same day: his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he died, his parinirvana.

In the two principal monastic districts in Ikh Khüree, Züün Khüree and Gandan, the lamas lived in *aimags* depending on from where they came. In Öndör Gegeen's time there were *aimags* named after monastic functions (originally housing lamas who carried them out), 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. 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).

Four policemen stood on either side of the Gandan complex to enforce the law against woman 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.

The area occupied by Gandan can be seen in Jügder's painting in detail. As Pozdneev claims (p. 76.), there were 28 stupas on the west and north sides of Gandan sponsored and built by devotees. According to Dendew (p. 11.), these stupas and prayer wheels surrounded Gandan with *Jarankhashar* stupa (see entry NOT in Rinchen 960, *Tsagaan suwragiin khural*) in its northwest and the eight types of Buddha stupas in its northeast.

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 *khoroos* 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 *khoroos*' (*'khoroonii kharchuud'*) and the inhabitants of *Züün kharchuud* and *Ikh shaw* 'the lay people of the Khüree' (*'Khüreenii kharchuud'*).

Pozdneev claims (pp. 90-91.) that the *Khalkh* princes and nobles (*zasag*) had had their residences in the *khoroos* 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 *khoroos* were inhabited by different sections of the Mongol population.

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 (Tüsheit khan aimag, Sain noyon khan aimag and Zasagt khan aimag).

According to Dashtseren lama (born 1921), who is in the present *Dashchoilin* monastery, 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 (Tib. '*dul-ba*, Skr. 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*, *Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh Tsagaan lawain duun egshig khemeekh orshiwoi*, p. 68.)

The *khoroos*, despite being the lay districts, had many small assemblies and temples. For example there were the Gelukpa (Yellow Sect) temples, such as *Dar-ekhiin khural* (Rinchen 917), *Dorjodwiin khural* (NOT in Rinchen 952), and *Töwdiin khural* (Rinchen 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*) (Rinchen 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 (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*, Tib. *gsang-sngags-pa* or *agwa*, Tib. *sngags-pa*) who used magic formulas or mantras, practitioners (*düwchin/tüwchin*, Tib. *grub-chen*) of the great siddhi power, yoginis (*naljormaa*, Tib. *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 (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 45., *Mongol töriin golomt*, pp.66-67.), give information about the yurt quarter called Badarchinii 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 törökh gazar*). Here lived the extremely impoverished people with no shelter who 'have taken up residence amid piles of rubbish and all sorts of refuse' (Pozneyev p. 73.). Pozneyev 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.' Some pictures of these poor dwellings can be seen in the pictures of Sakari Palsi (Halen H., *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Palsi. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der Nordlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909*, Helsinki 1982, pictures No. 121, 122).

To the north-west of this yurt district there was a bridge over the Selbe River, called 'the bridge of the *zodoch* lamas' (*Zodoch nariin güür*). To the west of this bridge, on the right bank of the river, there was a small Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temple called *Tantonjalbiin dugan* (*zodiin khural*) (Rinchen 919) where the tantric rituals *Zod* (Tib. *gcod*) and *Lüijin* (Tib. *lus-sbyin*) were performed (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 45.). Note that there were other Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temples in the city (mainly in these lay quarters), such as *Jagarmolomiin khural* (*Dechinchöilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural*) (NOT in Rinchen 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 *badarchin* lamas followed the Red Sect traditions. On the south-west of *Tantonjalbiin dugan* temple lay the many yurts and tents of the *badarchin* lamas. In the north-west of the *badarchin* quarter, there was a stupa built with an archway through it (*ark* (*dugui khaalga*) *khelbertei suwraga*), also called 'the stupa of penetrating' (*shurgadag suwraga*) as the *Badarchin* lamas used to pass under it as they left on their travels (Pürew, *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 45.). According to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 68.), these pilgrim lamas went on pilgrimage, always on foot, to Wu Tai Shan in China, to Peking, to Tibetan monasteries like Labrang and to India. There was another arched stupa in this area, at a place called Makhonii dow ('the hill of flesh' or 'the hill of butchers') as there were many butchers in the vicinity who drove the cattle under this stupa before slaughtering.

The Buriat quarter was situated on the north of *Tantonjalbiin khural*, on the east of

Gandan hill.

The area of the South-Eastern quarter (*Züün ömnöd khoroo*) housed the Manchu and Mongol governors in a specific area called *Amban khanii khoroo*. There was the residence of the Manchu amban since 1786. According to O. Pürew (p. 37.) the last Manchu amban, Sanduo, who lived in Ikh Khüree until 1911, moved his residence from the above-mentioned area, and had his residence and shrine, *Manj ambanii khurliin dugan*, 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 (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 below) was the area called *Ikh shaw'*. The inhabitants were called 'People from the subordinated areas' (*ikh shaw'*) as they were subordinated to the *jewtsündamba khutagt* and his ecclesiastical estate. There was a temple here called the assembly of *Ikh shaw'* or *Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural* (Rinchen 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 90.) this district was established in 1883 as a place where lay people associated with *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery and *Dambadarjaa* monastery lived. They were also subordinated to the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 (*Mongol 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.

Palaces

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 sürgiin 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, *Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 25-29.). In this area there was: the winter palace called *Bogd khaanii nogoosüm* (*Bogd khaanii öwliin ord*) (Rinchen 911) with a garden, called *Norowlin/Norowlinkhai* (NOT in Rinchen 943); his summer palace called *Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm* (*Bogd khaanii serüin ord*) (Rinchen 921); and the White palace called *Tsagaan süm* (*Güngaa dejidlin*) (Rinchen 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 (p. 80.) had an alternative name, *Narokhajid süm* (Rinchen 923).

The temple of Choijin Lama and the Temples Situated Around it

South of *Züün Khüree* there was the *Choijin lamiin süm* (Rinchen 915), which was the temple complex of Luwsankhaidaw, the state oracle (known as *Choijin lam*) who carried out a special tantric practice in Ikh Khüree. *Yonzon khambiin süm* (NOT in Rinchen 947). The

temple of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* and Luwsankhaidaw's teacher (who bore the title *yonzon khamba* (Tib. *yongs-'dzin mkhan-po*, 'tutor abbot') was situated on the right side of *Choijin lamiin süm*. *Agwa datsan* (NOT in Rinchen 953), and presumably two smaller assemblies called *Yutawiin khural* (Rinchen 920) and *Dagwa zodchiin khural* (NOT in Rinchen 951) were located right to the north of *Choijin lamiin süm*. The whole complex can be seen in Jügder's painting.

Konsuliin Denj

According to Rupen (pp. 163-164.), before 1860, the number of Russians living in Ikh 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 Uрга (Russian name for Ikh Khüree) post office with more buildings being constructed around the consulate: an Orthodox Church called *Khutagt Troitskiin süm* (Rinchen 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', *Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 95.).

According to Pozdneyev (p. 94.) in the 1890's about 50 people were attached to the consulate with another hundred Russians living in Uрга. 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. There is no data on how many Russians lived here just before the purges of 1937.

Maimaachen

According to Rupen (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 things. Most of the Chinese formed a settled colony around Züün Khüree. According to Pürew's book (*Mongol 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 gatsaa ('village of abundant peace'). According to Rupen, it was the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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* (Rinchen 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 shops, 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 in the Chinese town. 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 shops (*püüis*, *pu zi/ pu li* in Chinese,). Pozdneev described Amgalan in 1870 as having 374 fenced-off yards (*khashaa*), 12 Chinese stores, 51 restaurants

and taverns and two hotels. Among the *khashaas*, 183 were occupied by Chinese and 191 by Mongolians. According to Pürew there were 25 large stores, some inside and some outside the fence (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 103.).

Pozdneev's book (pp. 77-89.) contains a detailed description on the lively life of Maimaachen. This settlement was quite different from Züün 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 (*Mongol 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*, Chinese yang pai). 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 (*khorooolol*). The northern part, around the Geser temple, was the largest part. To the west of it there was the administrative office of the Manchu Qing 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 *Nomtiin püüs* - remnants of it can still be seen today - and other stores.

Numerous temples were built in and around the Chinese town (Maimaachen). (This area is now known as Amgalan.) Rinchen's map marks seven of them. However, according to Pürew and Sereeter, there were seven further temples and shrines. Altogether, seven Chinese temples were situated in the south-east quarter (*khorooolol*) inside the fenced-off area of Maimaachen, while six Mongolian assemblies and a Chinese temple were located outside. Pozneyev claims (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 shoothsaying 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.' Pozneyev's description relates to the state of Maimaachen at the end of the 19th century (1870's-1890's).

However, research proves that there were more than four temples in Maimaachen. Those built inside were all Chinese temples, with Chinese lamas called *khuushaan* 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* (NOT in Rinchen 945) and another temple called *Kunziin süm* or *Künz bogdiin süm* to honour Confucius (Rinchen 933) on its left and a Moslem temple, *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (Rinchen 934) nearby on its west. North of *Odon süm* the temple of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) was situated. On its left *Erleg khaanii süm*, and *Mujaanii* or *Urchuudiiin süm* (Rinchen 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 Pozneyev (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 Peking. Its headquarter 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 (Rinchen 929) and one outside the fence, on the north-west (NOT in Rinchen 948), as O. Pürew says. The prison was located in the south-west (*khorooolol*) of the Chinese quarter.

Manchu regulations forbade the Chinese to bring their wives and families with them to Urga. 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 Ö. Sereeter (*Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*, 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 104-105) in the south area of *Baruun khoroo* the small temple of *Choinkhorlin (Nomiin khürdiin süm*, NOT in Rinchen 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, but we were unable to identify it. At the east end of this road, there was the Assembly of Zöd tantric masters belonging to the Red Sect (*Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural*, NOT in Rinchen 959), which was founded during the reign of the Bogd khaan. The name of this temple is currently unknown. On the east of the Zöd temple, in a fenced off yard, there was the large Mongolian-Chinese style building of *Dashsamdanlin datsan/khural* (Rinchen 935) or *Erliziin 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 khural (Enkh amgalant süm*, NOT in Rinchen 956). It operated in a large yurt-shaped temple building. On the east side of the protection wall (*yampai*, Chinese yang pai), to the south of the town there was a large temple called *Dagdanlin khural (Bat mönkhiiin süm*, NOT in Rinchen 958). According to Ö. Sereeter (*Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*, p. 82), there was a temple called *Puntsoglin süm (Khotol chuulalt süm*, NOT in Rinchen 957), which was also situated outside the Chinese town.

According to Ö. Sereeter (*Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*, p. 82), 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 104), places the large temple of *Erleg nomun khaan* (NOT in Rinchen 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 the Maimaachen fence, where the coffins were placed on the ground uncovered according to Chinese burial costumes. (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.)

There are photographs of the Maimaachen temples in the Film Archive (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* (see these entries). 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 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.

At the time of the survey, in the whole area once called Maimaachen, there are only some renovated remnants of the *Dar' ekhiin süm* temple still standing along with some remains of the store, *Nomtiin püüs* with another old building situated between the two.

The merchant districts (Damnuurchin/Damnuurgachin)

In 1877 new Chinese stores (*püüs*, Chinese *pu zi/ pu li*) 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* ('eastern area of porters') and *Baruun damnuurchin* ('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 (*Mongol 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 (*Mongoliin 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. There was a long street with nine cross streets. In the 1920s some of the biggest Chinese firms moved here from Maimaachen. In 1927 the *Geser süm* assembly was moved to this district and established at *Baruun Geser süm* (Rinchen 914). Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p 83-84., *Mongoliin 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 (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.)

Temples and Monasteries in the outskirts of Ikh Khüree

In the area of the Chingeltei Mountain, north of the capital, there were two bigger monasteries, *Dambadarjaagiin khiid* (Rinchen 939) and *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (Rinchen 936), and a meditation centre, *Shaddublin khiid* (Rinchen 937). All these three monasteries are indicated on Jügder's painting.

There were also chapels with temporary assemblies in the surrounding countryside, which were dedicated to worshipping the local mountain spirits. Such temples were: *Dünjingarwiin süm* (Rinchen 924), *Bogdiin khiid (dugan)* or *Tsetsee güni khural* (Rinchen 938), and *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* (Rinchen 941). Other assemblies worshipped the spirits (*lus*, Tib. *klu*) of springs and other holy waters (rivers, lakes, springs), such as *Züün salaanii khural* (Rinchen 940), *Baruun salaanii khural* (NOT in Rinchen 946) and *Lowon Jalbiin süm* (NOT in Rinchen 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 mountains (Bogd khan, Songino, Chingeltei, Bayanzürkh) surrounding the capital. Local shepherds were the main visitors to these shrines. (One such assembly was the *Sanzain uuliin khiid/Sanzaidorjiin khural*, NOT in Rinchen 954). Most of these temples are not represented on Jügder's painting as they were situated a long way from the centre.

Economic life of temples (the institution of jas)

The treasury income of the *jewtsündamba khutagt (ikh san)* came from the income from the palaces, *aimags*, *datsans* of Ikh Khüree and from the monasteries that belonged to the *Ikh shaw'* territories. The high-ranking lamas (*khutagt, khuwilgaan*) had their own treasuries called *san* and economic units of the temples were finance offices called *jas* (Tib. *spyi-gsog*, public accumulation/ reserves). The growth in the number of the temple's livestock, reared and grazed on pastures by subordinates, the predicted profit from the herds, namely *airag*, milk and other dairy products, felt, and leather were considered as taxes. Money raised from sales of the livestock, renting property, inheriting property and also devotees' donations to 'Buddha, the Teaching and the lama community' for the services performed contributed to the income of these financial units. These donations included a wide variety of goods such as herds, flocks, brick tea, meat, dairy products, flour, fat, silk scarves (*khadag*, Tib. *kha-btags*), silk, juniper, grains and fruits, and later money. Everyday affairs, such as performing ceremonies, making offerings to the deities, preparation of lamas' meal and bigger expenses like repairing the temples were all paid from the assets of these units.

Physically, these units were housed in small buildings near their temple within the enclosing fence. Besides the *Ikh jas* ('great 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 *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 sacrificial cake (*dordow*, Tib. *gtor-sgrub*) to *Lkham* (Tib. *lha-mo*, Skr. Shridevi) goddess, with *Günregiin jas* the *Günreg* (Tib. *kun rig(s)*) ceremonies for the deceased, with *Awidiin chogiin jas* the ceremony for longevity, while in a temple with *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas* the ceremony of reading the mantra of *Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, Skr. Tara) 100,000 times was performed regularly. Besides operating *san* and *jas*, devotees often offered gifts to high-ranking lamas, such as the abbot, chanting master or disciplinary master.

The manager (*daamal*), the treasurers or bookkeepers (*nyaraw*, Tib. *gnyer-pa*), and the

clerks (*bicheech*) were responsible for the financial affairs of a temple. They kept annual accounts with detailed lists of all income and expenditure by the temple.

Main monastic and administrative ranks in Ikh Khüree

The hierarchy of the lamas is described by Sereeter (p. 55.) and Dariimaa (p. 18.). The seven highest-ranking lamas in Ikh Khüree, namely the head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*), the vice abbot (*ded khamba*) and the five *tsorj* (Tib. *chos-rje*, 'lord of religion') were appointed by the *jewtsündamba khutagt* himself. The communal name for them was 'the seven *tsorj* of Ikh Khüree' or 'the seven *tsorj* of the *bogd*' (*Ikh Khüreenii doloos tsorj* or *Bogdiin doloos tsorj*). They all had to be fully-ordained lamas (*gelen*, Tib. *dge-slong*) with *agramba* (Tib. *sngags-rams-pa*) degree, the highest level tantric exam (Dariimaa, p. 18.). Due to their main role in religious affairs, the last holders of these offices were all sentenced and executed in 1937.

The *khamba nomon khan* was the highest religious office holder in Ikh Khüree, being the most significant cleric person apart from the *jewtsündamba khutagt*. As Sereeter mentions (pp. 96-108.) the 1st *khamba nomon khan*, Luwsanjambaldanzan (Tib. *blo-bzang jam-dpal bstan-'dzin*), *lowon* (Tib. *slob-dpon*, 'master') lama of the Tibetan *Namjil datsan* (Tib. *nam-rgyal grwa-tshang*) came to Mongolia at the invitation of Öndör gegeen and on the request of the 5th Dalai Lama. He arrived in the early 1650's and became the abbot (*shireet lam*, Tib. *khri-pa*, '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. Luwsankhaimchog lama, 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 Luwsankhaidaw 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 *Tsogchin* temple 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 (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 khiid*, *Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, p. 73.) claims that the last five *tsorj* of Bogdiin Khüree besides *Yonzon khamba* Luwsankhaimchog 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), Dugarjaw *tsorj* of *Namdollin aimag* and Mangal *tsorj* of *Biz'yaagiin aimag*.

Together with the *tsorj* the four disciplinary masters (*gesgüi/gebküi*, Tib. *dge-bskos*) and the four chanting masters (*umzad/unzad*, Tib. *dbu-mdzad*) of the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dугan*) 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.

The *erdene shanzodwa/shanzaw* was the supreme administrator of the entire department of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* and was also responsible for the affairs and properties of Ikh Khüree as well as the *shaw' nar* (people subordinated directly to the *jewtsündamba khutagt* and his ecclesiastical estate). The *erdene shanzaw* was appointed by

the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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-ordained or have a high academic degree in religious philosophy. Two *da lams* ('great lamas'), 16 *zaisans* (chief officers), 8 clerks (*bicheech*), 20 guards or adjutants (*khia*, Tib. *sku-srung*) supported his work with many lay *zaisans*, princes and other attendants. The first *shanzaw*, Dagwalhündew, fulfilled the position from the 1690's. He supervised Öndör gegeen's treasury and managed the affairs of his subordinated people (*shaw' nar*). However the institution of *shanzaw* was reformed in 1767 and 1772 (Sereeter, pp. 122-131.). The last person to bear this title was Jigmiddorj who was the 22nd *shanzaw* until 1924.

According to Sereeter (p. 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.

Many other attendants supported the everyday life of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* (see details in Pozdneev's chapter on the monastic hierarchy, pp. 221-234.).

Furthermore, according to Soninbayar (*Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, pp. 64-65.) beside the *seven tsorj* of the Bogd, the seven main privileged *khutagts* with seal (*tamgatai khutagt*, 'khutagts with a seal') had the right to sit in distinguished places in any ceremony held in Ikh Khüree. These seven main *khutagts* were called *goliin doloon khutagt* ('the main seven khutgat').

Ranks and other duties in the individual monasteries and temples

Apart from the above-mentioned monastic and administrative ranks in Ikh Khüree, every aimag temple and *datsan* had its own 'staff'. They were lead by the head (*tergüün*) who bore the title *khamba* (Tib. *mkhan-po*, 'abbot'). Then there was the *tsorj* (Tib. *chos-rje*, 'lord of religion'), or *lowon* (Tib. *slob-dpon*, 'master'). In *datsans* the head was called *shunlaiw* (Tib. *gzhung lugs-pa/ gzhung las-pa*). In every temple there were disciplinary masters and chanting masters whose number depended (and as these ranks are the same today, still depends) on the size of the temple.

In every temple the offering master (*chombon, chowombo*, Tib. *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 (*golch*), taking a leading part in the recitation. Disciplinary assistants (*geyeg*, Tib. *dge-g-yog*) helped with the activities of the disciplinary masters (*gesgüi*) while the shrine keepers (*duganch*, Tib. 'du-khang-pa) were responsible for keeping the temples clean and ensuring that the right belongings or accessories were ready when needed. Furthermore guards (*sakhiul*) and tea-servers (*manzach*) were appointed by the disciplinary masters.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLES AND MONASTERIES IN IKH KHÜREE

Rinchen 910 - Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin (Nomiin Ikh Khüree)

Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin, Erebgogejigandanshaddublin, Ölziig badruulagch tögs bayasgalant nomlol бүтээлн сүм

Tibetan name: ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling

English name: Nomiin Ikh Khüree, Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin

GPS was taken at the garden of the courtyard of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children's Creativity (*Khüükhediin urlan бүтээх төв*), the presumed site of the old *Tsogchin* temple

Elevation 1294 m

N 47°55.583'

E 106°55.030'

Data providers: Dr O. Pürew; Dashtseren lama of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery (Born 1921); Ts. Dorj lama of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery of Zuunmod (1901-2007); L. Dashdorj (born 1918), living near Altanbulag sum centre, Töv aimag

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Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos:

Tsültem (intr. 12 (*Maidariin süm*), 22; 34 (*Tsogchin dugan, Manba datsan and Noyon shüteenii süm*), 43 (*Manba datsan*), 44, 45 (*Jüd datsan*), 50-52 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*), 56, 57 (*Dorj powran or Naiman taltai süm*), 158 (bronze stupa))

Maidar (63 (*Maidariin süm*), 107)

Sereeter (56 (*Tsogchin dugan, Emch nariin datsan*), 64 (*Jüd datsan*), 66 (*Emch nariin datsan*), 70 (*Maidariin süm*), 84, 84 (*Dechingalwiin datsan*), 90 (*Dorj powran or Naiman taltai süm*)),

Film Archive K23997-K24101 (pictures of Züün Khüree and Shar ordon), K23677-K23712 (24100 (*Maidariin süm*), 24081 (printing house), 24020 (*Dechingalwiin dugan, Rigsümgombiin süm*), 24030 (*Dorj powran or Naiman taltai süm*), 24035 (*Maidariin süm*), 23999 (*Dechingalwiin süm*), 24005 (*Dechingalwiin dugan, Rigsümgombiin süm*), 24009 (*Dechingalwiin dugan, Tsogcin dugan, Maidariin süm*), 24059 (*Tsogchin dugan*), 24061

(bronze stupa), 24062 (*Emch nariin datsan*), 23699 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*))

Shepetilnikov (24, 94, 27-29, 31, 57, 43, 79-82)

Palsi (103, 105, 106)

Geleta/Forbáth (120, 121, 152 (*Dechingalwiin datsan*)), etc.

Drawings / maps: Tsültem (intro. 26 (map sketch of Züün Khüree), Maidar (57, Maidar's sketch of *Tsogchin dugan*, the same picture can be found in Tsültem, 20)

Current situation

In 1937 all the temples were totally destroyed. Today the whole area has been built over so there are no remains.

Historical background

Öndör Gegeen, Zanabazar, established the first capital city in 1654 in the territory called later Baruun Khüree ('Western Khüree', today Öwörkhangaï aimag, *Shankh*), central to which was the great assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*, Tib. *tshogs chen* 'du-khang). The whole complex was named *Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin* / *Rebogeji Gandanshaddüwlin*. When the capital moved for the first time (to Züün Khüree, 'Eastern Khüree', in today's Khentii aimag) the *Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin* 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 Gandanshaddublin*, which, from that time onwards throughout the numerous relocations, was always the main assembly hall of the capital on each site. (The actual building always retained the same design: a one-storey wooden structure on a quadrant base covered by white felt.) 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 several times within 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt's* residence (*Shar ordon*, 'Yellow Palace'), was situated on the right bank of Selbe River. According to Banzragch (p. 15.), Züün Khüree occupied around 720×720 *ald* (1 *ald*=1.6 m) (equivalent to 1,300sqm).

The name *Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin* cited by Rinchen refers either to the great assembly hall itself or to the whole central area of Züün Khüree. Rinchen gives another name (*Nomiin Ikh Khüree*), from which we can draw the conclusion that he may have wanted to use the name of the assembly hall to stand for the whole of Züün Khüree. However, he did separately record some other temples within Züün Khüree. For example: *Dechingalawiin khural* (Rinchen 925), which stood inside the central part that was the main court of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*; *Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural* (Rinchen 926) that was the temple of one of the 30 *aimags* of Züün Khüree, the places where the lama population lived and that surrounded the court. These contradictions make it impossible to determine what Rinchen meant by *Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin*. Therefore, in this entry we describe the central part of Züün Khüree and have written a separate entry for the 30 *aimags* also part of Züün Khüree as every *aimag* had its own temples with numerous lamas.

The central part consisted about 15 buildings and yurts, situated in two fenced areas known as *Shar ordon* or Yellow Palace, and around them. Jügder's painting shows them in details. The name *Shar ordon* or Yellow Palace comes from the fact that the fence around the courtyard was yellow (Pozdneev, p. 59.).

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

There were many monastic schools (*Zurkhain datsan*, *Jüd datsan*, *Dechingalaw datsan* or *khural*, *Manba datsan*), temples and shrines (*Tsogchin dugan*, *Dorj powran*, *Dar' ekhiin süm*, *Maidar*, *Eregsümgombiin süm*, *Noyon shüteenii süm*, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Tünlkhaiin khural*, *Namsrain khural*, etc.) circling the residence of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*, some inside the two fenced areas and some immediately outside it.

According to Sereeter (p. 55.), the great treasury (*Ikh san*) of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* financed all the monastic schools (*datsan*), temples and assemblies (*khural*) located inside the fence of the Yellow Palace (see below). Two institutions, namely *Gandantegchenlin* temple (see Rinchen 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*: *Nyamba dayaanii Shadduwlin khiid* (Rinchen 937), *Büteeliin jas* (financial unit) connected to the *Maaniin büteeliin khural*, i.e. the ceremony in which *Janraiseg's* (Tib. *spyen-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara) prayers were recited; *Noyon shüteen*, where the assembly of continuous fasting meditation (*Mönkh nünain khural*) was gathered; the assembly of *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed* (Tib. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitayus) (*Ayuushiin khural*) called *Tseteew* (probably the same as *Tsedew*, Tib. *tshe-sgrub*, 'long life practice'); the printing house called *Sümbüm* (*nom burkhanii bar khewleliin gazar*); the non-stop assemblies (*Duu tasrakhgüi khuraluud*), *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (Rinchen 935) and its *aimags*; and the congregations of *Gürem* (Tib. *sku-rim*), *Ganjuur* (Tib. *bka'-gyur*) and *Soleg/Solog/Solkh* (the term *Solgiin dugan* cannot be identified, probably Tib. *gsol-gyi* 'du-khang?').

After 1925 the operation of some of the temples was supported by the *Ochirdar'/Wachirdar'* (Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. Vajradhara) treasury (*Wachirdariin san*), the treasury belonging to the temple called *Ochirdariin süm*. In 1925, after the death of the Bogd khaan (8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*) and the formation of the new government, the financial units (*san*, *jas*) were also reformed. In spring 1938 all the temples were destroyed or nationalized for use for other purposes. According to Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 11., *Mongoliin 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, and the wooden hedge (*shörgön khashaa*) that surrounded the main square in front of the Yellow Palace, were destroyed.

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.

Tsogchin dugan

The *Tsogchin dugan* (Tib. *tshogs chen* 'du-khang'), the great assembly hall, stood at the centre of the complex, 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. Pozneevev (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 42×42 m and accommodated 2,000 lamas during the daily chanting.

According to Pozneyev (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* (Tib. *chos-'khor dus-chen*, 'great day of the turning of

the wheel of Dharma') 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 Maitreya feast (*Maidar ergekh*) in the 3rd or 4th month; and the presentation of *Danshig* offering (Tib. *brtan-bzhugs*) for the longevity of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*.

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*, Tib. *chas-len*) 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 (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*, Tib. *seng-khri*, 'lion throne') of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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* (Tib. '*jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka) and the main protector was *Lkham* (shortly for *Baldan lkham*, Tib. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Skr. Shridevi) (Sereeter, pp. 54-56.).

According to Dariimaa (p. 52.), a large sculpture called *Ikhiin Zuu* ('Buddha of the Great') made by Öndör *gegeen* was placed on its own on main assembly hall 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 (*khangal*) and the silken pictures representing the various offerings dedicated to them one by one (this kind of thangka composition is called *ganzai*, Tib. *bskang-rdzas*, 'articles of sacrificial offering, fulfillment offerings') 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* (Tib. *zhal-bzhi*, four-faced Mahakala), *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, Skr. Mahakala), *Ochirwaan'* (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje* / *phyag-rdor*, Skr. Vajrapani) are now kept in *Gandan* (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286).

The *Tsogchin* also possessed treasuries or warehouses (*san*) 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*.

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*. Many financial units (*jas*) belonged to the temple including the following: *Ikh jas* (one *Ikh jas* belonged to almost every temple), *Yerööl Ganjuuriin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Shaddüwlingiin jas*, *Düinkhoriin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Chogiin jas*, *Khailan jas*, *Duu tasrakhgüi Ochirwaaniin jas*, *Gombiin jas*, *Ulaan sakhiusnii jas*, *Shiirawnyambiin jas*, *Nyamba Ayuushiin jas*, *Zagsambariin jas*, *Maaniin büteeliin jas*.

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.

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.

The head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*), the vice abbot (*ded khamba*), the five *tsorj* of Ikh Khüree and the four main disciplinary masters (*ikh gesgüi*), the four main chanting masters (*ikh umzad*) of the great assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*) ruled on every religious issue and problem in the whole capital. These lamas were the highest-ranking lamas apart from the *jewtsündamba khutagt* who appointed them. Thus the *khamba nomon khan* was the abbot of all Ikh Khüree.

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

In the *Tsogchin* temple chanting by old lamas and novices was held every day. There were special ceremonies on the 8th, 15th and 30th of the lunar month. The other ceremonies depended on the wishes of the sponsors or donors (*jandag*, Tib. *sbyin-bdag*). 10,000 lamas from Züün Khüree and Gandan gathered here for the biggest ceremonies. *Tsam* religious dance was performed twice a year in front of *Shar ordon*. On the 9th of the first winter month 9 dancers participated in the dance, and on the 9th of the last summer month about 100 deities were represented. The spring feast and circumambulation of the statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya attracted many people. Other great yearly ceremonies were held as well, such as the celebrations during the Lunar New Year (*Tsagaan sar*, ‘white month’).

A photo of the temple is available in the Film Archive (K24059) which also appears in in Tsültem’s book (picture 34). It shows the main assembly hall with its surrounding fence and the entrances.

The temple was destroyed in 1938. The temple stood in the western part of what is now the courtyard of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children’s Creativity (*Khüikhediin urlan büteekh töw*, previously known as the *Pioneeriin Ordon*, ‘Pioneer Palace’).

The buildings in Shar ordon

Dechingalawiin khural (*Dechingalaw temple*, Kalachakra temple) was the most imposant building in Züün Khüree. It is described in the entry Rinchen 925.

Eregsümgombiin süm / Rigsümgombiin süm (Tib. *rigs gsum mgon-po*, Mongolian translation *Gurwan yazguuriin itgel*, English name: The temple of the Three Protectors/Bodhisattvas)

O. Pürew mentioned this temple as *Tsedewgombiin süm* (Tib. *tshe-sgrub mgon-po*, ‘longevity protector/protector of long life’). According to Sereeter (p. 86.) the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* ordered the building of this temple in 1793. It officially opened in 1796 to celebrate 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 *Janraiseg* (also known as *Khonsüm bodisad*), *Manzshir* (Tib. ‘*jam dbyangs*, Skr. Manjusri) and *Ochirwaan*’. The temple stood next to *Dechingalaw temple*, on the east.

Dorj Powran, Naiman taltai süm, Bogd khaanii lawran (Tib. *rdo-rje pho-brang*, English name: Vajra Palace, Octagonal temple, Temple of the Bogd khaan)

According to Sereeter (p. 86.) the octagonal building (*Naiman talati süm*, ‘octagonal temple’) called ‘Vajra Palace’ (*Dorj Powran*) was the residence of the 3rd *jewtsündamba khutagt*. After his death the palace became a temple (*süm*) where regular ceremonies (*jasaa khural*) were held. The palace stood near to *Rigsümgombiin süm*, on the east.

Ochirdariin süm or Wachirdariin süm (Mongolian translation *Ochir barigch*, Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, English name: Vajradhara Temple)

According to Sereeter (p. 85.) during the time of those *jewtsündamba khutagts* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagts* 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.

This statue of Vajradhara is still kept in *Ochirdariin süm* in Gandan (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286.).

Yurt palaces and yurts

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 (p. 21.) and Dariimaa (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

Datsans

According to Pozdneev (p. 58.), the lamas of these *datsans* did not belong to any *aimag* temple, which is similar to the situation of the novices in the Gandan *datsans*. 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*, Tib. *smān-rams-pa* and *zeerembe*, Tib. *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.

Emch nariin datsan/ Manba datsan/ Mamba datsan (Tib. *smān-pa grwa-tshang*, English name: Medical monastic school)

According to Sereeter (p. 66.) the original Medical monastic school of the capital was established in 1760 at the initiation of the 3rd *jewtsündamba khutagt*. The first leader of the temple was a Tibetan lama, Luwsannorow (Tib. *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 emchi* (p. 60., footnote 44), that is, 'precious physician'.

Its main tutelary deity was *Shanlan* (Tib. *zhang-blon*), who was honoured in a big annual ceremony, called *Shanlangiin chogo* (Tib. *zhang-blon-gyi cho-ga*), while its main protector was *Damjan/Damjin*, the 'oath-bound protector' (Tib. *dam-can*, being a shortened name for *Damjan/Damjin garwanagwuū*, Tib. *dam-can mgar-ba nag-po*, 'the black coloured smith', emanation of *Damjan Dorlig*, Tib. *dam-can rdor-legs*, Skr. Vajrasadhu). 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 following economic units (*jas*) belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Manaliin dültseñgiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin dültseñgiin jas*, *Jambaliin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Manaliin jas*, *29-iin tsawiin jas*, etc.

The curriculum of the school was based on a combination of traditional Indian (Skr. Ayurveda), Tibetan (Tib. *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 (Tib. *smān-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 nariin datsan* daily to hold ceremonies.

According to S. Dulam (pp. 90-91.), 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 Chingeltei Mountain. This study trip was called 'lyankhuad garna' ('excursion to the lotus').

According to Sereeter (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 (*Khüühkheidiin urlan büteekh töw*, previously known as *Pioneeriin Ordon*, 'Pioneer Palace') on the east side of *Tsogchin* temple. The decoration of the temple was financed by *Doltson khuwilgaan* Galsanjamts lama from Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag. Its photo is available in the Film archive (K24059) and in 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 *Emchiin datsan*, the lamas of the *datsan* came from the 30 aimags of Züün Khüree. *Zurkhai* and *Jüd datsans* stood near the temple. *Jasaa khural* was held every day and exams were held occasionally. *Manal* (Tib. *smān-bla*, Skr. Bhaishajyaguru) and *Damjin sakhius* 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 with *maaramba* degree for example the head of the temple. The temple was closed in 1937.

According to Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 11.), after 1938 the Mamba datsan was used as a drug factory. The building was only demolished in 1952.

Jüd datsan (Tib. *rgyud grwa-tshang*) or *Jüdpuntsagshaddiüwlin datsan* (Tib. *rgyud phuntshogs bshad sgrub gling*, Mongolian translation *Khotol tögs nomlol büteeliin süm*, English name: Tantric monastic school)

In 1739 the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* established the first tantric assembly. The years of 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 re-locations. According to Sereeter (p. 63), the school was lead by the *dorj lowon* (Tib. *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 to the temple. There were no lamas bearing *tsorj* and *lowon* rank.

The main tutelary deities and protectors of the temple were *Sandejig süm* (Tib. *gsang*

bde 'jigs gsum, the collective name for the three deities *Sandui* (Tib. *gsang-'dus*, Skr. Guhyasamaja), *Demchig* (Tib. *bde-mchog*, Skr. Chakrasamvara), *Jigjid* (Tib. *'jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka)). Dorj lama also mentioned the same three deities, and *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, 'protector', epithet of Mahakala), *Choiजू* or *Choiजil* (Tib. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. Dharmaraja, epithet of Yama) and *Damdin* (Tib. *rta-mgrin*, Skr. Hayagriva). He emphasized that ceremonies were held in the temple to honour *Gombo* and *Damdin*. Soninbayar also lists *Gombo*, *Damjan* (erroneously for *Damdin*) and *Damdin Choiजil* (erroneously for *Damjan Choiजil*, Tib. *dam-can chos-rgyal*, epithet of Yama) (Soninbayar, Sh. (ed.), *Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, p. 65.).

In *Jüid datsan* lamas studied in different classes (*zindaa*, Tib. *'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* (Tib. *sngags-rams-pa*) degree. According to Ts. Dorj lama, *agrambiin damjaa* (*agramba* exam, Tib. *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 nūnnain jas*, *Sanduin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Sandejigsümiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*.

The site of the two-storey wooden *Jüid datsan* was on the left side of *Tsogchin* temple. The *datsan* was shut down in 1938.

Zurkhain datsan (Tib. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*, English name: Astrological monastic school)

According to Pozdneev (p. 60.) and Sereeter (p. 67.) the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* founded the Astrological School in Züün Khüree in 1789. Here lamas were trained in astrology, astronomy, various writing systems and drawing. *Zeerembe* degree (Tib. *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. Its main tutelary deity was *Sandui Jamdor* (Tib. *gsang-'dus 'jam-rdor*, Skr. Guhyasamaja Manjushri), while its main protector was *Choiजil*.

The following financial units (*jas*) belonged to the school: *Ikh jas*, *Khorin yesnii dülsengiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii dordüwiin jas*, *Namsrain dordüwiin jas*, *Tsogiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Erdeniin Yumiin jas*, *Dorjzodwiin jas*.

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

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 Khüreenii sümbüm*. The temple was situated on the left of the Tantric (*Jüid*) *datsan*.

According to Sereeter (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 statue of *Choiजil*, which was in this temple originally, is presently in Gandan monastery.

Other temples

Maidariin süm (Skr. Maitreya, Tib. *byams-pa*, English name: Maitreya temple)

According to Sereeter (p. 69), in 1834 the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* requested *khamba nomon khan* Agwaan Luwsan Khaidaw (also known as *Jadariin ikh khamba* Agwaankhaidaw, 1779-1838, abbot of *Jadariin aimag*) 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.).

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 (p. 61.).

According to Sereeter (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* (shortly for *Günreg Nambarnanzad*, Tib. *kun-rig(s) (rnam-par snang-mdzad)*, Skr. Sarvavid Vairochana, a form of Vairochana Buddha), 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 (*Maidar ergekh*). The following units (*jas*) belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mönkh Günregiin jas*, *Günregiin dültsegiin jas*, *Chog Sanjidiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*.

According to Pozdneev (p. 61.), the gilded brass statue of *Maidar* seated on a lion throne was made at Doloon nuur ('Seven Lakes', name of a lake in Inner-Mongolia) 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 *burkhans* (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *khurliin siim* (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 *gegeen*. According to Dariimaa (p. 22.), this temple had one disciplinary master and there were no ceremonies held except the *Nünnai* (Tib. *smjung gnas*, 'fasting ritual'), which lamas performed in three days rotations. It seems that the accounts by Pozneyev and Dariimaa contradict each other, though they may refer to different periods in time.

The Maitreya procession (*Maidar ergekh*, 'circumambulation with [the statue of] Maitreya'), one of the biggest annual ceremonies, was attended by all the lamas of Ikh Khüree, followed by crowds of devotees, who circumambulated Züün Khüree. (The road circling Züün Khüree was called *Maidar ergekh zam*, 'the road of the Maitreya circumambulation'). It was also one of the most impressive events with the *bogd*, *khamba*, 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.

The temple and 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 archive.

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 22th of December 2005.

Baruun örgöö or Awtai sain khanii örgöö (Alag baiw) (English name: West side palace, Palace of Awtai sain khan)

The yurt-shaped palace of Awtai Sain khan was situated outside *Shar ordon*, 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 (Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector (*Ulaan sakhius*) and *Gombo*. The statue of *Jamsran*, created by Öndör Gegeen occupied the most prominent place in the yurt palace.

The armchair of Awtai khan was kept here, with the figures made of wood logs representing fellow champions of him (presumably Baatar beil/ Būūwei 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, where Pozdneev saw them (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 Dariimaa (p. 21.), only the ceremony of *Tümet khangel*, 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 Tüsheets 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).

A special thanksgiving offering called *Jamsrangiin danrag* (Tib. *lcam-sring-gi gtang-rag*) was performed here three times a month to *Jamsran*, as the protector deity, at the same time as the *Khangel* 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 (*Khüükhdiin urlakh бүтээхийн төв*, *Khüükhdiin ordon*, previously known as *Pioneeriin ordon*, 'Pioneer Palace'). According to Pürew's book (*Mongol uls төрийн төв*, p. 38.) it was pulled down in 1939.

Presently, the statue of *Jamsran* from *Baruun Örgöö* is kept in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286).

Noyon shüteenii süm/ Manaliin süm (English name: Temple of the noble object of worship, Temple of the Medicine Buddha)

According to Sereeter (p. 81.) and Pürew (*Mongol 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 *juwtsündamba khutagt* (1724-1758), although no exact date could be determined. However, according to Pozdneev (p. 60., footnote 45), the cult of *Manla* or *Manal*, the Medicine Buddha was introduced to Ikh Khüree in 1805 and the temple building was erected in the same year.

Manla/Manal was worshipped here. The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the temple and one financial unit (*Mönkh nünain 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 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*, and 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.

The photo of the temple is available in the Film Archive (K24059) and in Tsültem's book (picture 34) presenting the *Tsogchin temple*, *Manba datsan* and *Noyon shüteenii süm* together.

The *Manla* statue is presently in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286.).

Dar' ekhiin süm/Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin süm (English name: Tara Temple, Temple of (Sita) Tara, Temple of (the White) Tara, Tib. *sgrol-ma*)

The small wooden temple of *Dar' ekh* situated to the north-east of the Yellow Palace behind *Noyon shüteenii süm* (Pürew, *Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 19.) held the 21 statues of different emanations of *Dar' ekh* created by Öndör geegen according to Sereeter (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 Ministry of *Shanzodwa* (*Erdene shanzudbiin/shanzodwiin yaam*, Administration of Ecclesiastical Estate) with funding amounting to 5,200 lan (a Chinese unit of weight, 1 lan=37,3 g) silver. Today, the twenty-one *Dar' ekh* statues and the statue of *Nogoon Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol ljang*, Skr. Shyamatarā, the Green Tara), made by Öndör geegen, are in the Bogd khaan Museum (see entry Rinchen 1911). The statue of *Tsagaan Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol dkar*, Skr. Sitatara, the White Tara) made by Öndör geegen is in Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts.

Namsrain khural (Tib. *rnam-(thos)-sras*, English name: Vaishnavana assembly)

According to Sereeter (p. 87.), this temple was erected to worship the deity of wealth. Some lamas performed regular ceremonies (*Jasaa khural*) to pray for the increasing of income of the *jewtsündamba khutagt's* inner treasury (*dotood san*) and great treasury (*ikh san*). There is no data on where exactly it stood.

Tünkhagiin khural (Tib. *'khrungs lha*, English name: Temple of the Protector deity of the birthday)

According to Sereeter (p. 86.), this temple was erected to honour 'the deity of the birthday' (*Tünlkha*). 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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*, Tib. *'khrungs*, 'born, to be born, give birth') for the 'strengthening of the feet' (*Danshig*, Tib. *brtan-bzhugs*) of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, 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*, *Naichiin Choijin* (Tib. *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 (Tib. *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 *Tünkhagiin 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.

Duu tasrakhgüi khural or **Gurwiin khural** (English name: Non-stop/continuous assembly or Threefold assembly)

According to Sereeter (p. 55.), some temples in Züün Khüree had continuous chanting (*duu tasrakhgüi khurluud*) of 3 to 7 texts of the following: *Gombo*, *Jamsran*, *Dar' ekh*, *Lkham*, *Ochirwaan'*, *Gamgan'*,³ *Shiirewnyamba* (Tib. *shes-rab snying-po*). According to Dashtseren lama, on the left of *Shar ordon* there was an assembly with continuous chanting called *Duu 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' ekhiin khural*, *Gurwan Gürem* (Tib. *sku-rim rnam gsum*, 'three kinds of protective rites') in which the texts of *Tsagaan Shükhert* (or *Dugar*, Tib. *gdugs dkar*, Skr. *Sitatapatra*, 'the Goddess with the White Parasol'), *Nogoon Dar' ekh* and the Heart Sutra 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*. On the east of them there was a large printing house (*barkhan*, Tib. *par-khang*). According to Pozdneev (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 many books were printed. During the reign of the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* alone, 72 copies of the 108 volumed *Ganjuur* were hand-carved.

Ganjuuriin dugan (English name: Kanjur Temple, Tib. *bka'-gyur-gyi 'du-khang*)

According to Sereeter (p. 55.) small assemblies like *Ganjuuriin khural*, *Gürmiin khural* and *Solgiin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. According to Pürew's drawing (Mongol 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 Ganjuur' (*Ikhiin Ganjuuriin öwgön Ayuush*, Dariimaa, p. 52.). The sculpture was later delivered to Gandan and is still kept there (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, 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 Kanjur were kept in the temple (though for sure they were), and, if so, which version. It is highly possible that the name of the temple came from the fact that the Kanjur rituals were held here. According to Dariimaa, ceremonies were held here every day (p. 18.), but there is no other data on its ritual life.

Gürmiin dugan (English name: Temple of Protective Healing Rituals, Tib: *sku-rim-gyi 'du-khang*)

According to Sereeter (p. 55.) small assemblies like *Ganjuuriin khural*, *Gürmiin*

³ The authors could not identify the origin and meaning of this name.

khural and *Solgiin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. In Pürew's drawing (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 19.) this temple was situated behind the main assembly hall on the right of the Kanjur Temple (*Ganjuuriin dugan*). The name of the temple, *Gürem* (Tib. *sku-rim*) 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 Dariimaa (p. 18.) ceremonies were held here every day. As there are no other sources on the activities of this temple, it is not clear what kinds of special protective rituals were held here.

Solgiin dugan (Tib. *gsol-gyi 'du-khang?*)

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

Khoit örgöö/Bor örgöö (English name: Rear palace, Brown Palace)

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

Rinchen 911 - Bogd khaanii nagoon süm (Bogd khaanii öwliin ord)

Sharawpeljeelin süm, Bilgiig khögjүүлэн badruulagch süm, Bogd khaanii nagoon ordon, Erdem itgemjit bilgiig khögjүүлэн badruulagch, Goliin nagoon süm, Oyuuniig arwigagch, Deed süm, Bogd khaanii ordonii muzei

Tibetan name: shes-rab dpal rgyas gling

Written Mongolian: Bilig-i kögejigүүлэн badarayuluychi süm-e

English name: Bogd Khaan's Green Temple, Green Temple on the bank of the River, Bogd Khaan's Winter Palace, Sharawpeljeelin temple, Bogd Khaan's Green Palace, Upper Palace (according to the flow of the Tuul River), Palace Museum of Bogd Khaan

N 047°53.867

E 106°54.417

Data provider: D. Altannawch, director of the museum

Sources: Altannawch, D., *Bogd khaanii ordon muzei (taniltsuulga)*, Ulaanbaatar 2001

Dariimaa, G., *Dursagdakhiin buyantai burkhan zuraach*. Ulaanbaatar 2003

Forbáth, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

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Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэцтэй towch*. 1651-1938 Ulaanbaatar 1999 pp. 89.

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: Tsültem (70-81), Maidar (140), Sereeter (90), Shepetilnikov (48, 53-55, X256), Geleta/Forbáth (216), Dashnyam (249), etc.

Description of the site and history

After the Yellow Palace, the winter residence of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*, 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, 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* with his wife, the *Ekh dagina*, lived until his death in 1924. The Green Palace survived the destructions almost intact, and was turned into a museum from 1926, two years after the death of the Bogd khaan, 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 southern gate. Two flag poles (*tugnii mod* or *chii-gaa/chii-gan*) 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, p. 249.). A wooden hedge called *shörgön khais* surrounded the area in front of the complex. The *Andinmen khaalga* (*Amgalan enkhiiin 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 political 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 Maharajas (*Makhranz*, Tib. *rgyal chen*, Skr. Maharaja, 'great king', guards of the four directions), called *Makhranziin süm* was built in 1903 to house the huge statues of the direction guards. 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. This temple building now houses statues of *Biz'yaa* (Tib. *rnam rgyal-ma*, Skr. Vijaya), *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* (Tib. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitayus) and *Tsagaan Dar'ekh* (Tib. *sgrol dkar*, Skr. Sitatara, the White Tara) that were saved from the purges. The Bogd khaan's servants lived in the two *Jodkhan* (Tib. *mchod-khang*, 'shrine room, chapel') temples that are on either side of this temple. Today, the building in the left exhibits unique silk appliqués of various deities, such as *Gongor* (Tib. *mgon dkar*, Skr. Sitamahakala, the White Mahakala), *Tsamba* (Tib. *tshangs-pa*, Skr. Brahma), *Sosorbaram* (Tib. *so-sor 'brang-ma*, Skr. Mahapratisara) and *Dorjpagam* (Tib. *rdo-rje phag-mo*, Skr. Vajravarahi). The building in the right houses a vast collection of thangkas painted with paints made from natural earth and minerals. The most famous are of *Janraiseg* (Tib. *spyan-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara), *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* and *Jigjid* (Tib.

‘*jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka) and the one depicting the 12 deeds of Buddha.

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* (Tib. *(dbyar) khas-len*) or *Yarnai* (Tib. *dbyar gnas*, ‘summer retreat’) summer retreat lasting for 45 days, but it is not proved). *Ochirdar*’ (Tib. *rdo-rje ‘chang*, Skr. Vajradhara) was the main deity of the whole complex and his statue stood inside the Green Palace as the main deity of the complex. At present, this building contains some of the Bogd khaan’s furniture, the famous twenty-one Taras made by Öndör geegen and other statues, all of which survived the purges.

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. Today, this building 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* (Tib. *byams-pa*, Skr. Maitreya) with his two disciples, namely Atisha (*Adisha*, Tib. *mar-me mdzad*, 982-1054, great Indian master, initiator of Kadampa (Tib. *bka’-gdams-pa*) Sect of Tibetan Buddhism) and Tsongkhapa (*Zonkhow*, Tib. *tsong-kha-pa*); *Choiwoo* (Tib. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. *Dharmaraja*, epithet of Yama), *Lkham* (shortly for *Baldan lkham*, Tib. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Skr. Shridevi), and *Ganesh* (Tib. *bgegs-kyi rgyal-po*, the king of the obstructing spirits, Ganesha). 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 *jewtsündamba khutagts*. Today, books, printing blocks, the statues of Buddha and his 16 disciples, and *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid*, as well as thangkas and costumes are exhibited here.

In 1913 a small building was built for storing the vast range of costumes and robes of the Bogd khaan.

The whole area around the Green Palace, that is, the area between Middle River (Dund gol) and Tuul River was a particular zone, reserved for the Bogd khaan and his kin (Pürew, *Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 25-29.) and for the flocks of sheep, cows, horses and camels for their personal use. There were several other imposing palaces in this zone. In the area above the winter palace there was the residence of the privileged descendants of *Süün dalai eej*, the breast-feeding nanny of Öndör geegen Zanabazar. The Bogd khaan’s guards were settled on the left of the Green palace, between it and *Güngaadejidlin süm* (See entry Rinchen 922). There were a few other residences, all of high-ranking people, such as that of Prime Minister Sain noyon khan named Namnansüren (Sain noyon khan being his title). The Government administration building (*Yerönkhii yaam*, *Bügd yerönkhiilekh zakhirakh yaam*) was also situated in this zone.

Winter palace

The two-storey white building of the old Winter palace currently contains 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 ordon* (See entry Rinchen 921) are also exhibited. There is a reception room on the first floor with a staircase leading to the second floor.

The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the running of the complex. There were no financial units (*jas*) attached to this complex. 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 the 1st of 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. Dariimaa adds (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.

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; and the *Naidan* süm (Temple of Arhats) was restored in 2005.

Current situation

Although the Green and Winter palaces and most of the complex remained practically intact, some wooden buildings such as the *Dar' ekh* temple (Tara Temple), some small chapels and administrative buildings did not survive. The complex still operates as a museum. Its layout and all the remaining buildings together with their present use are described in the Description of the site section.

Rinchen 912 - Gandantegchenlin khiid

Gandan khiid

Tibetan name: dga'-ldan theg-chen gling

English name: Gandantegchenlin Monastery, Gandan monastery

Mongolian translation of the name: Tögs bayasgalant ikh khölgöniin süm

Old courtyard (south gate)

Elevation 1312m

N 47°55.279'

E 106°53.773'

Data providers: Dashtseren lama of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery (Born 1921); Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (*ikh gesgüi*) of Dashoimbel datsan

Sources: leaflet of the monastery

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Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: Tsültem (intro. 21 (*Güngaachoilin datsan*), 28 (*panoramic view from Janraisegiin dugan*); 36 (*Migjidjanraisegiin 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 wheels))

Sereeter (58 (*Dashchoimbel datsan*), 74 (*Janraiseg datsan*), 76 (panoramic view from the south-west))

Film Archive K24226-K24240 (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*))

Shepetilnikov (85), Dashnyam (251), etc.

Drawing / map: Tsültem intro. 27 (map sketch of Gandan)

History

The Western part of the old capital, Ikh Khüree, was called Baruun Khüree, and this is where the special monastic schools were established to train lamas mainly in Buddhist philosophy, the most recent at the beginning of the 20th century. 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. This data refers to the establishment of philosophical schools in the area at Gandan. Later, other temples were also built in this area. The 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* had the *Gandantegchenlin* monastery complex built on Dalkh Hill (Dalkhiin denj) in 1838. This became the centre of Buddhist learning in Mongolia with around 2,000 lamas and numerous eminent Buddhist scholars graduated from its Buddhist Institutes. According to Banzragch (p. 15), its territory 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.

Before 1938 the *Tsogchin* temple, *Didipowran* and the palaces, which later held the relics of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*, were located in the first courtyard, whilst education institutes or monastic schools (*datsan*, Tib. *grwa-tshang*) were situated within the outer fence each within their own wooden fenced area. The monastic schools of *Dashchoimbel*, *Güngaachoilin*, *Badma yogo* and *Lamrim datsan* were established to educate lamas in Buddhist philosophic studies and Tantric studies. In the 1910's the *Janraiseg* temple (for details see entry Rinchen 913) and *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* were founded here as well.

As was customary in the monastic cities in Mongolia not only in Ikh Khüree but also in the countryside, the *aimags* were situated in a south facing U shape, around the central

section of Gandan following the principle of *khüree deg* i.e. the arrangement of the *aimag* dwellings and temples around the main assembly hall and the main monastic institutions. The lamas lived in *aimags* according to their home territory, thus lamas from the same administrative region lived in the same *aimag*, which usually took its name from the region or for the ranked lama or noble for whom the *aimag* was founded.

According to Pürew, 22 *aimags* (*Shüteenii, Dondowlin, Jadariin, Düinkhoriin, Tsetsen toinii, Anduu nariin, Dashdandarlin, Jasiin, Nomchiin, Sangain, Zoogoin, Dugariin, Choinkhorlin, Mergen khambiin, Biz'yaagiin, Khüükhen noyonii, Erkhem toinii, Ekh daginiin, Wangain, Khuwilgaanii, Bargiin, Örlüüdiin aimag*) where the lamas lived, were situated around the central temples of Gandan and its monastic schools. All the *aimag* 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*. Lack of space in Züün Khüree had led them to set up 'branches' in Gandan. In Gandan, these 'branch' *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.

Residences of high-ranking lamas and nobles were also situated in Gandan. According to Pürew (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 55., Pürew, *Mongol 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), the Bogd khaan's doctor.

There were strict monastic rules for the lamas who lived in Baruun Khüree: women were not allowed to enter the territory nor were laymen or merchants not even to pray or pay homage in the temples. The exception was the 15th of the first summer month when devotees and laypeople could enter the Gandan district to enter the temples and *datsans* to worship and pray. This is a festival day of Buddha, commemorating three events of his life at the same time: his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he died, his parinirvana.

As it can be seen on Jügder's painting there were several stupas in the north of the Gandan complex. The most imposing one was the Jarankhashar (Tib. *bya-rung kha-shor*) stupa (for details see entry NOT in Rinchen 960).

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 (Tib. *spyen-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara) survived. According to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 73.), the stupas of the 5th, 7th and 8th *jewtsündamba khutagts* were destroyed in 1938. The relics, however, were saved and placed in the stupa built for Abbot Gombojaw, which was erected in the north-west corner of the court, next to *Zuugiin süm* (Tib. *jo-bo*, Buddha Temple).

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 of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery (born 1921) had studied in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* as well as P. Luwsandanzan (born 1921) lama of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery. Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (*ikh gesgüi*) in the present Dashoimbel *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*, Tib. *dge-rgan*) of Manba *datsan*. Ts. Tserenpuntsog (born 1914 in the year of tiger) lama of Dashchoinkhorlin monastery in Zuunmod once studied in *Güngaachoinlin 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*.

Tsogchin temple named Gandantegchenlin

Tibetan name: *tshogs chen, dga'-ldan theg-chen gling*

English name: Great Assembly Hall, Gandantegchenlin temple

The main temple or the great assembly hall (*Tsogchin*) was called *Bat Tsagaan* referring to the style of the building ('massive white'). It was, and still is, a low square shaped building with a gilded golden roof.

According to Oyuunbilig (p. 251.), the *Tsogchin* temple was built in 1839. According to Sereeter (pp. 75-76.), the main tutelary deity of Gandantegchenlin was *Ochirwaan'* (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje / phyag-rdor*, Skr. Vajrapani) and its main protector was *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, 'protector', epithet of Skr. Mahakala). According to Dashtseren lama, daily chanting was held here following the form set down by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar in 1654, which is based on texts used in Tashilhunpo (*Dashlkhümbe*, Tib. *bkra-shis lhun-po*) Monastery in Tibet, although he made some changes and special rules to suit Mongolian discipline.

The great treasury (*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.

The temple 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. (see details on its revival and current practices in the Current Situation part of this entry)

5-r bogdiin shariliin süm (English name: Relics temple of the 5th bogd)

This temple was built in 1840-41. After his death, the relics of the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* were placed here inside a stupa. 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. In 1938 the stupa containing the relics of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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.

7-r bogdiin shariliin süm (English name: Relics temple of the 7th bogd)

The temple was built in 1869 to house the relics of the 7th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. It is made of earth and bricks and covered by green ceramic roof. 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. In 1945 and 1946, shortly after the two temples were reopened, a connecting corridor was built between *Ochirdariin süm* and this temple. *Balins* (Tib. *gtor-ma*, sacrificial cake, a kind of offering) and other offerings were prepared here. In 1986 the temple was renovated.

The present name of the temple is *Zuugiin süm* (Buddha temple) and is used currently for conduct readings requested by individuals.

Didinpovran/Didanpowran/Didan lawiran (Tibetan name: *bde-stong pho-brang, bde-stong bla-brang*, English name: Palace of the Blissfull Emptiness)

The two-storey palace made of earth and brick was built in 1838/1840 as the winter palace of the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. 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 building still stands in front of *Ochirdariin süm* and is used for reciting texts requested by individuals.

8-r bogdiin shariliin süm (English name: Relics temple of the 8th bogd)

This temple is not shown on Jügder's painting as it was only built in 1925 (or 1926) to house the relics of the Bogd khaan, the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. According to Dariimaa (p. 109.), when the Bogd died on the 17th of the first summer month in 1924, Luwsan, the famous sculptor of *Namdollin aimag*, made a gilded statue (*gündaa*, Tib. *sku-'dra*) of him and put his relics in a golden stupa 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 lamiin süm* (Rinchen 915) behind glass. A photograph showing this mummy is published in Forbath's book.

In 1938 the relics of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* were completely destroyed.

Currently this temple is being used as Gandan monastery's library.

Philosophical monastic schools (*tsanid datsan* or *choir*, Tib. *mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang*, *chos-grwa*)

The curriculum of the three monastic philosophical schools at Gandan covered the five principal fields of Buddhist philosophy, namely Pramana (*namdel*, Tib. *rnam-'grel*, commentary (on valid cognition, logic)), Paramita (*bilig baramid*, Tib. *shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa*, transcendent knowledge), Madhyamaka (*töw üzel*, Tib. *dbu-ma*, middle way), Abhidharma (*ilt nom*, Tib. *mngon-pa*, metaphysics) and Vinaya (Tib. *'dul-ba*, monastic discipline). The schools were the places in Ikh Khüree where lamas were trained in philosophy, and where they practiced their knowledge in debate (*nom khayaltsakh*, Tib. *rtsod-lan*). The curriculum of the philosophical schools is divided into classes (*zindaa*, Tib. *'dzin-grwa*) and different ranks can be obtained according to the number of classes successfully finished. Those who completed their study of the Pramana and Paramitas successfully could obtain the degree of *gewsh* (Tib. *dge-bshes*, 'virtuous friend', high academic degree) taking *domiin damjaa*. Those who successfully completed their study of all five fields obtained the highest academic rank, the degree of *gawj* (Tib. *dka'-bcu*, 'ten hardships'). Talented lamas could also visit monasteries in Tibet where they could study for and obtain the rank *doorombo/dooramba* (Tib. *rdo-rams-pa*), *rawjambaa* (Tib. *rab 'byams-pa*), and *lkhaaramba* (Tib. *lha-rams-pa*, the highest philosophical degree that could only be gained in Lhasa, once a year during the Lunar New Year).

The curriculum in each of the three monastic schools was based on the philosophical handbooks or manuals (*igchaa*, Tib. *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 (*Goman datsan*, Tib. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*) in Drepung monastery (*Breiwen/Bereewen*, Tib. *'bras-spungs*), while *Güngaachoinlin* monastic school follows the same texts of Losel Ling monastic school (*Losalin datsan*, Tib. *blo-gsal-gling grwa-tshang*) in Drepung monastery, and *Idgaachoinzinlin* follows the system of Sera Jey monastic school (*Ser je datsan*, Tib. *se-ra byes grwa-tshang*) monastic school of Sera monastery. The heads of the monastic schools bear the title of *shunlaiw* (Tib. *gzhung lugs-pa/ gzhung las-pa*).

According to Soninbayar (pp. 66-67.) before the *domiin damjaa* exam 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 feasts and the 3 small feasts. 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; 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 (*zuliin 25-n*), and *Jüshii dom* (Tib. *bcu bzhi ston-mo*), which was held on the 14th of the middle winter month. The three small feasts 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 were taken till 1938.

As the monastic schools concentrate on training their students, the daily chanting in each *datsan* (*Sharjin*, Tib. *shar byung*) and some of the rituals held in them are drawn from the philosophical tradition of the school.

Dashchoimbel datsan

Tibetan name: *bkra-shis chos-'phel grwa-tshang*

Mongolian name: *Ölzii khutgiin nomiig arwijuulagch*

English name: Dashchoimbel monastic school, Monastic school in the east

Dashchoimbel datsan was established as the first Mongolian philosophical school by the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* and *Manzshir khutagt* in 1756 at Doloon Nuur ('Seven Lakes', name of a lake in Inner-Mongolia). It was named by the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* and moved to the Gandan hill in 1837. The philosophical training and practice of the *datsan* is based on the handbook (*igchaa*, Tib. *yig-cha*) by Günchin jamiyaan shadaw (Tib. kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa, 1648-1721). This *datsan* produced many famous scholars from among the estimated six thousand lamas who have been educated there, such as: *Linsrai Gawj* Agwaanbaldan (Tib. ngag-dbang dpal-ldan, 1794-1864); *khamba nomon khan* Agvaankhaidaw (Tib. ngag-dbang mkhas-grub, 1779-1838), who was awarded the *rawjambaa* (Tib. *rab-'byams-pa*) degree in Tibet; Damtsigdorj/Damtsagdorj or *Bar' lam/Bragri lam/Bragiriin gegeen* (Tib. brag-ri bla-ma dam-tshig rdo-rje, 1781-1848); Dandar *agramba* (1835-1916); Angi Shagdar (1869-1935); and Zawa lam Damdin (Tib. rtsa-ba bla-ma rta-mgrin, 1867-1937).

The school's head bore the title *shunlaiw*, as in the other monastic schools. According to Sereeter (pp. 57-58.) the main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid* (Tib. 'jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka), and its main protector deity was *Gombo*. Soninbayar mentions (*Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, p. 65.) *Sendom* (Tib. *seng gdong-ma*, Skr. Singhamukha, the lion-headed dakini) as well.

The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Shiniin naimnii Ganjuuriin jas*, *Janraisegiin Nünnain jas*, *Donchidiin jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Datsangiin arawnii Günregiin jas*, *Datsangiin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Ikh chogiin jas*, *Mönkh Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Duiwiin chogiin jas*, *Megzemiin büteeliin jas*, *mön jio*, *Dordüwiin jas*, *Gurawnii Günregiin jas*, *Arwan gurawnii Günregiin jas*, *Dugan büreesiin jas*, *Maidariin jas*, *Mintügiin nünnain jas*, *Mönkh Dar' ekhiin jas*.

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 Pramana, 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* (Tib. *kha-dog*), *shidüw/shidew* (Tib. *gzhi-sgrub*), *jumbarai/jümbri* (Tib. *rgyu-'bras*), *yuljin/juljii* (Tib. *yul-can*), *dondonju* (Tib. *don bdun-chu*); intermediate studies: *ok* (*gzhung*) (Tib. 'og-ma), *gom*

(*gzhung*) (Tib. *gong-ma*), *gawadamba* (Tib. *skabs-pa dang-po*), *dom* (*sdom*); advanced: *uma sarwa* (Tib. *dbu-ma gsar-pa*), *uma ninwa* (Tib. *dbu-ma rnying-pa*), *jod* (Tib. *mdzod*), *garamba ok* (Tib. *bka'-rams-pa 'og-ma*); professional level or *garamba*: *garamba gom* (Tib. *bka'-rams gong-ma*).

The wooden temple building of *Dashchoimbel datsan* was situated behind the *Gandantegchenlin* temple with *Güngaachoilin datsan* in its left and *Badma yogo datsan* in its right side.

The *datsan* was destroyed in 1938. It was rebuilt in 1994 on its original site (see the Current Situation part of this entry).

Güngaachoilin datsan

Baruun datsan

Tibetan name: *kun-dga' chos gling grwa-tshang*

Mongolian name: *Khotol bayasgalant nomiin süm*

English name: Güngaachoilin monastic school, Monastic school in the west

This *datsan* was firstly established by the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1809 as the second philosophical school of the capital. It was named in 1837 by the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. The curriculum of the *datsan* followed the philosophical view of the famous Tibetan scholar, *Wanchin Sodnomdagwa* (Tib. *pan-chen bsod-nams grags-pa*, 1478-1554) based on his commentaries, which were used in Losel Ling monastic school of Drepung monastery in Tibet. This philosophical textbook is called *Wanchin igchaa* (Tib. *pan-chen yig-cha*) or *Losalin igchaa* (Tib. *blo-gsal-gling yig-cha*). During the years it was active the *datsan* trained three thousand lamas with such eminent scholars as the *jewtsündamba khutagts*, *Agwaanrinchen*, *Darwa Pandita* (*Darwa bandid / Darba bandida* *Agwaanchoijordondow*, 1870-1923) and *Zawa lam Damdin* (Tib. *rtsa-ba bla-ma rta-mgrin*, 1867-1937) completing their studies there.

According to Sereeter (pp. 59-60.) the main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, while its main protectors were *Lkham* (Tib. *dpal-ltan lha-mo*, Skr. Shridevi) and *Dorjshüg* (Tib. *rdo-rje shugs(-ldan)*).

The curriculum of the school was divided into 16 classes. One year's study was required for each of the five elementary classes: *khadag* (Tib. *kha-dog*), *shidiw/shidew* (Tib. *gzhi sgrub*), *dogwa oijin* (Tib. *ldog-pa ngos-'dzin*), *jumbrai/jumbarai/jümbri* (Tib. *rgyu-'bras*), *loirog* (Tib. *blo-rigs*) and the four intermediate: *uma nimba* (Tib. *dbu-ma rnying-pa*), *uma sarwa* (Tib. *dbu-ma gsar-pa*), *dulwa* (Tib. *'dul-ba*) and *garamba ok* (Tib. *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*: *Ikh jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas*, *Altan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Shiniin negen*, *Shiniin 8-15-nii Ganjuuriin 3 jas*, *Mönkh Günregiin jas*, *Shiniin 8-nii*, *15-nii*, *22-nii Günregiin jas*, *Lkhan-aa demchogiin jas*, *Domiin damjaanii jas*, *Jasaa donchidiin jas*, *Dordüwiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Mönkh Tsedewiin jas*, *Düdbiin jas*, *Maaniin jas*, *Megzemiin büteeliin jas*, *Dalai lamiin pogiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin nünain jas*, *Migjid Janraisegiin büteeliin jas*, *Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Buman Sanjidiin jas*, *Tseder Lkhamiin jas*, *Jawdanii jas*, *Jamjigiin jas*, *Dorjshüg sakhiusnii jas*, *Jiin Chagchidiin jas*, *Mintügiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii mönkh zul*, *shadshim*, *zed*, *manjnii 4 jas*, *Dugan büreesiin jas*.

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 old pillar of the old *datsan* remained standing. It is now surrounded by prayer-wheels and worshipped by believers. The temple was rebuilt on its original site in 2001. (See the Current Situation part of this entry).

Idgaachoinzinlin/Yadgachoinzenlin datsan

Dültimjansüren datsan/ Tsültim zansüren datsan/ Khoit datsan

Tibetan name: *yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling grwa-tshang, dul-khrims gtsang bsrung yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling*

Mongolian name: *Setgeliig bayasgagch nomiig barigch*

English name: Idgaachoinzinlin monastic school, Rear monastic school

Idgaachoinzinlin monastic school was established in Gandan as the third and last philosophical school of the capital, next to the building of the *Khailan(giin) jas* on the initiation of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1910. According to Dariimaa (p. 79.), this datsan was first established for the occasion of *Khailen* (Tib. *chas-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* (Tib. *thub-pa'i* ?)⁴ and *Ji Yawsras süm* (Tib. *rje yab sras gsum*) ie Tsongkhapa and his two disciples Khaidüw je (Mongolian Khaidüw je, Tib. mkhas-grub rje, 1385-1438) and Gyaltsaw ke (Mongolian Jaltsaw je, Tib. rgyal-tshab rje, 1364-1432).

1,000 lamas (According to Sereeter 486 lamas, pp. 61-62.) were transferred from *Dashchoimbel* and *Güngaachoinlin* philosophical schools to be trained in the new *datsan*. The school followed the philosophy of the eminent Tibetan scholar Serji jewtsün Coijijantsan (Tib. ser-gyi rje-btsun chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, 1469-1546), whose commentaries were the texts used by Sera Jey monastic school (*Ser je/Sera je datsan*, Tib. *se-ra byes grwa-tshang*) 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 *shunlaiw* and *gawj* Gombojaw, Kharaagiin Dar' ekh lam (Dar' ekh lama residing in Kharaa), *Örlüüdiin Dawga gawj* (Dawga *gawj* of *Örlüüd aimag*), Jantsan *gorwon*, Jambaldorj *gorwon*, Tseweendorj *unzad*, *Öndör tunsag nyaraw*, Dodikhüü *gewsh*, Dorj *maaramba*, Nawaandamba *gewsh* and so on. The main tutelary deity of the datsan was *Damdin Yansan* (Tib. *rta-mgrin yang-gsang*), while the main protector was *Taog Choijil* (TIB. *tha-'og chos-rgyal*), one of the Five Kings (*Tawan khaan*, Tib. *sku lnga rgyal-po*). Soninbayar also mentions (*Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, p. 65.) *Namsrai* (Tib. *nam-(thos)-sras*, Skr. Vaishravana).

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 commentaries (*igchaa*, Tib. *yig-cha*) of Sera.

The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Khailan jas*, *Düitsengüüdiin jas*, *Mönkh pogiin jas*, *Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas*, *Mönkh Altangereliin jas*, *Mönkh Tsedewiin jas*, *Mönkh Düdwiin jas*, *Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas*, *Altan Dorjzodwiin jas*, *Buman Sanjidiin jas*, *Megzemiin büteeliin jas*, *Mönkhölsön tamganii jas*, *Buman Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Erigdee erinchin domiin damjaanii jas*.

According to Sereeter (p. 61.) the *datsan*'s curriculum was divided into 14 classes, which were as follows: elementary: *khadag* (Tib. *kha-dog*), *jumbarai* (Tib. *rgyu-'bras*), *yuljin* (Tib. *yul-can*), *dondonju* (Tib. *don bdun-chu*), intermediate: *ok* (Tib. *gzhung 'og-ma*), *gom*

⁴ The authors could not identify the origin and meaning of this name.

(Tib. *gzhung gong-ma*), *gawshiw* (Tib. *bka' bzhi-ba*), *dom* (Tib. *sdom*); advanced: *um sarwa* (Tib. *dbu-ma gsar-pa*), *uma ninwa* (Tib. *dbu-ma rnying-pa*), *dulwa* (Tib. *'dul-ba*), *garamba ok* (Tib. *bka'-rams 'og-ma*); professional level or *garamba gom* (Tib. *bka'-rams gong-ma*).

After completing all their studies the lamas could obtain a *garamba* (Tib. *bka'-rams'-pa*) degree, one of the highest examinations in a philosophical college. From 1914, every spring, summer and autumn the *gawj* rank (Tib. *dka'-bcu*, academic degree in philosophical studies, 'ten hardships') could be taken here, from 1916 also *domiin damjaa*.

The wooden building of the *datsan*, which was covered by golden roof was situated on the right side of *Janraiseg* temple (Temple of Avalokiteshvara) and was destroyed in 1938. A new building for the *datsan* was built on approximately the same site in 1991 (see the Current Situation part of this entry).

Lamrim datsan

Janchub-Lamrim datsan

Tibetan name: *lam-rim grwa-tshang*, *byang-chub lam-rim grwa-tshang*

Mongolian name: *Möriin zereg*, *Bod' möriin zereg*

English name: Lamrim monastic school

According to Sereeter (p. 71.) Lamrim datsan was founded in 1844 although other dates have been given such as 1841, according to D. Būrnee, and 1824, according to Oyuunbilig. 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.

The name of the monastic school refers to the most significant text written by Tsongkhapa, called *Bod' möriin zereg* (Tib. *Lam-rim chen-mo*) which explains the gradual path leading to enlightenment. However, 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/Gonchoo lkhaa süm* (Tib. *mgon chos lham gsum*, the summary name for three protectors: *Gombo*, *Chojoo* (Tib. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. Dharmaraja, epithet of Yama and *Lkham*. Soninbayar mentions (Soninbayar, Sh. (ed.), *Gandantegchinlen khiid*, *Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, p. 65.) only *Gombo*. The following units belonged to the monastery: *Ikh jas*, *Günregiin dültsegiin jas*, *Altan Lamrimiin jas*, *Awidiin Chogiin jas*. According to Dashtseren lama about 100 lamas belonged to *Lamrim datsan* immediately before the temple was destroyed in spring 1938.

Today there is a temple called *Lamrim datsan* on Zanabazar street leading up to Gandan (for information on this see New Temples 4). However, its head, S. Bayantsagaan, claims there is no connection between the new temple and the old *Lamrim datsan* described above.

Badma yogo/ Badmayogo/ Badamyogo/Badma yoga datsan

Sandüwtegchenlin

Tibetan name: *padma yo-ga*, *gsang-sgrub theg-chen-gling*

Mongolian name: *Nuutsiig büteegch ikh khölgönii süm*

English name: Badma yogo monastic school

The 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* founded a tantric congregation (*Jüd datsan*, Tib. *rgyud-pa grwa-tshang* or *Ag datsan*, Tib. *sngags*) called *Dechinsanaglin* (Tib. *bde-chen gsang-*

sngags-gling, ‘eternal bliss, the monastery of secret mantras’) in 1739. 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 mandala 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 *Gürim datsan* (Tib. *sku-rim grwa-tshang*), where protective healing rituals were performed. The main tutelary deity was *Damdin Yansan* and the main protector was *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector. *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. The three protectors, *Gombo*, *Choiijoo* and *Namsrai*, *Damjan/Damjin* (Tib. *dam-can*), *Damdin Yansan*, *Tsamba* (Tib. *tshangs-pa*, Skr. Brahma), and Tawaan khaan were also worshipped to clear away the malevolent beings.

According to an article published in the conference book of *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development* (p. 304., the author of the article is not indicated), the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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*, the main tutelary deity of the *datsan*, as well as rituals of *Choiijin* (Tib. *chos-skyong*, Skr. Dharmapala),⁵ *Jamsran*, *Tawan khaan*, and *Nordog Damjin* (Tib. *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 *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* with) seven continuous days of ceremonies for preparing the sand mandala (*dültson*, Tib. *rdul-tshon*, mandala of colored powder) 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*, Tib. *sku-rim*). 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.) 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 main objects of worship in the temple were the gilded statues of Padmasambhava, *Yansan*, *Jamsran*, *Tügdem* (or *Tugdam/Tugdum*, Tib. *thugs-dam*, ‘tutelary deity’ also meaning ‘oath, vow’) of *Jamsran*, *Tawan khaan* and *Nordog Damjin*.

The ceremonies were mainly based on the texts written by the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682), such as *Yansan yadamiin chogo* (Tib. *yang-gsang yi-dam-gyi cho-ga*, ‘ceremony of *Yansan*’), *Gün-aa chogo* (Tib. *sku-lnga cho-ga*, ‘ceremony of the Five Kings’), *Jamsrangiin dorbül nirdad* (Tib. *spyen-ras-gzigs-kyi gtor-’bul gnyer-gtad*, ‘balin offering to *Jamsran*’).

The wooden building of the *datsan* was situated in *Gandan* 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 (p. 65.) the golden bronze roof of the temple was financed by a lama called Galsanjamts, who was known as *doltson khuwilgaan* of Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag.

Five units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Dültsegiin jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Dordüwiin jas*, *Jasaa Tsedewiin jas*.

Before 1938 about 50-60 lamas belonged to *Badma yogo datsan*. The temple was

⁵ *Choiijin* is the general name of the protector deities. Its mention is strange in this context.

destroyed in 1938.

The *datsan* was revived after 1990 in the *Geser süm* site. (See the Current Situation section in the entry for Rinchen 914.)

Migjid Janraisig datsan

Tibetan name: *mig 'byed spyan-ras-gzigs*

English name: Migjid Janraisig Temple, Temple of Avalokiteshvara

This temple housed the unique 16 metre high statue of *Janraisig* and it was not destroyed in 1938. It remained and stands in the north part of Gandan monastery complex. For the history of this temple see the entry for Rinchen 913.

Current Situation: Gandantegchenlin khiid

Bayangol distict, 16-17th khoroolol, Dalkh Hill (Dalkhiin denj)

Gandan main gate:

Elevation 1309 m,

N 47°55.242'

E 106°53.689'

Data providers: Awidiingerel, the *golch* (chanter) of Gandan monastery; S. Nasantogtookh (aged 19), shrine keeper (*duganch*)

Sources: *Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 March-April, No. 16 /58/

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 August, No. 19 /61/

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 September-October, No. 20 /62/

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/

Mönkhsaikhán, D., *Töwd-mongol khandmal unshlaga. Bod sog shan spyar kha-'don, Töbed-mongyol qadamal ungshilaya*. Ulaanbaatar 2002. pp. 1-12.

Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development, Ulaanbaatar 2005

Partial revival after 1944

After the purge in 1937-1938 the 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 re-opening 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 only a few lamas.

On its reopening in 1944, *gawj* N. Erdenepel (1887-1960) became the new abbot (*khamba lam*). According to Soninbayar (*Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, pp. 13-14.), Erdenepel 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 nariin setgüül*) together with Shadüw és Rinchinkhorloo which was a bulletin in Mongolian language but written in Tibetan letters. In 1928 he became the disciplinary master of *Sangain aimag* and took *gawjiin damjaa* in 1933 in *Dashchoimbel datsan*. He became layman in 1938, then the abbot of Gandan on its reopening in 1944.

Others, like *gawj* T. Gombodoo, R. Garamsed, and O. Dagwajanzen became its first lamas. According to Pürew's book (*Mongol törtiin golomt*, pp. 73-74.), the leader of the communal handicraft co-operative set up for ex-lamas (*lam nariin 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 Luwsansüren lamas the chanting masters (*unzad*). *Gewsh* M. Galaaraid, Jinlaw, L. Luwsan, Naidan lamas also joined in the first years after the re-opening. According to Soninbayar (*Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, pp. 14-15.) Gombodoo or Gombodorj (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 yaam*). Later he became one of the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall. In 1924 he was elected to be the representative of *Ikh 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. Danigai, *gawj* G. Osor, *gewsh* Sh. Ishtawkhair, *rawjambaa* T. Danzan-Odser, *gewsh* G. Dontor and the artist D. Danzan.

During the socialist period that followed *Gandantegchenlin* monastery was the only functioning monastery in the whole territory of Mongolia until the democratic change in 1990 (A very few countryside assemblies continued to operate after 1945 in yurts though they were constantly on the move. See details below).

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. 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, Mönkhsaikhon (pp. 9-10.) lists these texts: *Itgel* (Tib. *skyabs-'gro*, 'taking refuge'), *Dashchiiraw (san)* (Tib. *bkra-shis char-'bebs* (-*kyi bsangs*), 'incense offering to cause rainfall of auspiciousness'), *Khiimoriin san* (or *Lündai san*, Tib. *rlung-rta'i bsangs*, 'incense offering for spiritual strength'), *Gandanlkhawjaa/Gandanlkhawjamaa* (Tib. *dga'-ldan lha brgya-ma*, 'hundred deities of Tushita'), *Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, a text to Tara), *Gawsüm/Gawsümbe* (Tib. *skabs gsum*, 'the three times', the beginning words of an eulogy of Buddha written by Tsongkhapa), *Manzshiriin magtaal* (Tib. *'jam-dpal-gyi bstod-pa*, eulogy of Manjushri), *Janraisigiin magtaal* (Tib. *spyen-ras-gzigs-kyi bstod-pa*, 'eulogy of Avalokiteshvara'), *Ochirwaaniin magtaal* (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje'i bstod-pa*, 'eulogy of Vajrapani'), *Tüi/Tüisol* (Tib. *khrus(-gsol)*, ablution, cleansing ritual), *Dünshag* (Tib. *ltung bshags*, confession of sins or downfalls), *Shiwdagdorma* (Tib. *gzhi-bdag-gi gtor-ma*, 'sacrificial cake offering to the local spirits'). According to the article in *Bilgiin melmii* (2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 5.), in 1951 the abbot N. Erdenepel, the chanting master Ts. Luwsangombo, Yadamsüren, T. Danzan-Odser and Sh. Ishtawkhair 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 süm* and other places were taken to *Gandan* monastery to enrich the collection of religious artefacts in the monastery. These included (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286, Soninbayar, Sh. (ed.), *Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, p. 63.) the seven unique masterpieces (*doloon shüteen*) made by Öndör Gegeen namely the sculptures of *Ochirdar'* (Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. Vajradhara) from the old Vajradhara temple (*Ochirdariin süm*), *Ikhii Zuu*, *Ayuush* or

Tsewegmed / Tsegmid from Ganjuur Temple (*Ganjuuriin Ayuush*), the *Manal* (Tib. *smān-bla*, Skr. Bhaishajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha from *Noyon shüteen* Temple (*Noyon shüteenii Manla*); *Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, Skr. Tara) from *Dar' ekh* Temple (*Dar' ekhiin Dar' ekh*), *Jamsran* from *Baruun Örgöö*, *Braishir* (Tib. *so-sor 'brang-ma*, Skr. Mahapratisara) from *Örlüüdiin aimag* (*Örlüüdiin Baraishir*), and *Namsrai* from *Sangain aimag* (*Sangain Namsrai*, on these temples see entries Rinchen 910 and NOT in Rinchen 942); the sculpture of *Maidar* (Tib. *byams-pa*, Skr. Maitreya), the masterpiece of *Logshir Janraiseg* (Tib. *'jig-rten dbang-phyug*, Skr. Lokeshvara, a form of Avalokiteshvara) from *Dambadarjaa* monastery (see Rinchen 939); *Ochirdar'* with his consort from *Shaddüwlin* monastery (see Rinchen 937); the five protectors of the *Öölöds*, namely *Gombo*, *Namsrai*, *Chojjoo*, *Lkham* and *Yansan yadam*; the large sculpture of *Chojjoo* made by *Öndör* gegeen from *Dondowlin aimag*, called also *Zurkhain Chojjoo*, 'Chojjoo of the astrologers temple' (see Rinchen 910); the sculpture of *Öndör* gegeen made himself at the request of his mother. From the ten appliques of wrathful deities, which decorated the old *Tsogchin* temple, the three remained ones (*Shalsh* (tib. *zhal bzhi*, four-faced Mahakala, *Gombo*, *Ochirwaan'*) are also kept in *Gandan*.

In the 1960's the remnants of the communities from six countryside monasteries re-emerged and were affiliated to *Gandan* monastery. Most had survived by escaping over the national boundary from Inner Mongolia after 1945. The six monasteries they came from are as follows: *Mergen Khambiin süm/Khuuchid Khambiin süm* or *Timdüwlin/ Temdüwlin khiid* of *Sükhbaatar aimag*, *Zotol sum* (present *Erdenetsagaan sum*) (till 1945 *Baruun khuuchid* of *Shiliin gol aimag*) united into *Gandan* in 1960 with seven lamas led by *Jambalkhaidüw gesgüi* and *Diwaasambuun unzad*; from *Gandansampellin/ samdellin khiid* of *Dornod aimag*, *Khölönbuir sum* (at place called *Sajin khurakh*), who until 1945 had lived in the western and eastern *Barga khoshuu* in Inner Mongolia, four lamas arrived in *Gandan* in 1960 lead by *Shireet* lama, abbot, *Luwsangetseg*; from the *Tüwdenpeljailin khiid* of *Kherlenbayan/ Sergelen sum*, *Dornod aimag*, which had operated in *Shiliin gol* (where the eastern *Üzemchin* people lived) in Inner Mongolia until 1945, some lamas arrived in *Gandan* led by the *gegeen* lama, *Dambajantsan*; 12 lamas lead by *Jagd lowon* and *gawj Dewaa* and *Rabjai* arrived from *Dilowa Ochirdara khutagt's Gandanshaddüwlin* monastery in *Ikh khet sum*, in *Dornogow' aimag*, who until 1945 had been in *Baruun sönöd wangiin khoshuu*, *Shiliin gol*, Inner Mongolia; several lamas arrived in 1963 from *Gandandanjailin khiid* in *Airag sum* (also called as *Khar airagiin khural*), *Dornogow' aimag*, who until 1945 had been in *Baruun sönöd khoshuu*, Inner Mongolia (these two were the assemblies of *Dilow khutagt*); in 1954 12 lamas lead by *Genden* came from *Dashpandelin/ Dashpeljailin khiid*, *Bulgan sum*, *Khowd aimag*, who until 1944 had been in *Shing-chiang* (*Xingjian*) in Inner Mongolia. All these countryside monastic communities, representing all sects, brought their own objects of worship, statues and *thangkas* with them, which are still in *Gandan* monastery.

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* where he remained in this position for twenty years (1960-1980). According to *Soninbayar* (*Soninbayar*, Sh. (ed.), *Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, pp. 16-17.), prior to the purges he lived in *Örlüüdiin aimag* and studied in *Idgaachoinzinlin 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. During his time as the *Gandan* abbot he made many improvements. 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. Gündsambuun*, *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 (*Belgiin melmii*, February 2005, 15/ 57).

During this time, efforts were made to ensure more lamas had the full vows. Consequently the abbot of the Barga territory, *dooromboo* Luwsangetsog, and Garamsed lama gave *gelen* vows to eight lamas and the *getsel* 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. Boys who had completed secondary school in Mongolia and Buryatia were selected for Buddhist studies. Graduates of the Mongolian Buddhist University have contributed to the reintroduction of Buddhism in Mongolia and Buryatia. However, both the monastery and its University were under the strict supervision of the socialist government, and the University was not able to provide a traditional Buddhist education as the authorities forbade the study of Buddhist philosophy.

Also in 1970 the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) (*Shashnii Olon Ulsiin Enkhtaiwanii baiguullaga*, *Buddist Enkhtaiwanii khural*) was founded by abbot Gombojaw, Bakula rinpoche of India and doctor Jügder in cooperation with other Asian Buddhist countries. Gombojaw became its first head. It was through this organization that Gandan was able to establish foreign relations with India, Japan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and other Asian countries. In 1970 its conference was held in Ulaanbaatar, with 60 representatives from 10 countries.

The 14th Dalai Lama first visited Mongolia in 1979, and the revived connections between the Tibetans and Mongolians later allowed young Mongolian lamas to study in Buddhist institutions in Dharamsala, North India, and in other Buddhist universities in India.

Kh. Gaadan was chosen as the new abbot of Gandan in 1981 and was in this position until 1990, in which year he and Bakula rinpoche received the delegations attending the ABCP meeting that took place in Ulaanbaatar. Gaadan was succeeded by S. Dagwadorj between 1990-1991 and T. Damdinsüren as abbot between 1991-1993.

The Present Situation

At the time of the survey, D. Choijamts was the abbot of the monastery (*tergüün khamba*), and of all the Mongolian Buddhists. Other ranks in the monastery were the vice abbot (*ded khamba*, Yo. Amgalan), *tsorj* (G. Dewaasambu), a *lowon* (B. Erdenekhüü). There are many other administrative ranks and positions performed by lamas.

The 9th *jewtsündamba khutagt*, Jambal namdol choiji jaltsan (Tib. 'jam-dpal nam-grol chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, 1933-) who currently lives in Dharamsala, is considered, as the reincarnation of the first *jewtsündamba khutagt*, to be the leader of Mongolian Buddhists, while the abbot of Gandan monastery, the main monastery, is currently referred to as the head abbot of the whole of Mongolia, and of Mongolian monastic establishments. The *jewtsündamba khutagt*, also called *bogd gegeen*, Tibetan Buddhism's third highest incarnation after the Dalai and Panchen lamas, was the highest Buddhist dignitary in Mongolia up to 1924. The 9th incarnation was officially recognized in Mongolia in 1991, after the democratic change, though he was originally recognized in 1932 by the Reting Rinpoche in Tibet. The 9th *jewtsündamba khutagt* has visited Mongolia only once until now, in 1999.

Today, *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. After the 1990 democratic change, *Gandantegchenlin* monastery has rebuilt the three Buddhist Philosophical schools, *Dashchoimbel datsan*, *Güngaachoinlin datsan*, *Idgaachoinlin datsan*, and also revived the old *Dechingalaw* or *Düinkhor datsan* which originally was part of Züün Khüree (on the old *Dechingalaw datsan* see entry NOT in

Rinchen 942). The huge 16m high statue of *Janraisig* has been reconstructed in the original temple building and the *Badma yogo datsan* was re-established in a building in the former *Geser süm* complex nearby (see the Current Situation section of the entry for Rinchen 914). *Jiud 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. (on the old *Jiud* and *Manba datsan* see entry NOT in Rinchen 942).

The *Gandan* complex is situated on Dalkh Hill (Dalkhiin denj). *Janraiseg* temple stands on the north of the complex, and from the main gate on the south the main road leads up to it. The temples *Tsogchin* temple, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Zuugiin süm*, *Didinpowran*, the library and the building serving as reception for requesting texts are situated in the fenced off courtyard, on the east of the road leading to *Janraiseg* temple. This courtyard can be reached either from the south or from the west. On the west of the main road there is an other courtyard, with small houses as monks'dwellings, a bigger residential building and the building of The Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art inside. The *datsan* buildings (except from *Badma yogo datsan* and *Manba datsan* that are situated outside the complex) are situated on the north part, on the south and east of *Janraiseg* temple. *Güngaachoinlin datsan* is on the south with *Dashchoimbel datsan* on its east, and *Düinkhor datsan* with *Idgaachoinjinlin datsan* on its east are on the north of the above two *datsans*. The yellow coloured two-storey administration building of Gandan with Zanabazar Buddhist University is to the left of the *Janraiseg* temple. The yurt of *Jiud datsan* is on the west of the university. Apart from the main gate on the south of the complex, it can be reached through the eastern and western gates, too. Since 2006 tourist are to pay an entrance fee if entering *Gandan* monastery. There is an additional fee for visiting *Janraiseg* temple.

Tsogchin temple, Gandantegchenlin

Tibetan name: *dga'-ldan theg-chen gling*

The temples as *Tsogchin* temple, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Zuugiin süm*, *Didinpowran* and the library are situated in a courtyard on the east of the road leading to *Janraiseg* temple.

In 1944, when *Gandan* monastery re-opened, the chanting was done according to the old tradition, to the degree that the restrictions allowed. At present, about 40 lamas belong to both the main assembly and *Ochirdariin süm*. Though the name of this temple is 'main assembly hall', which is usually the main temple of a monastery complex where the daily chanting is held, in *Gandan* this takes place in the Vajradhara temple next door. However, 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.

The high-ranking lamas of the monastery like the Abbot, Vice Abbot, *tsorj*, and a *lowon* gather in the temple only on the most special occasions. There are two chanting masters and two disciplinary masters. There are also lamas with lesser duties, such as the six chanters (*golch*), shrine keepers (*duganch*) and offering preparers (*takhilch*).

Ochirdariin süm (Vajradhara temple)

After the death of the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* this building housed his relics until 1838. At present the daily chanting service for Gandan monastery is performed in this temple from 9.00 – 11.00 am every day. Pictures of the four direction guards are on either side of the entrance hall. The main deity worshipped in *Gandantegchenlin* is *Ochirdar'* (Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. Vajradhara), a statue of whom sits on the main altar. The statue, made by Zanabazar in 1683, was originally in *Ochirdariin süm* in Züün Khüree before it was destroyed in 1938. However, it was found in *Chojin 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*, the primary object of worship in *Dambadarjaa* monastery (Rinchen 939) was also found in *Choijin lamiin süm*. In front of the temple there is an old incense burner.

Zuugiin süm (Buddha temple)

The Buddha temple stands alongside *Ochirdariin süm* and is reached from within it through a corridor. Originally this temple housed the relics of the 7th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. The images of Buddha (Tib. *jo-bo*, 'Lord') 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 surrounded by prayer wheels, and the stupa containing the relics of Gombojaw, the famous abbot of *Gandan*. There are prayer-wheels surrounding it and the two temple buildings.

Didinpovran/Didanpowran/Dedanpowran (Tib. *bde stong pho-brang*)

The 14th Dalai Lama visits this temple when he comes to Gandan, as the 13th Dalai Lama lived here in 1905 when he had to escape from Tibet from the invading British forces led by Younghusband. At present before starting the daily chanting in *Gandantegchenlin* or Vajradhara temples, the high ranking lamas wearing their ceremonial hats, read morning prayers here, and then go into the shrine. Today the building serves as a place of astrology and readings for the benefit of believers from 9.00am to 5.00pm.

Library

The relics of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* were kept in this building until 1938. Later, after the *Gandan* reopened in 1944, it became a library. The library has a rich collection of philosophical, historical, and scientific sources and texts. It contains many thousands of sutras written in Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit. The Derge-version (Tib. *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 Khaidüw je (Tib. mkhas-grub rje, 1385-1438) and Jaltsaw je (Tib. rgyal-tshab rje, 1364-1432); the works of the Dalai Lamas; the Panchen Lamas; and famous Mongolian philosophers like Agwaanbaldan (Tib. ngag-dbang dpal-ldan, 1797-1864); Agwaantüwden (Tib. ngag-dbang thub-bstan, known as *Wangain agramba*, 18-19th century); Damtsigdorj or Bar' lam/ Bragri lam/ Bragiriin gegeen (Tib. brag-ri bla-ma dam-tshig rdo-rje, 1781-1848); and Zawa lam Damdin (Tib. rtsa-ba bla-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 many texts written in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. There are also some surgical instruments from the 16th century exhibited here. On the altar there are many old sculptures.

There is a newer building in the right corner of the courtyard, which is the reception for individuals requesting text readings (with a fixed price list). A large yurt serving to receive guest is situated inside its own fence on the south-east corner of the courtyard. The platform used for calling lamas to the ceremonies (*büreen shat*) stands there, too.

On the west of the main road inside the complex (the courtyard with the *Tsogchin* temple, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Zuugiin süm*, *Didanpowran* and the library being situated on the east side of it), there is a fenced-off area, which houses monks'dwellings and the Mongolian

Institute of Buddhist Art. On the courtyard of monks dwellings, there is a new three storey building (finished in 2007), which serves as lecture and conference rooms, and there are also rooms for monks dwellings in its left wing.

Also an innovation in 2007 summer, that information boards were put up at every temple and building in the Gandan complex, giving essential information on the buildings in Mongolian and English.

Zanabazar Buddhist University

The Mongolian *Gandan* abbot, S. Gombojaw, and the Buryat abbot, Gomboyev Jambaldorj established the Mongolian Buddhist University in 1970. It is situated today in the yellow two-storey administration building to the left of the *Janraiseg sūm*.

In its first semester there were thirty students, eight of them from Buryatia. It was officially named Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar Buddhist University by a decree issued by the Mongolian Government in 1995. The university combines the modern education system with traditional Buddhist teaching methods. After four years study a Bachelor's Degree can be obtained. There are two departments: the Department of Internal Sciences which includes majors in Buddhist philosophy and chanting, and the Department of Common Knowledge which includes Tibetan, Sanskrit and English language majors, traditional medicine and astrologic majors. Several teachers, all Mongolian, have studied abroad and currently almost all the teachers hold a Masters Degree or Ph.D. Mainly lamas study in the university although laymen have been admitted since 2001. (However, during the communist period ten lay students also graduated from it.) Furthermore, from September 2002, the university opened a class for the Buddhist female lamas in the *Tögs Bayasgalant* community (see New Temples 29).

Foreign lamas from the Russian Republics of Buryat, Kalmuck and Tuva also apply for the university to study Buddhism. After returning to their homeland they make efforts to propagate Buddhism there. From its opening in 1970 thirteen graduation ceremonies have been held, and 400 lamas with Bachelor's or Master's degree have graduated from the university, some of whom have founded temples in Ulaanbaatar.

The Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art

G. Pürewbat lama founded the Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art (*Mongoliin Burkhanii Shashanii Urlakhuin Ukhaanii Deed Surguul'*) in 1993. It is part of Gandan monastery, and provides graduate and post-graduate courses for lamas and lay people all of whom work at a high artistic level. They receive structured instructions in all aspects of Buddhist art according to the traditional methods and texts: how to create Buddhist images; thangka painting; sculpture; appliqué; carvings; constructing stupas and other objects of worship. See details at <http://www.purevbat.mn> (currently there is no English version of the very detailed homepage).

Dashchoimbel datsan

Tibetan name: *bkra-shis chos-'phel grwa-tshang*

Mongolian translation: *Ölzii khutgiin nomiig arwijuulagch*

English name: Dashchoimbel monastic school

1314 m

N 47°55.331'

E 106°53.747'

Data provider: Batbuyan, lama of the temple (born in 1977)

This *datsan* was revived in 1990 and the temple was rebuilt in 1994 on its original site. The Dalai Lama himself opened the temple building in 1995 when he was in Ulaanbaatar to give the Kalachakra initiation. At the time of the survey, about one hundred lamas and disciples belong to it. Most of the lamas have *gelen* or *getsel* vows, but novices start with *genen* vow and became *getsel* later. Co-operation with Tibetan institutions now in India has also been revived with around hundred lamas studying for a minimum of 5 years in the Tibetan Gomang monastic school of Drepung monastery. Others study at Sera monastery. From 1992, Tibetan teachers from Gomang monastic school, some of whom held the *gewsh* (Tib. *dge-bshes*, 'virtuous friend', high academic degree) and *lkhaaramba* (Tib. *lha-rams-pa*, the highest philosophical degree that could only be gained in Lhasa, once a year during the Lunar New Year) degrees were invited to teach in *Dashchoimbel* datsan, where they are improving the standard of the lamas' knowledge. Presently there are five Mongolian and two Tibetan teachers teaching the lamas. Some of the Mongolian teachers, such as *gawj* D. Luwsanjamts or *gawj* S. Gantömör, were among those lamas who went to study in Gomang monastic school of Drepung monastery in India and have now returned.

The curriculum is the same as in pre-communist times. Of the three philosophical monastic schools in Gandan monastery, it was only in *Dashchoimbel* datsan that the academic degrees of *domiin damjaa* and *gawjiin damjaa* could be obtained. Since 1990 it has been possible for lamas to take *domiin damjaa* and examinations have been held five times from this time, the latest being in January 2005 when five lamas took it successfully. The next graduation in this examination will be in five years time. The *gawjiin damjaa* was revived in 1989 December by *gawj* B. Osor of the old *Baruun Khüree* or *Skhankh* monastery, who was the *shunlaiw* (Tib. *gzhung lugs-pa/ gzhung las-pa*, head of the monastic school) that time. The eighth *gawjiin damjaa* exam was held in 2006 during the *Tsagaan sar*.

Presently, the *shunlaiw*, S. Gantömör *gawj* leads the school. There are three chanting masters (*darkhan un zad*, *ikh un zad*, *baga un zad*) and two disciplinary masters. About three old lamas belong to the temple, for example the current main disciplinary master, Gonchig (born 1917), who had been a lama in this *datsan* prior to 1937.

The main deities of the temple are *Gombo*, *Sendom*, and *Nogoon Dar' ekh*.

There are two kinds of monthly ceremonies: on the 8th of the lunar month the ritual in honour of *Manla* or *Manal* is celebrated. On the 29th of the month a ceremony to the honour of the wrathful deities, especially *Gombo* is performed. There is a special annual ceremony, called *Jamchoi derna* (Tib. *byams chos sde lnga*), when the 'Five treatises of Maitreya' are recited.

Daily chanting is held from 9.00am. There is a monastic debate every day in which the students hone their knowledge. It is usually in the afternoon.

Güngaachoilin datsan

Tibetan name: *kun-dga' chos gling grwa-tshang*

Mongolian translation: *Khotol bayasgalant nomiin süm*

English name: Güngaachoilin monastic school

1314 m

N 47°55.332'

E 106°53.729'

Phone: 367089

Data provider: Enkhbishtogtokh, the main disciplinary master of the datsan

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. At present, around 75 lamas belong to the *datsan*, among them about 10 have *getsel* vows and three young lamas have *gelen* vows. In the past the *Wanchin Sodnomdagwa* philosophical manuals (*Wanchin igchaa* (Tib. *pan-chen yig-cha*) or *Losalin igchaa* (Tib. *blo-gsal-gling yig-cha*) served as the basis of study in *Güngaachoinlin datsan*. Although this philosophical system follows the system of the Tibetan Losel ling monastic school of Drepung monastery, it is not possible currently for lamas to study there.

However, about 30 lamas are studying in other Tibetan monastic universities in India, such as the Gomang monastic school (*goman datsan*, Tib. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*) of Drepung monastery or in Varanasi University for between 2 and 12 years. The temple authorities feel that after obtaining deep knowledge of another philosophical system it is possible to observe the differences in *Wanchin Sodnomdagwa*'s manuals, so that, in time, this philosophical view can also be taught once again. At present no-one in this *datsan* has completed his training in this distinctive interpretation of Buddhist philosophy and there are no special classes in it.

The *shunlaiw*, Ö. Gündsambuu, has headed the school since 2001. There are two chanting masters and two disciplinary masters. Unfortunately, there are no Tibetan teachers in this school, which is a consequence of the worship of a specific deity. The two protectors of the temple are *Lkham* and *Shügden*. The 14th Dalai Lama had forbidden the worship of *Shügden* so he does not support the activities of the present temple. The novices are trained by Tibetan teacher lamas in *Dashchoimbel datsan*, and by six Mongolian lama teachers.

The daily chanting is held between 9.00 and 11.00am. There are special monthly ceremonies, like the worship of *Shügden* on the 2nd of the month or a smaller ceremony in honour of *Manal*, on the 8th of the month. *Doodüid* (Tib. *mdo sdud-pa*, a short version of *Prajnyaparamita*) is read on the 15th of the month, and a special ceremony in honour of *Lkham* goddess is held on the 30th of the month. On the occasions of bigger monthly and annual ceremonies the novices are sent to the *Tsogchin* temple to participate. Every year there is a special two-day ceremony performed to *Lkham* as the main protector of the school. It is held on 1st of the middle autumn month, when a thanksgiving offering (*Danrag*, Tib. *gtang-rag*) is also a part of the ritual. According to the lamas a horse is led to the shrine, symbolizing the vehicle of *Lkham* goddess.

The main statues on the altar are the following: a lama in debating posture, Tsongkhapa and his two disciples, Buddha, and some smaller statues. On the left of the altar the sculpture of *Lkham* is situated behind a curtain. It can be seen only on the 30th of the month when the *Sakhius* ceremony dedicated to her is held. Next to it, a cupboard contains the volumes of Tibetan *Ganjuur*. On the right of the altar there is another cupboard with curtains to hide the statue of *Shügden*. In front of it, various objects of worship are arranged. Next to the seat of the main disciplinary master there is a *thangka* covered by curtain, which shows different offerings to wrathful deities (this kind of composition is called *ganzai* (Tib. *bskang-rdzas*), 'articles of sacrificial offering, fulfillment offerings'), and, likewise, can only be seen on the day of the *Sakhius* ceremonies. From the ceiling hangs a silk banner with *Lkham*'s mantra written on it.

The entrance of *Güngaachoinlin datsan* was re-designed in 2006 with red pillars, the wheel of the Dharma with the two gazelles and the traditional blue coloured board with the name of the monastery in Tibetan, Mongolian and English written in gold. In front of the *datsan*, a small building made of glass was put up in 2007, for burning butter lamps.

**Idgaachoinzinlin/Yadgaachoinjenlin datsan,
(Dültimjansüren datsan, Tsültim zansürendatsan)**

Tibetan name: *Yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling grwa-tshang, dul-khrims gtsang bsrung yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling*

Mongolian translation: *Setgeliig bayasgagch nomiig barigch*

English name: Idgaachoinzinlin monastic school

1327 m

N 47°55.379'

E 106°53.767'

Data providers: Dashdemberel, disciplinary master of the temple; N. Sambuulkhündüw teacher (aged 40)

According to the information board in the 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. In 1992, with 34 novices in the monastery and donations from more than twenty believers the community was able to restart the education and ceremonies. Jado rinpoche, the abbot of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Namgyal monastic school (*Namjira*, Tib. *nam-rgyal grwa-tshang*), and Tüwdendash *gewsh* attended the opening ceremony of the *datsan*. The leader of the monastic school has the *shunlaiw* rank. Until now Sed *jorwan*, Ragchaa, Tsereendemchig and Dashtseren held this rank.

With the collaboration of the chanting masters, Naidan and Batsükh, and the disciplinary masters, Daanid zaan, Dorjpalam and Choimbol, the ceremonies began.

Zopa Rinpoche gave *genen* vow to the novices on 31st August 2000 and came again in December 2003 to open the school in the new temple in 2003, which has been built on its former site. Since 1994, with Jado rinpoche's help, many of *Idgaachoinzinlin*'s young lamas have been studying in Sera Jey monastic school (*Ser je datsan*, Tib. *se-ra byes grwa-tshang*) *datsan* of Sera monastery in South-India. At the request of the novices studying in Sera Jey monastic school its abbot, Luwsandonoi *agramba*, gave *genen* and *getsel* vows and initiations for the lamas and believers on 18 October 2001. In September 2002 His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited the temple, in June 2003 Zopa rinpoche gave initiations, in July Jado rinpoche came to give initiations. In 2004 they held lectures for one month to the lamas and believers.

Presently, the *shunlaiw* of the *datsan* is J. Dorjijantsan (born 1918, with *gelen* vow, had been a lama of *Luu güngiin Khüree* or *Gandanshaddüwlin* in Arkhangai aimag Battsengel sum), the main disciplinary master is Altangerel and the head of the classes (*jorwan*, Tib. *skyor-dpon*, leader of a monastic class) is Dorjpalam. There are two chanting masters and two disciplinary masters. Currently, most of the 90 lamas belonging to the temple are boys under the age of 12. About 50 lamas have *getsel* vow. Six classes (*khadag*, Tib. *kha-dog*; *shidüw/shidew*, Tib. *gzhi sgrub*, *jümbri/jumbrai/jumbarai*, Tib. *rgyu-'bras*; *yul*, Tib. *yul*; *yuljii/yuljin*, Tib. *yul-can*) operate in the temple. The aim of the datsan is to revive all the classes and train lamas for the exams of *domiin damjaa* and *gawjiin damjaa*. Presently, 32 lamas study in India.

The main protectors of the temple are *Damjan Choijoo* and *Namsrai*, while the main protector of the monastic school is *Damdin yansan*.

There is a noticeboard with information in Mongolian of the *datsan*'s historical background and information on the annual ceremonies on the wall. On the altar there are the Tibetan volumes of the *Ganjuur*, the large statues of Buddha, Tsongkhapa, *Maidar* and *Nogoon Dar' ekh*.

The monthly ceremony of the Four Mandalas of *Dar' ekh* (*Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwa*)

is held on the 8th day of the lunar month.

There are very special annual ceremonies like *Tarawchamba* (Tib. *thar-pa chen-po*) on the 15th of the middle spring month; *Seriin sanjid* (Tib. *se-ra bzang-spyod*) on the 15th of the first summer month; *Sakhius* on the dog day of the middle autumn month; *Lyankha dom* ('Lotus feast') on the 3rd and 4th of the last summer month; *Lkhawawiin dom* (Tib. *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* (Tib. *bla-ma chos mdzod ston-mo*) on the 25th and 26th of the first winter month; *Züjii dom* (Tib. ?) 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 disciplinary master in former times *gawjiin damjaa* 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.

Another feast day is the 8th of the first autumn month when *Maaniin büteel* (Tib. *ma-n.i sgrub*) is performed in *Töwkhön* monastery. The novices of the school have the possibility to study in *Töwkhön* monastery, Öwörkhangaï aimag, in the magnificent meditation retreat of Öndör Gegeen. They spend time in the monastery of *Rashaan*, Arkhangai aimag, too. Furthermore, on 25 July, 2005, *Dechinpuntsaglin* monastery (Tib. *bde-chen phun-tshogs gling*) opened in Khoton sum, Arkhangai aimag to receive lamas of *Idgaachoinzinlin* monastery.

The novices are trained by two Tibetan gewsh, Nyamdorje (Tib. *nyi-ma rdo-rje*) and Danzandarjaa (Tib. *bstan-'dzin dar-rgyas*), from Sera Jey monastic school of Sera monastery. One of the most important aims of the schools is to train and prepare lamas in philosophy to obtain *gewsh* (Tib. *dge-bshes*) and *gawj* (Tib. *dka' bcu*) academic qualification. There is connection with the Foundation for Preserving the Mahayana Tradition in Mongolia.

Dechingalaw, Düinkhor datsan

Tibetan name: *bde chen bskal-pa, dus-'khor grwa-tshang*

Sanskrit name: Kalachakra

Mongolian translation of the name: *Ikh amgalant tsag*

English name: Dechingalaw monastic school, Kalachakra monastic school

Data provider: D. Jagargardüü (chanting master of the temple, aged 17)

Sources: printed information sheet of the temple (in Mongolian)

Sükhbaatar, O., Byambasüren, D., Batsanaa, B., *Shambald zorchson nuuts temdeglel*, Ulaanbaatar 2005

Elevation: 1278m

N 47°55.379'

E 106°53.743'

Before 1938 the imposing building of *Dechingalaw datsan* was situated in Züün Khüree. (See Rinchen 925 for information about the old temple).

The Kalachakra teachings, the 'Wheel of time' (Tib. *dus-'khor*, pronounced as *Düinkhor* in Mongolia, *Tsagiin khüird* in Mongolian translation), is one of the secret tantric teachings given by Buddha Shakyamuni to the first King of the legendary kingdom of Shambhala, called Suchandra (Tib. *zla-ba bzang-po*, Diwaasambuu/ Dewaasambuu in Mongolian pronunciation).

It became widespread in the 11th century showing the interrelationship between the phenomenal world, the physical body and the mind animated nature or living beings. It serves

as a base for astrology and temporal cycle. *Düinkhor* (Tib. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kalacakra), the Kalachakra deity is a higher tutelary tantric deity, being one of the five wrathful tutelary deities of the Gelukpa tradition. He is depicted in standing form embracing his consort while treading on evil spirits. He has four faces (blue, red, yellow, white), which symbolize the four seasons or the four elements while his twelve eyes symbolize the twelve months, his 24 arms the 24 hours, and his finger joints symbolize the 360 days.

The *Düinkhor datsan* in Züün Khüree was closed in 1937. The *Düinkhor* ceremony was re-instated in 1961 at *Gandan* monastery where it has been held every year since.

D. Danzan, a *Gandan* monastery lama, visited the Dalai Lama in 1991 who declared after performing the Kalachakra Initiation at Varanasi in India that his next Kalachakra Initiation would be held in Mongolia at *Gandan* monastery. The tradition was revived in 1992 after which new *Düinkhor* temple was constructed on the initiative of D. Danzan (honourable chanting master, *darkhan un zad*) and R. Sereeter (honourable disciplinary master, *darkhan gesgüi*) lamas in *Gandan* (in 1994) based on the style of the pre-1938 temple.

In the summer of 1995, His Holiness the Dalai Lama came to Mongolia to perform the Kalachakra Initiation in the temple. Before these two Tibetan teachers from the Dalai Lama's monastic school, Namgyal, situated in Dharamsala, India, came to instruct the Mongolian lamas on the rituals especially the making of the sand mandala. Since that time, the *datsan* chants the *Düinkhor* ritual every year on the fifteenth of the last month of spring of the Lunar Calendar.

The head of the *datsan* is the abbot of *Gandan*, with the title *dorj lowon* (Tib. *rdo-rje slob-dpon*). The other ranking lamas in the temple are the *lowon* (N. Dawaasüren), a chanting master and a disciplinary master. At present, there are about 35 lamas in the *datsan*, some of them have *getsel* or *gelen* vows.

The ceremonies being held in this *datsan* follow the system of the tantric Namgyal monastic school. Currently, eight lamas are studying in India at the Tibetan *Jüd datsan* and a Tibetan teacher came from there to train the Mongolian novices.

The main deity of the *datsan* is the Buddha with the main tutelary deity being *Düinkhor* and the main protector deities being *Dorjshügden* and *Jamsran*.

As you enter to the temple, the *Düinkhoriin mandal* (Kalachakra mandala) is on display behind glass on the left. The mandala represents all the 722 deities in the Kalachakra system.

On the altar there are various statues, such as that of the four-faced *Dorjshügden*, the protector deity of the *datsan*, and the picture of the Tibetan Yellow sect master of the 4th *jewtsündamba*, Jalsrai geegen (Lkhokh or Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid Geegen, Lkhokh jalsrai geegen, Tib. ? rgyal-sras bskal-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-byed), who, according to Jambal (English text p. 29., Mongolian text p. 706.) was the main Kalachakra tantra lama (*Düinkhoriin jüdwiin/jüdbiin lam*, Tib. *dus-'khor-gyi rgyud-pa'i bla-ma*) of the 4th *jewtsündamba* and the Dalai Lama (presumably the 8th 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtso, 1758-1804).

The Dalai Lama's throne (*sentii*, Tib. *seng-khri*, 'lion throne'), which he used when he gave the Kalachakra initiation, is situated in the middle of the temple on the north wall. This now displays an image of the 9th *jewtsündamba khutagt* who came to Mongolia for his first, and so far, only visit in 1999 and performed an initiation of *Tsagaan Dar' ekh* in this temple. On the left side there are the statues of Buddha, *Düinkhor* and *Dorjshüg*. The ten special *balins* (Tib. *gtor-ma*, sacrificial cake) of *Düinkhor* are on the right of the main altar and they are changed yearly before *Tsagaan sar*, the lunar New Year. There are also seven *Düinkhor* thangkas with the 722 *Düinkhor* deities and thangkas representing the 32 Kings of Shambhala (*Shambal* in Mongolian, Tib. *sham-bha-la*, Skr. Shambhala).

Many of the above-mentioned 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. Furthermore, he designed the interior of the library of Gandan, and the interior and thrones of the main assembly hall and other temples of the monastic complex (*Shambald zorchson nuuts temdeglel*, pp. 169-171).

The daily chanting starts at 9.00- 12 noon during which time believers can attend. The *Doodüid* (Tib. *mdo bsdus-pa*, short version of Prajnyaparamita) is read during it, which contains different short versions of texts connected with the Kalachakra system. On the second day of the lunar month there is a ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities, especially *Jamsran*. The other monthly and annual ceremonies all have a connection with the teachings of Kalachakra. Between the 4th and 16th of the first spring month there is a *Düinkhor* ceremony (*Tügil düinkhor*, Tib. *thugs-dkyil dus-'khor*, 'Kalachakra ceremony with a mandala'). The Kalachakra sand mandala (*dültsen*, Tib. *rdul-tshon*) is prepared for three days, and on the completion of the ceremonies, it is destroyed with the sand being taken in a ceremonial procession to the source of Tuul River in Gachuurt (on the north-east of Ulaanbaatar, at Khar tokhoin am) where it is offered to the spirits of the land and water. On the 15th of the middle month of every season a *Düinkhor* ceremony is held, called *Gandan düinkhor*.

The last spring month is the special month of *Düinkhor* throughout Mongolia. The sand mandala for this ceremony is prepared on a larger scale than in the first month, taking 15 days to prepare. Prior to 1938, a number of different ceremonies were held during this month in Mongolian monasteries and temples with the main ceremony, *Düinkhoriin chogo* (Tib. *dus-'khor-gyi cho-ga*), being held on the 15th. In the original *Dechingalaw* temple the sequence of ceremonies was as follows: the ceremony began on the 1st of the last spring month; and the ritual dance called *Sagar* or *Gazriin büjig* (Tib. *sa-gar*, 'Earth-dance') requesting the local spirits to allow the construction of the *Dültsen jinkhor* (Tib. *rdul-tshon-gyi dkyil-'khor*, coloured sand mandala) in this location was held on the 2nd; from the 4th, the *Dültsen jinkhor* and the *balins* and offerings were prepared and consecrated and when completed, the Great *Düinkhor* ceremony was started at the 13th; on the 15th, the ritual dance of *Chogar* or *Takhiliin büjig* (Tib. *mchod-gar*, 'Offering-dance') was held; on the last day of the ceremonies a fire-offering called *Düinkhoriin jinsreg* (Tib. *dus-'khor-gyi sbyin-bsreg*, 'Kalachakra Fire-offering') was organized following which the sand mandala of *dültsen* was destroyed the sand being taken in a ceremonial procession to the source of Tuul River in Gachuurt (on the north-east of Ulaanbaatar, at Khar tokhoin am) where it is offered to the spirits of the land and water.

The new temple aims to revive this sequence of *Düinkhor* rituals in full. The lamas have learnt the *Chogar* dance from the prime mover in the revival, Danzan lama, who had been a lama of the *Düinkhor datsan* in *Daichin wangiin Khüree* (present Bulgan aimag). Nowadays, fifteen lamas wearing special colourful robes made of silk and brocade, dance for about one and a half hours around the *Düinkhor* mandala made of coloured sand on the 15th of the last spring month. The ceremonial dress is made of two pieces of clothing: a cape-like garment (*dod'ig/dodyog*, Tib. *stod-g-yog(s)*, 'upper cloth') and a square shaped apron (*mad'ig/madyog*, Tib. *smad-g-yog(s)*, 'lower garment, skirt'). It is decorated with a distinctive embroidered pattern, called *doshil/doshal* (Tib. 'dod-zhal), which is a monster or demon head. The participating lamas wear a five-lobed crown or headpiece called *rigana* (Tib. *rigs lnga*, *rigs-lnga cod-pan*, 'crown of the five families') or *jodwon* (Tib. *cod-pan*, 'crown'). The five lobes of the crown show the five Tathagata Buddhas. The lobes surround a conical shaped black crown (*banzai*, Tib. *ban-gzan/ban-rdzas?* or *jügder*, Tib. *gtsug-tor*, Skr. *ushnisha*) and two long silk ribbons (*jawdar*, Tib. *rgyab-dar*, 'silk of the back') hang down from the back of the crown. They wear traditional boots with dragon-head design on its toe and they hold a vajra and bell in their hands.

Some of the *datsan*'s lamas also participated in the *Tsam* (Tib. 'cham) dance held in

1999 in *Gandan*. (To date this was the only occasion that it was performed here.) They learnt the rules (*deg*, Tib. *sgrig*, ‘arrangement, order’) from the lamas of the *datsan*, D. Danzan and R. Sereeter. *Tsam* is not performed regularly in *Gandan*, but some of these lamas are in close connection with *Amarbayasgalant* monastery (Selenge aimag), where *Tsam* is performed every year, and participate there in the dance. They also participate in the partly revived *Tsam* in Bulgan aimag’s *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery, which is a revived temple on the old monastery site of *Daichin wangiin Khüree*. (This was Danzan lama’s old monastery.) All the lamas in the above two countryside monasteries learnt the *Tsam* rules from Danzan, too, so they are connected by having the same master.

On the Great Days of Buddha, where in other monasteries the *Burkhan bagshiin chogo* (or *Tüwiin chogo*, Tib. *thub-pa’i cho-ga*), ‘ritual of Buddha’ is held or *Burkhan bagshiin magtaal*, ‘eulogies of Buddha’ are recited, the *Düinkhor* ceremony is performed in this *datsan*. There is a ceremony called *Shambaliin chogo* (Tib. *sham-bha-la’i cho-ga*) held on the 15th of the first autumn month. A bigger ceremony for the wrathful deities (*Sakhius*) is held on the 16th, 17th and 18th of the middle winter month. During the New Year the *Tsedor lkham* (Tib. *tshe(s)-gtor lha-mo*, ‘yearly ceremonial cake offering to *Lkham*’) ceremony is held during the night of the Lunar New Years’ Eve, with all the other ceremonies being held in the *Tsogchin* temple.

Jüüd datsangiin örgöö

Tögs tsogt nuuts tarnii ikh amgalant oron

Tibetan name: *rgyud grwa-tshang*

English name: Tantric monastic school

Elevation: 1312m

N 47°55.343’

E 106°53.616’

Data provider: N. Biz’yaa, the head of the temple

Before 1938 the *Jüüd datsan* or Tantric *datsan* was situated in Züün Khüree. (See Rinchen 910 for information about the old temple.)

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, *Jüüd datsan* is situated in a yurt on the left of the building which houses the Zanabazar University as well as the offices of the abbot and other high-ranking lamas and officers. The leader (with the rank of *dorj lowon*) of the temple is N. Biz’yaa, who studied in Zuunmod and *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery in Mongolia, Sera (Tib. *se-ra*) and *Ganden (Gandan, Tib. dga’-ldan)* monasteries in India. He is connected to an old lama, Ts. Dorj (1901-2007) who was in the old *Jüüd datsan*. He is currently a lama in *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery in Zuunmod and Biz’yaa lama is trying to revive the *Jüüd datsan* tradition based on the information gleaned from the memories of this old monk. At present five other adult lamas belong to the temple and study there. There are no other ranked lamas in the temple. 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 the three main tantric deities of the Gelukpa tradition, namely *Sandui* (Tib. *gsang-’dus*, Skr. Guhyasamaja), *Demchig* (Tib. *bde-mchog*, Skr. Chakrasamvara) and *Jigjid* (Tib. *’jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of

Yamantaka) who are known as *Sandejig süm* (Tib. *gsang bde 'jigs gsum*) being a summary name consisting of the first syllables of their names.

Daily chanting is held between 7.00-8.30am when the text *Sandejig süm* is recited. Each afternoon between 1.00 and 2.00pm a shorter version of *Sanduin jüd* (Tib. *gsang-'dus rgyud*, Guhyasamaja tantra) is read while on the 15th of every month it is recited in full.

A large sculpture of *Sandui* with his consort can be seen in the middle of the yurt temple in a glass box. On the altar there are the statue of Buddha, a thangka of *Demchig*, small thangkas of *Janraiseg*, *Manal* and *Manzshir* (Tib. 'jam-dpal / 'jam-(dpal)- dbyangs, Skr. Manjushri). The three main protectors of the temple can be seen in another picture.

Next to the yurt-temple there is another yurt belonging to *Jüd datsan*, which is where astrology is practiced.

In 2005 the building of a permanent *Jüd datsan* was started behind the University, although only the base had been dug. Fundraising is still being done from a yurt to the south-east of *Janraiseg* temple.

Gandantegchenlin khiidiin Manba datsan

Tibetan name: *Dga'-ldan theg-chen-gling-gi sman-pa grwa-tshang*

English name: Medical monastic school of Gandan monastery

1278m

N: 47°55.414'

E: 106°53.631'

Data providers: D. Naranbaatar *lowon* and other lamas of the monastery

Source: Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

A *Manba datsan* was situated in the area of Züün Khüree before 1938. (See entry NOT in Rinchen 942).

This temple is the *Gandan* medical school, although the actual building is outside the north wall of the monastic complex. The school itself was established in 1990 to train a new generation of skillful astrologists and physicians in traditional Buddhist medicine. Between 1990 and 2001 classes were held in the *Zurkhai datsan* (astrological temple) in *Geser süm*. The new temple building to house the *Manba datsan* community was built in 2001.

As it belongs to *Gandan*, the abbot of the temple is D. Chojiamts, the abbot of Gandan monastery. A lama called J. Khoowoi (who was a lama in Ömnögow' aimag before 1937) initiated the building of the medical school. He held the *darkhan lowon* rank in the temple until he passed away in his 97th year in 2005. He was succeeded by D. Naranbaatar *lowon* who now leads the temple. There are two chanting masters and one disciplinary master and 35 lamas belong to the temple, all of whom are adults, mostly with *genen* vows. A few have *getsel* vows. Some of the lamas are studying in Gomang monastic school in Drepung monastery and Sera (Tib. *se-ra*) monastery both of which are in South India.

As a medical temple the main deity is *Manal*, the Medicine Buddha, with the main tutelary deity being *Jigjid*, the main protector being *Shanlan sakhius*. (*Shanlan* and *Damjin* are traditionally protectors of the doctors and medical schools.) According to Sereeter (p. 66.), the *Manba datsan* that belonged to Züün Khüree prior to the purges had the same protector deities.

A *Düinkhor* stupa was erected on the left of the temple in 2002. The *büreenii shat*, the platform for calling lamas to the ceremonies, is in the south-east corner of the courtyard.

Devotees can order the reading of texts according to a fixed price list in a building to the left of the main gate.

A large thangka of the eight Medicine Buddhas hangs in the middle of the temple along with a small thangka of *Jigjid*. On the altar there are the statues of Buddha, *Manal*, Tsongkhapa and an image of *Dar' ekh*. There are also numerous thangkas of wrathful deities, manifestations of Tara, and a statue of *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid*. The volumes of *Ulaan yum* (Prajnyaparamita) are placed on the left and the volumes of *Ganjuur* on the right of the altar.

Daily chanting is held between 9.00am and 1.00pm. After this remedy prayers (*Zasal*) and other texts are read at the request of individuals. As for the monthly ceremonies, on the 8th *Manal* is worshipped (*Ikh Manal*), on the 15th *Maaniin chogo* is held and on the 25th the Four Mandalas of *Dar' ekh* is read (*Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwa*). There are other ceremonies as well, such as on the 29th the three wrathful deities called collectively as *Gonchoi lkhaa süm/Gonchoo lkhaa süm* (Tib. *mgon chos lha gsum*, summarizing name for, *Chojoo/Chojil* and *Lkham*) are worshipped and on the 30th *Awidiin chogo* is performed for better rebirth in the paradise of *Awid* (Tib. *'od-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitabha) Buddha. Every Sunday there is the ceremony of *Ganjuur*. The annual ceremonies or big feasts are held in the *Tsogchin* temple of Gandan.

As this is one of the Medical temples, people usually came to the temple to pray for and have texts read for their own and members of their family's health, and also help the deceased to get better rebirth.

Badma yogo datsan

See the Current Situation section of the entry for Rinchen 914 for details of *Badma yogo datsan* of Gandan monastery (as it is currently housed in the old *Geser* temple).

Religious life in Gandan monastery

Data provider: Awidiin gerel, chanter (*golch*) of Gandan monastery

Sources: *Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 March-April, No. 16 /58/

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 August, No. 19 /61/

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 September-October, No. 20 /62/

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/

Gandantegchenlin khiid, (author not indicated) article in *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, Ulaanbaatar 2005

As Gandan monastery is the main centre of Mongolian Buddhism, and the biggest monastery in Mongolia, which remained a functioning monastery (though heavily controlled) for all but 6 years in the Communist era, traditional ceremonial activities could be revived here more easily than in smaller temples and monasteries. Accordingly, many monthly and annual ceremonies are held in Gandan once again. Among these, there are the most important ones, such as the ceremonies of the Lunar New Year, the Great Days of Buddha or the Tsongkhapa anniversary, which are held in most other Mongolian monasteries. However, there are others that are only held in the bigger monasteries such as *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, while yet others are only held in Gandan.

Monthly Ceremonies

The monthly ceremonies are as follows: on the 8th of the lunar month as is traditional the ceremony of the Medicine Buddha is held (*Manal*), although in Gandan it follows the

ceremonial rules and melodies of the old *Manba datsan* of Züün Khüree; the Four Mandalas of *Dar' ekh* (*Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwa*, Tib. *sgrol-ma'i mandala bzhi-ba*) is also performed on this day; on the 15th, the Guhyasamaja tantra (*Sanduin jüd*, Tib. *gsang-'dus rgyud*) is recited, again using (and preserving) the ceremonial rules of the old Züün Khüree *Jüd datsan*; the ceremony of the ten wrathful deities (*Arwan khangal* or *Sakhius*) is held on the 29th whereby in every first month the main deity of this ceremony is *Gombo* (with his text and the text of *Gongor* (Tib. *mgon-dkar*, Skr. Sitamahakala) and *Shalsh* recited in a special melody, and the parts of the others in a simple way), in the middle month *Ochirwaan'* (together with *Choijsu's* and *Jamsran's* parts of the text with the special melody) and in the last month *Lkham* (with *Jamsran's* part with the special melody) (the parts of *Tsamba* (Tib. *tshangs-pa*) are recited in the melodious way either in the middle or in the last month); every first month a *Tsogchid* offering (Tib. *tshogs-mchod*, Skr. ganapuja, 'accumulation of offerings', feast offering) is performed and in every second month a *Danrag* (Tib. *gtang-rag*) thanksgiving offering is performed at the *Arwan khangal* or *Sakhius* ceremonies; the ceremony in honour of the sixteen arhats or main disciples of Buddha (*Naidan chogo*) is on the 30th using the commentary entitled, 'the sevenfold offering' by the 19th century philosopher, Yonzin Ishjantsan (Tib. yongs-'dzin ye-shes rgyal-mtshan); on the 23rd of the middle month of every season there is a special ceremony called "32 *kharanga magtaal*" ('thirty two eulogies'), during which eulogies of buddhas, bodhisattvas, saints, Tibetan and Mongolian masters are recited. Every Saturday *Günreg* is performed, the ceremony of *Günreg* (shortly for *Günreg Nambarnanzad*, Tib. *kun-rig(s)* (*rnam-par snang-mdzad*), Skr. Sarvavid Vairochana, a form of Vairochana Buddha) for the deceased. *Oroin yerööl* ceremony is held regularly at the request of individuals. On the 15th and 30th of every month *Sojin* (Tib. *so-sbyong*, confession of sins, purifying the precepts/vows) is held by the lamas.

Many novices of the *datsans* of *Gandan* participate on these ceremonies.

The annual ceremonies

The cycle of the annual ceremonies held in *Gandan* starts with the 'great festival days of Buddha's miracle showing' (*Burkhan bagshiin (tersüüdiig nomkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan üzüülseñ ikh düitsen ödrüüd*, Tib. *cho-'phrul chen-po'i dus-chen* or *Choinpürel jon aa*, Tib. *chos-'phrul bco-nga*, 'Fifteen miracles'), which are conducted for fifteen days in the first two weeks of the Lunar New Year. They commemorate Buddha's defeat of the six masters, holders of heretical doctrines (*tersüüd*, Tib. *log-par lta-ba*), by mysterious methods of showing miracles. This 15 day festival is one of the so called 'great festival days of the Buddha' (*Burkhan bagshiin ikh düitsen ödrüüd*). Over the fifteen days the *Ikh yerööl* or *Oroin yerööl* ('great or evening prayers', Tib. *smon-lam*, *smon-lam chen-po*) or *Choinpürel molom yerööl* (Tib. *chos-'phrul smon-lam*, 'prayers of miracle showing') ceremonies are held every afternoon from 2.00pm. Sixty different texts, like the 32 eulogies (*magtaal*) and the six prayers (*Zurgañ yerööl*, Tib. *smon-lam drug*) are recited in a very melodious way.

The 14th of the first spring month is the Great day of Öndör Gegeen (*Öndör gegeenii ikh düitsen ödör*), when the ceremony called *Dawkhar yerööl*, 'double prayer', which commemorates his death, is held. On this day the prayer is recited by the main chanting master (*ikh unzañ*), and, on the other days of the fifteen days of the *Yerööl* ceremonies he and the second chanting master (*baga unzañ*) along with the chanters (*golch*) take turn to recite the prayers.

The next festival day is the *Düinkhor* anniversary (*Düijid nyamba/nyanba/nyam ceremony*, Tib. *dus-rgyud bsnyen-pa*), which is held on the 15th day of the last month of spring. It commemorates the day when Buddha first taught the Kalachakra system ('the wheel/cycle of time', *Düinkhor* or *Tsagiin khüird*, Tib. *dus-kyi 'khor-lo*) of Buddhism. Therefore it is also called 'the festival day of Buddha's first preaching of the Kalachakra

tantra' (*Burkhan bagsh tsagiin khürdnii ündesiig nomloson ikh düitsen ödör*).

After this is the great Maitreya Festival, celebrating the future Buddha, *Maidar* (Tib. *byams-pa*, Skr. Maitreya), which is usually held in the first summer month. High-ranking lamas and astrologers determine the exact date of the festival. The ceremony itself is called *Jambiin chogo* (Tib. *byams-pa'i cho-ga*, 'ceremony held in honour of *byams-pa*'). In it the lamas and the lay population gather together and process around the monastery following the statue of *Maidar*, which is mounted on a cart with a green horse head all the while praying for his coming. This great festival called *Maidar ergekh* ('circumambulating [the monastery] with Maitreya's statue') is celebrated only in a few Mongolian monasteries today.

On the 14th of the first summer month, a ritual is held in honour of the highest tantra deity, *Jigjid*, called *Jigjid danjüg* (Tib. *bdag-'jug*, 'self-empowerment').

The next festival in the annual cycle is on the 15th or full moon of the first summer month and is the second of the four great festival days of the Buddha (*Burkhan bagshiin ikh düitsen ödriüüd*) on each of which a special ceremony called *Tüwiin chogo* (Tib. *thub-pa*, a name of Shakyamuni Buddha) or *Burkhan bagshiin chogo* ('ceremony in honour of Buddha') is held. This festival for the Buddha 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 died, his parinirvana (*Burkhan bagsh mendelsen khiigeed ilt tuulsan Burkhanii khutgiig olson, nirwaan düüriig üzüülsen ikh düitsen ödör*, Tib. *mngon-par byang-chub-pa'i dus-chen*).

The 17th of the first summer month is the anniversary of the death of the 8th Bogd *jewtsündamba khutagt*. On this day there is a ceremony called *Uuliin lamiin chogo*, when the ritual text for the 8th Bogd, written by Luwsan (Tib. *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 nirvana, which is shown by his footprints in the rock, which are said to have disappeared suddenly indicating that he had entered nirvana (and disappeared from this world). His text, dedicated to the worship of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*, is a specialized version of the *Lamiin chodwa/chodow* (Tib. *bla-ma'i mchod-pa*, 'offering to the Master'). A special thanksgiving offering (*Danrag*, Tib. *gtang-rag*) is offered on this day as well.

The third festival for the Buddha is held on the 4th of the last summer month. It commemorates the day when Buddha first preached the Dharma, often referred to as 'the festival of his first turning of the wheel of Dharma' (*nomiin khüird ergüülekh/ (Burkhan bagsh) nomiin khüird ergüülsen düitsen* or *Choinchor (düitsen)*, Tib. *chos-'khor bskor-ba/ chos-'khor dus-chen*). There is again a *Tüwiin chogo* or *Burkhan bagshiin chogo* ceremony on this day.

On the 5th of the last summer month, the *Jasaa Ikh Ganjuur* or *Altan Ganjuur* ceremony is one of the annual ceremonies only held in Gandan.

There is another kind of festival dedicated to *Maidar* the future buddha (*Maidariin düitsen ödör*) on the 6th of the last summer month with a *Jasaa Jambiin chogo* (Tib. *byams-pa cho-ga*, 'ceremony held in honour of Maitreya') ceremony.

A three-day ceremony is held from the 23rd to 25th of the last summer month called *Wantai günreg* (Tib. *kun-rig-gi dbang*). The *Günreg* Buddha and his 37 attendants are worshipped with his seed syllable recited many times.

On the 3rd of the first autumn month, the ceremony called 'the Great Consecration' (*Ikh arawnai (rawnai*, Tib. *rab-gnas*, 'consecration')) or 'Consecration on the fortunate day' (*Dashnyam arawnai*, Tib. *bkra-shis nyi-ma*, 'fortunate sun') is held. 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. This day a fire offering (*Jinsreg*, Tib. *sbyin-sgreg*) is performed as well.

The next festival on the 22th of the last autumn month is the fourth of the great days of

the Buddha called the *Lkhawawiin düitsen* (*Burkhan bagsh tengeriin ornoos buuj irsen ödör*, Tib. *lha-las babs-pa'i dus-chen*, 'the festival of descending from the gods') festival. It is the day when Buddha descended from the god realms, where he had spent 90 days teaching and performing the *Khailen* (Tib. *khas-len*, 'oath-taking') retreat. A *Tüwiin chogo* or *Burkhan bagshiin chogo* ceremony is performed to commemorate this important event. On the same day the *Demchog* ceremony is also held in honour of *Demchog/Demchig* (Tib. *bde-mchog*, Skr. Chakrasamvara) tutelary deity.

On the 25th of the first winter month there is the anniversary of Tsongkhapa's death called 'the great day of Zonkhawa/Zonkhow' (*Zonkhowiin düitsen*, Tib. *tsong-kha-pa'i dus-chen*) or 'The day he passed away' (*Zonkhowiin taalal bolson/tögssön ödör*, 'The day he was born and passed away' (*Zonkhowiin mendelsen mön taalal bolson/tögssön ödör*) or, as often referred to, as *Zuliin 25-n*, 'the 25th day of butter lamps', reflecting the tradition of lighting countless butter lamps and burning incense sticks in his honour. There is a *Bogd* (*Zonkhawa*) *lamiin chogo* ceremony ('ceremony in honour of Tsongkhapa') held during the day and in the evening butter lamps are lit outside and the *Migzem* (Tib. *dmigs-brtse-ma*), prayer to Tsongkhapa, is recited many times. A mandala offering is made outside the main assembly hall in the evening.

The annual *Khajid* (Tib. *mkha'-spyod*, 'goddess, 'sky goer', 'sky traveller', Skr. dakini) ceremony is held on the 25th of the last winter month. In many Mongolian monasteries, 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 on the 10th days. *Narkhajid* (Tib. *na-ro mkha'-spyod*, Skr. Sarvabuddhadakini) 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.

The ritual year ends with the ceremonial events of the last days of the Lunar New Year, *Tsagaan sar* in Mongolian. The farewell to the old year starts on the 26th of the last winter month with the consecration (*Adislaga*, Tib. *byin-rlabs*) of the new ritual offering cakes (*balin* or *dorom*, Tib. *gtor-ma*). During the ceremony cymbals are played 108 times, a feature introduced by Öndör Gegeen. On the following three days of the old year (the 27th to 29th), three *Sakhius* ceremonies called the 'old ceremonies' (*Khuuchin nomiin khural*) are held to honour the wrathful deities. These ceremonies are held in *Gandan* from 6.00am to 11.00pm and differ from the other ceremonies for the *Sakhius* in that the *Arwan khangal* book is recited in a slower and more melodious way (*ikh yan(gaar)*, Tib. *dbyangs chen*, '(with) great melody/tune') than usual. In *Gandan*, on the 27th the main deity is *Gombo* (with *Gongor*, *Shalsh* and *Jamsran*, and the main deity of 28th is *Ochirwaan'* (with *Lkham*, and *Namsrai*). On the evening of the third day (29th), when *Choiijoo* is the central deity (with *Tsamba*), there is a ceremonial burning of the triangular based pyramid shaped sacred 'cake' and the sacred wooden construction (*Sor zalakh*, Tib. *zor 'phen*), which aims to avert and clear away all troubles and misfortunes. On the next day, the Eve of the New Lunar Year (*Bitüün*), a special *Sakhius* ceremony called *Tsedor lkham* (Tib. *tshes-gtor lha-mo*, *Jiliin dorom* in Mongolian translation) 'the yearly ceremonial cake offering to *Baldan lkham*' is held from 11.00pm to the morning of the New Year in honour of *Baldan lkham*. The reason this ceremony is held on this day is that, according to the legends, *Lkham* arrives in Mongolia in this day as she travels around the world riding on her mule. A special thanksgiving offering, called *Tsedor danrag* (Tib. *tshes-gtor gtang-rag*) is performed to her during the dawn hours. This part is recited with the 'new melody' (*shine yang(aar)*), which was introduced during the time of the 5th *juwtsündamba khutagt*; while the previous parts of the ceremony are recited with the 'old melody' (*khuuchin yang(aar)*), which was introduced during the time of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. The ceremony ends with the tradition of paying homage to or

ceremonial greeting of the lamas (*zolgokh*). *Zolgokh* is a traditional homage practiced on the first some days of *Tsagaan sar* when people visit and greet their older relatives in a ceremonial way. In the temple *zolgokh* has to be made firstly to the highest ranked lamas, then to the remaining ranked lamas and an individual's teachers, after which everyone greets everyone, always the younger the older, in the prescribed order.

As well as the festivals described above, there are some other special annual events held in the monastery. A principal one of these is the oath-taking retreat period (*Khailen* or *Yar khailen*, Tib. (*dbyar*) *has-len*, '(summer) oath-taking', also called *Yarnai*, Tib. *dbyar gnas*, 'summer retreat'), which begins on the 15th of the last summer month and lasts for 45 days. Only *gelen* and *getsel* lamas are allowed to take part in this retreat, during which they confirm their vows, confess their possible mistakes and amend their negative actions. It requires the participation of at least four *gelen* lamas, and the 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*, Tib. *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. *Khailen* is held only in those Mongolian monasteries where there are at least four lamas with *gelen* vows, for example *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery and *Amarbayasgalant* monastery (Selenge aimag). In *Gandan* forty lamas with *gelen* and *getsel* vows participated in 2005.

In 1999 the masked ritual dance called *Khüree tsam* (Tib. 'cham) or *Jakhar tsam* (Tib. *lcags-mkhar* 'cham) was revived in accordance with the rules, techniques and choreography used in Ikh Khüree. To date this was the only occasion the dance was revived, however, there are plans for the student lamas of the teachers, R. Sereeter and D. Danzan, who have both passed away, to bring back the tradition in full using the training they have received.

Gandan monastery has external relations with Tibetan monasteries in India, where many lamas have been given the opportunity to study and attend Buddhist Teaching at high level in order to pass on their knowledge and understanding to a generation of younger Mongolians. Many Tibetan Rinpoches and teachers have been, and, continue to be invited to *Gandan*, to support the revival of the old Buddhist traditions and to help ensure the continuation of a living tradition.

In 1990 it was mainly the surviving lamas, who were young novices before the events of 1937-1938, that were the driving force in reviving from memory the original and distinctive features of Mongolian Buddhism. Within the last fifteen years many have passed away. Fortunately, at the time of the survey, some are still contributing to the rituals and educating the young generation. The researchers were able to meet and interview some of them. One such was Garjidiin Diwaasambu, *tsorj* lama (born 1927, who had been a lama in the assembly (*Khuuchid*) *Khambiin süm* in present Sükhbaatar aimag, Erdenetsagaan sum, after moving there with their congregation (*Khuuchid Khambiin khiid*) from Inner Mongolia, Shiliin gol aimag, Baruun khuuchid khoshuu. This assembly assimilated into *Gandan* in 1960. He also gathered at *Aya Zandan Bandid gegeenii khiid* in Zuun Abaga khoshuu or Zuun Beisiin khoshuu, Inner Mongolia). Others interviewed were: J. Dorjijantsan, *shunlaiw* of *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* (born 1918, *Luu güngiin Khüree*, present Arkhangai aimag, Battsengel sum); Gonchig, main disciplinary master of *Dashchoimbel datsan* (born 1916, *Gendenpeljeelin* or *Norowligbaalin* monastery, present Zawkhan aimag, Tsetsen uul sum and also *Dashchoimbel datsan* in *Bogdiin Khüree*, where he lived in *Shüteenii aimag*); T. Altangerel, main disciplinary master of *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* (born 1924, *Yaruugiin khüree*, Zawkhan aimag, Elderkhan sum); Tsegmediin Luwsan, lama of *Dashchoimbel datsan*

(born 1914, *Khowdiin shar süm/Ööldiin shar süm*, present Khowd aimag center, Khowd). In addition the following old lamas of the present *Tsogchin* temple were interviewed: Lojin Ishjamts (born 1915, *Ööldiin Khüree/datsan* or *Gandanpuntsoglin*, present Khowd aimag, Erdenebüren sum); B. Süren (born 1911 I the year of pig, *Tsakhiurtiin khural/Dorjdamba datsan*, present Dundgow' aimag, Delgertsogt sum and *Delgerchoiriin khiid/Zawa bagshiin Khüree*, Dundgow' aimag, Delgertsogt sum); Mönkhnyamiin Menddawaa (born 1920 in the year of hen, *Sain noyon (khanii) Khüree/Sain khanii Khüree* or *Khan khögshnii Khüree*, present Öwörkhangaï aimag, Uyaanga sum centre); Möriin Samdan (born 1918, (*Borjignii Baruun choir/Tsagaandelgeriin choir*, Dundgow' aimag, Tsagaandelger sum), Chimiddorj (*Baruun-Sönödiin Khar airagiin süm/khural* or *Gandandanjailin khiid*, present Dornogow' aimag, Airag sum, after moving there with their congregation from Baruun Sönöd khoshuu, Inner Mongolia in 1945. This assembly assimilated to Gandan in 1963.), and Luwsangüngaa (born 1924, *Dashgendunjabaaïn khiid/ Bügsiin khüree / Teeliin khural*, Khöwsgöl aimag, Tömörbulag sum). Prior to the purges these old lamas were attached to different monasteries and assemblies in different parts of Mongolia (some originally in Inner Mongolia). They were interviewed by the researchers about the old temples they belonged to and religious life in them. This material is to be published later as is out of the scope of the present survey.

Rinchen 913 - Janraisig datsan

Migjidjanraisig datsan

Tibetan name: mig 'byed spyang-ras gzigs grwa-tshang

English name: Migjid Janraisig Temple, Avalokiteshvara Temple

Mongolian translation: Melmiigeeree bolgooson süm

Elevation 1301 m

N 47°55.374'

E 106°53.698'

This temple is situated in Gandan monastery.

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Sources: Daajaw, B., "Megjidjanraisig", in: Dashnyam, L. (ed.) *Mongol nutag dakh' tüükh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümünlighiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999, pp. 261-262.

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэцтэйн товч*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: Tsültem (36, 82, 91, 180, 182, 185), Maidar (61), Sereeter (74) , Film Archive (K24236, K24735), Shepetilnikov (85), Dashnyam (262)

This imposing building, which became a symbol of Mongolian independence, is a temple dedicated to the honour of Avalokiteshvara (*Janraisig*, Tib. *spyang-ras gzigs*), the Bodhisattva of Compassion.

History

The temple, which is a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese styles, was built behind *Güngaachoilin datsan* and *Lamrin datsan* of *Gandan* monastery (for details see entry Rinchen 912). 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* (Tib. *spyān-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara), the Bodhisattva who looks on all sentient beings with great compassion, his eyesight would improve. On 29th November 1911, Mongolians conferred the ultimate rights of the Bogd khaan, until this time borne by the Manchu emperor (as Mongolia was not a separate state, but part of the Ching empire), to the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. Chinese builders using copper from Doloon nuur ('Seven Lakes', name of a lake in Inner-Mongolia) built the *Janraiseg* statue in 1911 to 1912 with the gilding being done by Mongolian and Chinese masters. On the 13th 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' was a traditional Mongolian way of measurement.) Ten thousand statues of *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* (Tib. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitayus) 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 Prajnyaparamita sutra (*Yum*, Tib. *yum*, 'Verses of Eight Thousand') printed by bronze blocks, and the eight stupas marking the events in Buddha Shakyamuni's life.

According to Sereeter (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* (*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* (Tib. '*jigs-byed*', Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka) and its main protector was *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, Skr. Mahakala). The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Janraisegin nūnnain jas*, *Da-nin-ag khurliin jas*, *Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas*, *Dörwön lamiin Gūnregiin jas*. According to Dashtseren lama, there were ceremonies held here regularly and the temple had one disciplinary master.

The communists destroyed the original statue in 1938 and metal from it was used to make bullets for guns. The temple itself was not destroyed and, according to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 73-74.), it was used as a military barrack from 1938. Pürew claims (*Mongoliin 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 Archive and it was renovated in 1962, 1971 and 1973.

Current situation

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 Kalachakra initiation (*Düinkhoriin wan*), 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. 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 stupas. 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* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* most of which are copies although some of the originals have been recovered. The 10th anniversary of the rebuilding

was celebrated on 23rd October, 2006. (For a detailed story of the rebuilding of the temple and the statue, see Mend-Ooyoo, G., *Bilgiin melmii neegch*, Ulaanbaatar 1997)

This temple is now a focal point for all Mongolians. It is a favourite place for everyone to have their pictures taken: for families from the countryside on their visit to the capital; for newly married couples, for newly graduated classes and so on. There are now several professional photographers in front of the temple building. On the north, east and west sides of *Janraiseg* temple there will stand soon three-three stupas. On its west side there is a yellow coloured stupa and an other one, with the third one being built in 2007. On the south of these three stupas there is a stele erected as well. On the east of the temple there are again two stupas with the third one being built behind them. On the north three stupas are standing in a row. In front of *Janraiseg* temple, there is a small building made of glass, for burning butter lamps. On the west of the temple itself there is a small yurt-shaped building which belongs to *Janraiseg* temple. In the open area in front of *Janraiseg* temple flowers are arranged in flower-beds, which was also a nice novelty in 2007.

Rinchen 914 - Baruun Geser süm

English name: Western Geser Temple, Geser Temple, Temple of the Blue Hat lamas

Chingeltei district, Tasganii owoo, Geser süm

GPS was taken at the entrance on the south of the complex

N 47°55.389'

E 106°53.953'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources for the historical part: Enkhbat, G., “Geser süm”, in: Dashnyam, L. (ed.) *Mongol nutag dakh’ tüükh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümүүnligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999, pp. 254-255.

Ölzii, J., *Mongoliin dursgalt uran barilgiin tüükhees*. Ulaanbaatar 1992

Photo: Dashnyam (254)

Description of the site

At the foot of Dasgaanii owoo hill (to the west of *Gandan*) there is a temple complex with high walls enclosing a collection of pink and white temples and other buildings all with green ceramic tiled roofs. The script OM MANI PADME HUM is written in red on the wall. There are two entrances, with the main entrance on the south side and the other on the east. Inside there are two courtyards. Entering through the main entrance, there are the two small buildings on either side of the first courtyard with the *Badma yogo datsan* belonging to *Gandan* monastery 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 surgalttai 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. See History section.) There are also consulting rooms for astrologers in these buildings.

Behind the temple, in the second courtyard, there are two yurts: one belongs to *Badma yogo datsan* being used for holding ceremonies; the other is the consulting room for a traditional doctor. At the head of this courtyard there are stairs leading up to the old brick building called ‘temple of the Heros’, now being used by *Zurkhai datsan* (see current situation part). Below the stairs in the second courtyard in front of *Zurkhai datsan* there are two wooden buildings one of which is used by astrologers, the other being a small shop selling religious articles as well as being the reception for ordering the text readings in the *Zurkhai datsan*.

In front of this main building in the second courtyard there are fragments of stone statues and stupas, prayer-wheels, and images of *Ochirwaan'* (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje* / *phyag-rdor*, Skr. Vajrapani) and *Namsrai* (Tib. *rnam-(thos)-sras*, Skr. Vaishravana) painted on a stupa in front of the building.

Recently, the wall of the complex was extended and renovated. On the front walls of *Geser süm* complex, in 2007 a colourful neon floodlighting was placed: a mantra in Tibetan script in red colour, in the centre the name of one of the temples housed in *Geser süm*, *Badma yoga datsan* written in white, blue and yellow, and on the two sides in written Mongolian '*Gandang tegčenling dačang*' in yellow and red. This is crowned with three green horse heads in the upper part.

History

Jügger's painting does not show this complex as it was built after 1913. A Chinese Buddhist believer, Zakhar, from the Guwe family (Enkhbat, pp. 254-55.) 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* temple (Rinchen 930) to this site near Gandan from Amgalan (Maimaachen) in 1927. It is possible that both these devotees gave money, sponsored the moving and building of the new temple. (We could not determine which of the sources above is more authentic.)

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 (*khuushaan*) 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 Ölzi (p. 157) the *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Tara temple) was built behind the main 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 archive for *Gandan* monastery from 1960-1970, and medical school (Manba datsan) of *Gandan* monastery from 1970. The 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.

Current situation: *Badma yogo datsan* of *Gandan* monastery and *Zurkhai datsan*

Today, the *Badma yogo datsan* of *Gandan* monastery and another temple, *Zurkhai datsan* use the two extant temples of *Geser süm*. There are several other religious institutions in the complex as well.

Zurkhai datsan

Tüwdenpeljeelin

Tibetan name: thub-brtan dpal rgyas gling

English name: Astrological monastic school

Data provider: Amraa, lama of the datsan (aged 22)

Zurkhai datsan is situated at the back or upper court of the old *Geser süm* complex. Currently it seems to be an independent temple, but its ownership is disputed. This remains an unresolved issue. At the moment it does not belong to *Gandan*. The other functioning temple situated in this site, *Badma yogo datsan*, does.

Zurkhai datsan has operated in this site since 1990. The head of the temple (*khamba*) is J. Gonchigsüren who is also one of the two astrologers belonging to the temple. There is also a *lowon*, two chanting masters and one disciplinary master. At present, there are twenty lamas in the temple, owning either the *genen*, *getsel* and, some, *gelen* vows. Two or three lamas have been trained in India in a monastic philosophical school.

The reception where individuals order texts (with a fixed price list), is in a separate building also selling religious articles, to the right hand side of the front of the temple building. People also visit the astrologers to make their requests in their consulting rooms, which are inside the temple building. The daily chanting is held from 9.00am and laypeople can come to the temple until 5.00 or 6.00pm.

The main tutelary deity of the temple is *Jigjid* (Tib. *'jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka), while the main protector is *Chojoo* (Tib. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. Dharmaraja, epithet of Yama). There is a huge statue of *Chojoo* and several thangkas and statues of *Jigjid*, *Ochirwaan'*, *Lkham* (shortly for *Baldan lkham*, Tib. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Skr. Shridevi) and other protector deities. In the middle there is a statue of Tsongkhapa. The Tibetan version of *Ganjuur* is kept in the temple.

There are special ceremonies performed monthly. On the 8th of the month a ceremony is held in honour of the Medicine Buddha, *Manal* (Tib. *sman-bla*, Skr. Bhaishajyaguru). On the 15th Guhyasamaja tantra (*Sanduin jüd*) is recited, on the 25th *Oroin yerööl* ceremony is held for the deceased, on the 29th the ritual of the wrathful deities (*Sakhius*) is performed together with a *balin* offering (*Dügjüü*), and on the 30th the ritual of the sixteen disciples of Buddha (*Naidan*) is performed.

A teacher from *Gandan* monastery comes three times a week to educate the lamas in

recitation (chanting), translation and astrology. The lamas often visit the Tibetan lama teacher's lectures in Bakula Rinpoche's monastery (*Betiüw khiid*), which is just over the road.

The erection of new two-storey building for this *datsan* was started in 2006 on Dasganii owoo hill that is outside the walls behind the *Geser süm* complex. In 2007 the construction works are advanced enough, the two storey building is almost finished, with an octagonal roof and broad steps leading to the entrance door, though the building is not painted yet.

Badma yogo/ Badmayogo/ Badmayoga/ Badamyoga datsan

Gandantegchenlin khiidiin Badma yogo datsan

Written Mongolian name: niyuča-yi бүтүгэгчи yeke kölgen-ü badm-a yoγ-a dačang

Tibetan name: gsang-sgrub theg-chen-gling pad-ma yo-ga grwa-tshang

English name: Badmayoga monastic school

Data providers: Mönkh-Ochir, Ts. Günychin-Ish (2004 survey), Jamiyangarwa (2005 survey) lamas of the datsan

Before 1937, the wooden temple of *Badma yogo datsan* was situated in the Gandan complex alongside *Dashchoimbel datsan*.

From 16 January 2002 *Badma yogo (Badma yoga) datsan* began to operate in one of the two remaining temple buildings in the first courtyard of *Geser süm*. 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* (Tib. *rta-mgrin yang-gsang*) and the main protector is *Jamsran* (Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector. In the temple ceremonies (*Sharjin*, Tib. *shar-'byung*, monastic school daily chanting) are held every day from 9.00am to 12 noon. Believers can visit the temple until 5.00pm. There are images of *Awid* (Tib. *'od-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitabha) and Padmasambhava, and on the altar a statue of *Damdin Yansan* with his consort, which is usually curtained off. *Damdin Yansan* is a four-faced and six-armed tutelary deity with wings, and a horse-head in his hair, embracing his consort. As Padmasambhava worshipped him he became the main tutelary deity in Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temples. There are also thangkas of Buddha, *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, Skr. Mahakala) and *Awid*. On the left side of the temple there is the disciplinary master's room and on the right side, the room for making ceremonial cakes (*balin*). A Tibetan version of the *Ganjuur* is kept in the temple.

Before 2002 *Gandan* monastery's *Manba datsan* used this building. As it is administered directly by *Gandan* monastery, the abbot is D. Choijamts, the abbot of *Gandan*. The *lowon*, Ts. Günychin-Ish, is the leader of the temple. There is one disciplinary master and two chanting masters. At present 30 lamas a number of whom have *getsel* vows, belong to the temple. Last year the first lama to have the opportunity to study to India went there for two years. The temple has an astrologer as well.

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*. On the 8th of the month the ceremony, called Four Mandalas of Tara (*Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwa*) is performed, while on the 15th of the month the Guhyasamaja tantra (*Sanduin jüd*) is recited, and on the 30th the ritual (*Naidan chogo*) of the sixteen arhats or the main disciples of Buddha is held. Five volumes of the *Ganjuur* are read every morning. Every year, either in spring or in autumn (in 2005 it was held in autumn), the ceremony of *Yeröoliin khaan* ('King of the prayers') or *Sanjidmolom khural* (Tib. *bzang spyod smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*, Skr. Arya

Bhadracharya pranidhanaraja, 'king prayer of good actions') is performed for three days.

There are various other smaller rituals held monthly or weekly. For example, the *balin* offering called *Chojoo dügjüü* is presented to *Chojoo* on the 9th, 19th and 29th of the month. *Shirnen düdeg/düdog* (Tib. *sher-snying bdud-bzlog*, the Heart Sutra exorcist ritual) is held on the 4th, 14th and 24th of the month. *Jawshi* (a kind of *Gürem* healing text to *Chojoo*) is recited on the 7th, 17th and 27th. Every Saturday the special tantric ritual, *Lüijin* is performed, and also the texts for long life (*Tsegmediin chogo*) worshipping *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* (Tib. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitayus), the Buddha of Boundless life are recited. Every Sunday *Oroin yerööl* ceremony is read for the deceased. Individuals can request these rituals for fixed prices.

The reception for ordering texts is on the right of the main entrance of the temple complex.

Rinchen 915 - Chojin lamiin süm

Nomiig tetgegch, Shashin sakhigchiin ordon, Zepellin süm, Örshööliig khögjüülegch süm, Zankhan

Tibetan name: chos-skyong bla-ma, brtse-'phel gling, gtsang-khang

English name: Temple of Chojin lama, Temple of the "Protector of the Teaching", Temple of Increasing Mercy, Sanctuary

N 047°54.904

E 106°55.102

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (born 1921)

Source: Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

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Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photo: Tsültem (61-69, 168), Maidar (40, 62, 91), Sereeter (79), Film Archive (K23921-K23967), Shepetilnikov (26, 60-69), Geleta/Forbáth (8), Dashnyam (245, 272)

History

According to Sereeter (pp.77-78.) the head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*) of Ikh Khüree, Baldanchaimbol (bearing the title between 1865-1899), recognized Erdennamjil (known later as Luwsankhaidaw, Tib. blo-bzang mkhas-grub), the younger brother of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* as the oracle and interpreter of the *Chojin* (Tib. *chos-skyong*, Skr. dharmapala), 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 khot, being in control, made Luwsankhaidaw the oracle giving him the title of oracle lama (*Chojin lam*). He adds that the oracle lama took Sürenkhorloo, daughter of the Zaisan Damdin of Maimaa khot, as his wife.

The oracle, who was educated by a lama from India or Tibet called *Sotow/Seti/Seetew*

Gürtembe (Tib. 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 (pp. 107-109.), a Mongolian lama, Luwsanpeljee (Tib. 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 (*jas*). The temple had the privileges of a small *datsan* and, 50 lamas were appointed to participate in the ceremonies. According to Jambal, the *Ikh shaw*' (areas subordinated to the *jewtsündamba khutagt* and his ecclesiastical estate) supplied all the financial resources (English text 11., Mongolian text 690.) for this temple. In 1903 the temple burnt down and many yurts were put up for the *Choijin lam* in the enclosed yard of *Tsakhriin shadar güin Shagdarjaw* (*Tsakhhar Shagdar güin*), where permanent ceremonies were held (Jambal, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.). These were sponsored by the *gegeen*'s treasury (*ikh san*) 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 (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 Shoiw Ayuush of *Wangain aimag*, who was from the territory (*khoshuu*) of Zorigt wan, Osorbazar (O. wan) in Tüsheets 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 *Örshöoliig khögjüülegch süm* or *Zepellin* (Tib. brtse 'phel gling, 'Temple of Increasing Mercy'). Jügder's painting shows the whole temple complex with its surrounding courtyards and buildings.

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 *Naichiin Choijin* (Tib. gnas-chung chos-skyong), *Zimur/ Zemer/Zemur Choijin* (Tib. rtse-ma-ra/tsi-ma-ra chos-skyong or tsi'u dmar-po, the special protector deity of Samye monastery) and *Dorjshüg/Shüg Choijin* (Tib. rdo-rje shugs chos-skyong) 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 (perhaps Tib. mgon-po, protector?, though Ölzii (p. 188.) interprets the term as *gomboo lam* or *khiidiin lam*, Tib. 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*, Tib. *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* (Tib. *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 Ölzii, 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*, Tib. *sku rten-pa sku bcar mkhan-po*, Bawden, 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 owned 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* (Tib. 'jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka) and *Damdin* (Tib. *rta-mgrin*, Skr. *Hayagriva*), while its main protectors were *Naichün/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* (Tib. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang*) or *Akhu datsan* was situated within the temple complex in the east (for details on this *datsan* see entry NOT in Rinchen 953).

According to Dariimaa (p. 41.), the *Tsam* dance was held on the 29th of the last summer month, though Ölzii claims (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* (Tib. *ma-mo*), *Zan* (Tib. *brtsan?*, a kind of demon, powerful ghost) and *Tawan khan* (Tib. *sku-lnga rgyal-po*, 'Five Kings'), with the speaker lama Peljee (Luwsanpeljee, the *Daichin khamba*) acting as *Tawan khan* (Ölzii, 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. (His death seems to have put an end to the *Tsam* dances as well.) According to Ölzii's book (p. 107-109), Luwsanpeljee was appointed to lead the temple and was given the title *Güjir khambo* (Tib. *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 (p. 78.) from 1940 the complex was handed over to the

Academy of Sciences (*Shinjlekh ukhaanii khüreeleen*). 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 temple buildings were repainted in 1972 and the roof of *Zuugiin süm* was renovated in 1995. The buildings were renovated again in 2004.

Current situation

After the democratic change there was a wish among some with a form of demonstrations taking place (Film Archive 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 nice example of Manchu religious architecture. Almost all the buildings, the *yampai* (Chinese yang pai, protective wall in front of the temple), 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 Maharajas (*Makhranz*, Tib. *rgyal chen*, Skr. Mahārāja, 'great king', guards of the four directions), called *Makhranziin süm* with statues of the guards of the four directions. In front of it once stood a stone 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 Baldanchoimbol with the statue of *Choijin lam* to the right and the embalmed mummy of Baldanchoimbol (the *yonzon lam*, teacher of the 7th and 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*), 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 Ikh Khüree in the 19th century. The most attractive figure is *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector, whose mask ornamented with about 30 kilograms 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*, Tib. *blos bslangs*, also called *ordon* ('palace') in Mongolian) of different deities, namely *Jigjid*, *Yansan yadam* (Tib. *yang-gsang yi-dam*), *Maidar* (Tib. *byams-pa*, Skr. Maitreya) and *Awid* (Tib. 'od-dpag-med, Skr. Amitabha) (their palaces being called *Jigjidiin ordon*, *Yansan yadamiin ordon*, *Maidariin ordon*, *Awidiin ordon*) made from myrtle wood by master Balgan; some old photoes of the *Tsam* dance; numerous magnificent thangkas and appliques. 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*, Tib. *mgon-khang* or *Zonkhon*, Tib. *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'* (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje* / *phyag-rdor*, Skr. Vajrapani), *Naichün*, *Zimur*, *Dorjshüg*, *Damdin Sandiüw* (Tib. *rta mgrin gsang sgrub*) and *Perenleijalwa/Perenleijalbuu* (Tib. *'phrin-las rgyal-po*, one of the 'Five Kings', *Tawan khaan*, Tib. *sku lnga rgyal-po*) worshipped by Luwsankhaidaw are exhibited in this hall.

The *Zuugiin süm*, 'temple of the Lord/Buddha Shakyamuni' is situated to the north-west of the main temple. This temple is dedicated to Shakyamuni Buddha and in it there are huge statues of the Buddhas of past, present and future, statues of the 16 main disciples of Shakyamuni (*Naidan*, Tib. *gnas-brtan*, Skr. sthavira or arhat), 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 *Yadamiin süm* ('Temple of the tutelary deity', Tib. *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* (Tib. *grub chen nag-po*), one of the 84 Indian Mahasiddhas (*düwchin*, Tib. *grub chen*), *Yansan yadam* and *Düinkhor* (Tib. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kalacakra), *Makhamayaa* (Tib. *sgyu-ma chen-mo*, Skr. Mahamaya), *Ochirdar'* (Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. Vajradhara) and other tantric deities. One of the most beautiful bronze statues made by Öndör gegeen, *Dorjsembe Buddha* (Tib. *rdo-rje sems-dpa'* Skr. Vajrasattva, a sambhogakaya buddha, adibuddha of the Kagyüpa Sect) 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, is also kept in the museum.

Rinchen 916 - Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural)

Nartad dagnangiin khural

English name: Nartad Dagini Assembly (assembly of Damdin lama)

GPS was taken at the 50th food shop

Elevation 1282m

N 47°54.852'

E 106°54.485'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

Nartad Daginiin khural, led by Damdin lama, was in the South-west *khoro*, quarter (Baruun ömnöd *khoro*) of the city, a district where laymen lived. 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 was also called '*Nartad Daginiin khural*'.

According to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 75., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 42.) *Nartad dagnangiin* or *Damdin lamiin khural* was situated to the south of the current location of the State Department Store, where the 50th food shop (*Khüinsnii baraanii 50-r delgüür*) is now situated. Prior to its destruction, it was the eastern branch of Usnii gudamj, a street called 'Water Street' in the South-west quarter (see introduction, Lay Population Quarters part).

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 Dagniin khural*) clear.

Current situation

As the assembly worked inside a yurt, there are no remains and the site has been completely built over.

Rinchen 917 - Dar' ekhiin khural

Tibetan name: sgrol-ma

English name: Dar' ekh Assembly, Tara Assembly

GPS Readings for the building of Ögöj Candy and Bakery Products Factory, on Seoul Street

Elevation 1287m

N 47° 54.799'

E 106° 53.783'

GPS Readings for Tserendorj örgön chölöö, on the west of 50th food shop

Elevation 1283m

N 47° 54.833'

E 106° 54.432'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (born 1921)

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

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 chölöö, the road leading to the Circus from the State Department Store). According to Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 75.) *Dar' ekhiin süm* was situated in the present Tserendorj Street. According to his other book (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 42) *Nartad Dagnan 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.

Our informant Dashtseren lama was the only person we interviewed who could provide information from his own experience. He told us that *Dar' ekhiin khural* was in the

South-West quarter (Baruun ömnöd khoroo) 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 Ögöj Candy and Bakery Products Factory (Ögöj chikher boownii üildwer) 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 75.), contradicts Dashtseren lama saying it was a Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temple.

No other data was found.

Current situation

There are no remains. Whether or not the temple was situated at the present site of Ögöj 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.

Rinchen 918 - Töwdiin khural

Unzai lamiin khural

English name: Assembly of Tibetans, Assembly of Unzai lama

GPS was taken at School number 24th, west of present State Department Store

Elevation 1286m

N 47°55.025'

E 106°54.148'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Sources: Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Dügersüren, L., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999

Forbáth, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

Idshinnorow, Sh., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

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 stupas of the 5th and 7th *jewtsündamba khutagts* were (5-*r bogdiin shariliin süm*, 7-*r bogdiin shariliin süm*, 'the relics temples of the 5th and 7th *bogd*' (These temples are currently called *Ochirdariin süm* or Vajradhara temple, which is the *Tsogchin* temple of Gandan monastery, and *Zuugiin süm*, the Buddha temple beside it.) 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 Dүgersүren (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 (*Tөwdiin khoroo*) sprang up around this building, which served as a refuge shelter (*nөmөргөн*) for the Tibetan inhabitants. As it was situated neither in Gandan nor in Zүүн Khүree where commerce was not allowed, it became a commercial centre selling Chinese goods. In effect it was a free trade zone.

This *Tөwdiin khoroo* was situated in Baruun өмнөд 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 Pүrew's book (*Mongoliin uls төрийн төw*, p. 46.) the treasury (*Dalai lamiin san* or *Tөwdiin 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, Tib. 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 Dolonnuur.

The Tibetan assembly (*Tөwdiin khural*), situated in the Tibetan quarter, was also called as *Unzai lamiin khural*, most probably after its head, *Unzai lam*. It occupied a wooden building. Only Tibetan male lamas belonged to this Gelukpa (Yellow Sect) temple, about 30 in number. Daily chanting was held. According to Dashtseren lama, some of the lamas had wives.

No other data was found on this assembly.

Current situation

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 өмнөд khoroo*. According to Idshinnorow (p. 34.) the Tibetan quarter was situated around the present School No. 24. on the west of State Department Store.

There are no remains, the whole area is built up.

Rinchen 919 - Tantonjalbiin khural (Zodiin khural)

Tantanjalbiin khural

Tibetan name: thang-stong rgyal-po

English name: Assembly of Tantonjalb(a)

Data providers: Dashtseren lama of Zүүн Khүree *Dashchoilin* monastery (born 1921); B. Ariunbold, the head of Puntsoglin monastery; G. Buyandelger, chanting master of Zүүн Khүree *Dashchoilin* monastery

Sources: Pүrew, O., *Mongoliin uls төрийн төw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pүrew, O., *Mongol төрийн golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Sүkhbaatar, O. (transl.), *Majiglawdonmaagiin namtar*. Ulaanbaatar, 2004

Painting by Jүgder (1913)

Photos: none

GPS was taken in front of the Second Maternity Centre (*2r törökh gazar*)

Elevation 1295m

47°54.836'

106°54.140'

History

Although Rinchen mentions this temple as *Tanshinjalbiin khural*, its correct name is *Tantonjalbiin* or *Tantanjalbiin khural*. *Tanton* is the name of a Tibetan siddha, who was worshipped there.

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* (NOT in Rinchen 950). In these temples lamas and female lamas (called *khandmaa* (Tib. *mkha'* - 'gro-ma, female sky-goer, dakini, used for female practitioners with *genen* vow) held ceremonies together and all of them were *Zod* (Tib. *gcod*) tantric masters performing *Lüijin* (Tib. *lus-sbyin*), the body offering ritual.

The two temples were situated in *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*, the South-West quarter, on the north of the Middle River that was one of the districts where laymen lived. Pre-1938, the Nyingmapa (Red Sect) temples and *Zod* temples were situated in this quarter, in the south between Züün Khüree and Gandan. According to Pürew's book (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 45.), the quarter called Badarchinii dow ('the hill of the itinerant (*Badarchins*) lamas'), with the dwellings (yurts and tents without fenced-off yards) 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*). *Tantonjalbiin dуган* 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 (Tib. *dpa'*-bo skyabs). 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* (Tib. *rdo-rje phag-mo*, Skr. Vajravaraḥi, 'Diamond/Vajra Sow') 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. Tanton or Tantonjalba (Tib. *thang-stong rgyal-po*) 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 Jam'yaanchenzeebambuu (Tib. 'jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po, pronounced in Tibetan as Jamyang Khyentse 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 O. Sükhbaatar (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.

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. Unfortunately, we could not contact her during the project research period.

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 (86 years old, also a lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery and our informant) 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 *Dechinchoilintawshisümbrellin* temple, also known as *Jagarmolomiin khural* (NOT in Rinchen 950). This was another Nyingmapa (Red Sect) *Zod* temple, which was situated within the same enclosure as *Tantonjalbiin khural*.

Current situation

In 1938 these two small wooden temples were totally destroyed. There are no remains. *Tantonjalbiin khural* was situated at the present site of the Second Maternity Center (2nd *törökh gazar*) on Seoul Street.

Rinchen 920 - Yutawiin khural (Oidowiin khural)

(In the same enclosure as *Dagwa zodchiin khural*)

English name: Assembly of Oidow

Seoul Street, near Natsagdorj library

Elevation 1289 m

N 47°54.854'

E 106°54.563'

Next to Lenin (Sanktpeterburg) Club

Elevation 1297m

N 47°54.984'

E 106°55.108'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Source: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

According to Rinchen's map, *Oidowiin khural* was situated within the same enclosure as the Assembly of *Dagwa zodoch* (NOT in Rinchen 951). The two buildings were located in the south-west 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 Daginiin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural*, Rinchen 916) and *Dar' ekhiin khural* (Rinchen 917).

According to Dashtseren lama, the Assembly of *Dagwa zodoch* was situated near the present Lenin Club, south of Sükhbaatar Square, north of *Choijin 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 60.) the Lenin Club (currently known as the Sanktpeterburg Club) was built in 1929, to the north of *Choijin lamiin süm*, on a site

where there was a building used by a lama who was a friend of *Choijin* 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* (Tib. *dn̄gos-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.

No other data was found about this temple.

Current situation

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.

Rinchen 921 - Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm (Bogd khaanii serüün ord) Khaist ordon, Khaistai ordon/ lawran/ labran, Khashaatai lawran, Khailaastiin süm ordon

Tibetan name: ?

Written Mongolian name: Qayisutai ordon

English name: Erdmiin Dalai Buyan Chuulgan Temple, Bogd Khaan's summer palace, 'Fenced-off palace'

GPS was taken at the site of the remaining two-storey building

Elevation 1273 m

N 47°53.662'

E 106°54.821'

Data providers: Dr O. Pürew; Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921); B. Daajaw architect

Sources: Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Dariimaa, G., *Dursagdakhiin buyantai burkhan zuraach*. Ulaanbaatar 2003

Forbáth, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Painting by unknown painter, kept in the Bogd Khaan Museum (Tsültem, N., *Mongol zurag*, Ulaanbaatar 1986, picture No. 170.)

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photoes: Geleta/Forbáth (184), present state: <http://ulaanbaatar.m-heritage.org>

History

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 the painting shows that the palace area was divided into six small courts with the buildings arranged in them. According to Dariimaa (p. 45.), there was a wooden clock mounted on the top of a tall wooden tower standing in the courtyard. However, according B. Daajaw, the tower was a radio antennae 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 (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. 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 *Yalguusan 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 on-going sexual relationship with these youngsters. After his death, all his belongings were confiscated by the commission of the people's government (*zasgiin gazriin 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 Chingeltei 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 (*Mongoliin 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 our informant Dashtseren lama.) The 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 (part of the picture is published in Tsültem, N., *Mongol zurag*, Ulaanbaatar 1986, picture No. 170.). 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 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 (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 62.), the summer palace was used by the Central School of the Revolutionary Party after 1937.

Current situation

The buildings of the complex that remains today are situated south of the Management Academy (*Udirdlagiin Akademi*) on the left of the road that leads to the Bogd Khaan Museum from the city. (The building can be reached by turning right just before the gate to the

Management Academy.) It is not known 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.

This building is said to be all that remains of the Summer Palace. However, 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 appear 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 Tsagdaagiin Gazriin khüikhdiin khalamj, üilchilgeenii 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. In modern Ulaanbaatar this area is situated to the south of Management Academy and south-west of the Health Resort Sanatorium (*Orgil*).

Rinchen 922 - Tsagaan süm (Güngadejidlin)

Güngadejidlen süm, Güngadejidlin, Dood süm, Khutagtiin Tsagaan süm, Tuuliin Tsagaan süm, Öwgön tsagaan süm, Khotol bayasgalant amgalan jargalangiin süm, Khotliig bayasgan jarguulagch

Tibetan name: kun-dga' bde-skyid gling

English name: White temple, Güngaa dejidlin, Lower temple (according to the flow of Tuul River), White temple of the khutagt, White temple by the Tuul River, White old temple

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Sources: Banzragch, Ch., Sainkhüü, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin tüükh (emkhtgel)*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*, Ulaanbaatar, 1970

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: Tsültem (58, 59), Maidar (142), Sereeter (88), Shepetilnikov (23), Geleta/Forbáth (200)

GPS was taken on the west side of the First or Central Electricity Plant, inside the fence

Elevation 1283 m

N 47°55.570'

E 106°52.696'

History

According to Sereeter (pp.87-88), the decision to construct this palace was made in 1838. It was finally built in 1840 by the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* on the right bank of Tuul River (today on the west of the First or Central Electricity Plant (*Töv 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 being 1,6 m) (See Banzragch, p. 15). The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the construction of the palace.

According to Dashtseren lama, *Güngaaidejidlin* or *Tsagaan süm* was a palace more than a temple as lamas did not reside there permanently. According to Pürew (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 59.), this building was used as the summer residence of the 6th, 7th and 8th *jewtsündamba khutagts*. Maidar lists this palace under the name of *Öwgön 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 (p. 88.), within the palace complex of *Güngaaidejidlin* there were buildings including Amitabha temple (*Awidiin süm*), the Temple of Öndör geegen (*Öndör geegenii süm*), the Palace of the Bogd (*Bogdiin lawran*), and the Yurt palace of the gate (*Üüdnii ger tugdum/tugdam*).

Jambal (English text pp. 8-9., Mongolian text pp. 686-687.) describes some of the images kept in this temple. He describes a *Jigjid* (Tib. 'jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka) statue made of steel, which was said to have been made in the time of the 8th *bogd*. It was one cubit high (the measure being *üzüür tokhoi* in Mongolian, equalling to the measure from the elbow to the end of the middle finger) and the sparkling implements it held were all skilfully made of silver. There was also a similar statue of *Damjan Dorlig* (Tib. *dam-can rdor-legs*, the oath-bound protector Vajrasadhu) riding a goat. The body of the statue of *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector) was made of iron with the head being gilded (painted with gold). There was also a precious *Khajid* (Tib. *mkha'-spyod*, Skr. Dakini) image at this temple, which was venerated by the 5th *bogd* when he was performing the *Khajid* meditation (*ninchin*, most probably Tib. *snying-schen*). It was a gilded brass statue completely covered by cloth, with only one hand visible. These images were sent by the *Dalai Choinkhor wan* in Sain noyon khan aimag (his territories were situated in the present Zawkhan, Khöwsgöl and Arkhangai aimag boundaries). According to Sereeter (p. 88.), among these were the valuable statues of the ten wrathful protectors.

Jambal also tells how Öndör Geegen'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-mache statuette of Öndör Geegen. A portrait of the *jewtsün* Daranata (Skr. Taranatha) was also in the White Temple. According to Jambal, it was sent to the *Chojn lamiin süm* after 1938, along with many other paintings and ritual objects from all over the capital, where it was at the time Damdinsüren interviewed him in the 1950's. It is presumed that it is there to this day, though we were not able to confirm this.

The Great Financial Unit (*Ikh jas*) and the Öndör Geegen Financial Unit (*Öndör geegenii jas*) provided the funds for all expenses from 1925. However, most of the complex was completely destroyed in 1938 though, according to Pürew (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 63.), the *Tsagaan süm* was used as a leather factory for some years after this.

Current situation

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 some ten meters difference.

Rinchen 923 - Narokhajidiin süm

Narkhajid/Narkhajidiin süm, Baldankhajidlin, Pandilin/Pandelin süm, Tus amgalangiin süm

Tibetan names: na-ro mkha'-spyod, dpal-ldan mkha'-spyod gling, phan-bde gling

Written Mongolian names: Pandeling süm-e

English name: Narokhajidiin temple, Baldankhajidlin, Pandelin

GPS was taken in front of the University of Agriculture

1311m, N 47°53.268', E 106°54.584'

Data providers: Dr O. Pürew, Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921), B. Daajaw architect

Sources: Banzragch, Ch., Sainkhüü, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin tüükh (emkhetgel)*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Idshinnorow, Sh., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen bütetsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photo: none

History

According to Sereeter (p. 80.) and Idshinnorow (p. 22.) *Pandilin* temple was founded in 1840 on the initiative of the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt*.

The foundation of the temple is often connected to Danzanrawjaa (Tib. bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas), the fifth reincarnation of a Sakya saint, (1803-1856), the abbot of *Khamriin khiid* in the present Dornogow' aimag, famous writer, poet, playwright and founder of many monasteries.

According to Sereeter, it was also called *Narkhajidiin süm* after its main tutelary deity, *Narkhajid* (Tib. na-ro mkha'-spyod, Skr. Sarvabuddhadakini). On the well-known Jügder painting *Pandilin* is situated in the area near the present Zaisan tolgoi. Sereeter writes that initially the temple was situated south of the White palace (*Güngaadejidlin*, Rinchen 922) 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 (p. 15) its grounds covered an area of 25×27 *ald* (1 ald being 1,6 m).

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 *Lkhan-aa Demchog* (Tib. lha lnga bde-mchog, the five deities of Chakrasamvara mandala) and *Dolgornaljormaa* (Tib. sgrol-dkar rnal-'byor-ma, The White Tara yogini) yogini. The great treasury (*Ikh jas*) paid the expenses of the temple although there was one own financial unit (*jas*) 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 with four lamas from the *Tsogchin* temple holding 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* (Tib. *mkha'-spyod*, Skr. dakini, 'goddess', 'sky goer', 'sky traveler') 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*, Tib. *mkha'-'gro-ma*, Skr. dakini, '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, *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*, the Tibetan equivalent being perhaps *snying-chen*) along with the 5th *bogd*.

No other data was found about the religious life of the old *Narkhajid* temple.

According to O. Pürew, this temple was used for the worship of the King of the Water Spirits (*lusiin khaan*). Temples of this kind were situated next to 'holy' water sources. Other examples in Ikh Khüree were *Züün salaanii khural* (Rinchen 940), *Baruun salaanii khural* (NOT in Rinchen 946) and *Lowon Jalbiin süm* (NOT in Rinchen 944).

According to Sereeter (p. 80.), the temple was closed in the winter of 1937 at which time statues and books were moved to the White Palace, *Güngaadejidlin*.

Current situation

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 dakini, which they claim are the same as the ceremonies supposedly held in the old *Narkhajid* temple. Despite this, the two modern temples have no proven connection with the old one.

Rinchen 924 - Dünjongarwiin süm

Dünjingaraw/ Dünjingarbo, Ömniig tetgegch tsagaan lawain süm

Tibetan name: dung skyong dkar-po

English name: Dünjingaraw temple

GPS was taken at the presumed site, in front of Bulgarian Embassy

Elevation 1286m

N 47° 54.830'

E 106° 55.344'

Data providers: Dr O. Pürew, Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery

Sources: Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Dulam, S., *Khüree dörwön uuliin takhilga, belgedel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004
Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004
Painting by Jügder (1913)
Photo: Film Archive (K24089)

History

The outskirts of the city were dotted with chapels where temporary assemblies of lamas gathered on specific days to worship the local spirits of mountains, such as *Dünjongarwiin süm*, *Bogdiin khiid (dugan)* or *Tsetsee günii khural* (Rinchen 938) and *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* (Rinchen 941).

Dünjongaraw (Tib. *dung skyong dkar-po*) is the name of one of the eight kings of water spirits (Tib. *klu*, Skr. *naga*). One of the sub-peaks in the Bogd Khan Mountain, which is near Zaisan tolgoi has the same name (Elevation 1755m, N 47°52.124', E 106°53.503').

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 (p. 74.), the day before the ceremony to worship the spirits under the leadership of a prince from Tüsheets Khan clan (descendants of Chinggis Khan) the following things were delivered by two white camels from *Dünjongaraw* temple to Tsetsee Gün, a shrine on the highest peak of Bogd Khan Mountain: black weapon (Dulam, p. 76. *khar tsakhiur buu*, 'black coloured rifle/gun'), bows, arrows, swords and armor belonging to Awtai Sain Khan (1534-1589, statesman of Tüsheets Khan aimag) and Baatar Beil, as well as a tiger-skin, leopard-skin, bear-skin, wolf-skin etc.

According to Pürew (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 40.), the area between *Dünjongaraw* hill and the Middle River (Dund gol) was under the authority of *Zorigt wan*, Osorbazar (1841-1895) or O. wan, a Mongolian noble from Tüsheets Khan aimag who had a Chinese wife. *Dünjongaraw* shrine was built in the 19th century (Pürew, *Mongol 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 (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 Archive (K24087-89, 93 box), which have been identified with the name *Dünjongaraw*. 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. We believe that one of them (K24089) does show the real *Dünjongaraw* temple.

According to the drawing kept in Ulaanbaatar city museum *Osorbazar wangiin khoroo* and *Setsen khaanii khoroo* were located north of *Dünjongaraw*.

No other data was found about this temple.

Current situation

There are no remains. The temple was located on the east side of the fun-fair park, next to the present-day Bulgarian Embassy.

Rinchen 925 - Dechingalawiin khural

Dechingalaw/Dechingalwa, Döinkhor datsan, Ikh amgalant tsag

Tibetan name: bde chen bskal-pa, dus-'khor grwa-tshang

Sanskrit name: Kalachakra

Mongolian translation of the name: Ikh amgalant tsag

English name: Dechingalaw/Kalachakra Assembly, Dechingalaw/Kalachakra monastic school

GPS was taken in front of the 6th building of Mongolian National University, the presumed site of the old temple

N 47°55.559'

E 106°55.063'

Dataprovider: G. Buyandelger, chanting master of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery

Sources: Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development. Ulaanbaatar 2005, pp. 302-303.

Pozdneyev, A. M., *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank, D., Bloomington, Indiana University 1971

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэсiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999, p. 40.

Printed information sheet in Mongolian on the present temple, which is now in the Gandan complex

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: Tsültem (intr: 22; 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56), Maidar (107), Sereeter (84), Film Archive (K23699, K23999, K24005, K24009, K24020), Shepetilnikov, Palsi (83), Geleta/Forbáth (152)

History

The Kalachakra teachings, the 'Wheel of time' (Tib. *dus-'khor*, pronounced as *Düinkhor* in Mongolia, *Tsagiin khüird* in Mongolian translation), is one of the secret tantric teachings given by Shakyamuni Buddha to the first King of the legendary kingdom of Shambhala, called Suchandra (Tib. *zla-ba bzang-po*, *Diwaasambuul/ Dewaasambuul / Dawasambuul* in Mongolian pronunciation).

The teaching became widespread in the 11th 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* (Tib. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kalachakra) 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 (*jüid*, Tib. *rgyud*) was founded by the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1739 under the Tibetan name: *Bde-chen gsang-sngags gling* (*Dechinshanaglin*). Later, three places were established where tantric systems were followed, namely *Dechingalaw datsan*, *Badma yogo datsan* and *Jüid datsan* (see entry 910 and 912). According to the information sheet in the present day *Düinkhor datsan*, the original *datsan* was constructed in 1800 after the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* visited the Kalachakra temple in Lhasa and participated in the Kalachakra initiation (*awshig*, Skr. *abhisheka*) performed by Lkhokh or Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid Gegeen (in short form, Lkhokh jalsrai gegeen, Tib. ? rgyal-sras bskal-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-byed, Tibetan Yellow sect master of the 4th *jewtsündamba*). He founded *Dechingalawiin süm* in the area of *Düinkhoriin aimag*, which got its name after its main tutelary deity, *Düinkhor*, and after a special ceremony called 'small *Düinkhor*' (*baga düinkhor*) or *Jambal choijin* (Tib. *'jam-dpal chos-skyong*), which was held there every month. The main tutelary deity of the temple was *Düinkhor*, while the main protectors were *Dorjshüg* (Tib. *rdo-rje shugs(-ldan)*) and *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib.

lcam-sring), the Red Protector. According to Sereeter (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 (Tib. *rtsis-rims-pa*), the highest academic qualification in astrology, could be obtained in the *datsan*.

The brass portrait (*gündaa*, Tib. *sku-'dra*) of Jalsrai geegen (Lkhokh or Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid Geegen, Lkhokh jalsrai geegen, Tib. ? rgyal-sras bskal-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-byed), who, according to Jambal (English text p. 29., Mongolian text p. 706.) was the main Kalachakra tantra lama (*Düinkhoriin jüdbiin/jüdwiiin lam*, Tib. *dus-'khor-gyi rgyud-pa'i bla-ma*) of the 4th *jewtsündamba* and the Dalai Lama (presumably the 8th, 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtso, 1758-1804) was kept in *Dechingalaw* temple.

The highest ranking lama in *Dechingalaw* temple was the *dorj lowon* (Tib. *rdo-rje slob-dpon*) with the first *dorj lowon* being the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *lkhaaramba* (Tib. *lha-rams-pa*, the highest philosophical degree that could only be gained in Lhasa, once a year during the Lunar New Year) of *Shüteenii aimag*, while the third was the Vice Abbot of *Düinkhoriin aimag* who was followed, after his death in 1921, by Tsogt Zandan, the *tsorj lam* of (*Dash*) *Dandarlin aimag*. The disciplinary master was changed every year. There was a tradition that the outgoing disciplinary master led the *jewtsündamba* to the temple, while the incoming disciplinary master led him back to the palace.

Pozdneev claims (pp. 57-59.) that, thanks to the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt*'s devotion to the Kalachakra teachings, the temple was enlarged in 1807. From this time, many other rituals were held there apart from the Kalachakra ceremonies. In 1809 the temple's mezzanine and roof were solidly gilded. The *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagts*. Pozdneev says that the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*, 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* of silver provided by the great treasury (*Ikh san*) and the subordinated areas (*Ikh shaw*) to do this. Pozneev 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 uninterruptedly.'

According to Pozneev (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 (*Maidar ergekh*). Pozneev 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 (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 (*Ikh shaw*'). From 1926 some financial units (*jas*) belonged to the datsan, like *Düinkhoriin jas* and *Zagdsambariin jas*.

The special ceremonies of the Kalachakra tradition were held in this temple. The most important of them was the great initiation of Kalchakra (*Düinkhoriin wan*), held in the last spring month. On the 15th of the last spring month traditionally a *Düinkhoriin chogo* (Tib. *dus-'khor-kyi cho-ga*) ceremony was held in all Mongolian monasteries and temples.

In the *Dechingalaw* temple, traditionally the Kalchakra (*Düinkhor*) ceremony began on the 1st of the last spring month. On the 2nd day a ritual dance called *Sagar* or *Gazriin büjig* (Tib. *sa-gar*, 'Earth-dance') was held seeking the permission of spirits for using the land where the *Dültsen jinkhor* (Tib. *rdul-tshon dkyil-'khor*, coloured sand mandala) 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 *Takhiliin büjig* (Tib. *mchod-gar*, 'offering-dance') being held on the 15th. On the last day of the ceremony, a fire-offering called *Düinkhoriin jinsreg* (Tib. *dus-'khor-gyi sbyin-bsreg*, 'Kalachakra fire-offering') was organized. The final part of the ceremony was at the end when the *dültsen* sand mandala 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.

According an article in the conference volume of the *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development* (p. 302.), *Dechingalaw* temple was closed in 1937 just before the important celebration of the great day of the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* on 15th of the middle winter lunar month. According to Sereeter, this temple ceased to operate in 1938. The tradition continued with a three-day *Düinkhor* ceremony using the painted mandala *Raibri jankhar* (Tib. *ras-bris dkhyil-'khor*) being held in the spring of 1938 in *Düinkhoriin aimag* but this was also stopped. After this 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.

Current situation

The original *Dechingalaw* temple in Züün Khüree was totally destroyed. It was revived in the courtyard of Gandan monastery in 1992, with the new building being completed in 1994. The traditional ceremonies, especially the yearly Great *Düinkhor* festival, have been revived and are once again held in the new temple.

See the Current Situation entry for *Gandan* (Rinchen 912) for full details about the revived practices in this temple.

Rinchen 926 - Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural

English name: Assembly of Ekh dagina's aimag

Sources: Naawan, D., *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal*, Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961

Oyuunbileg, Z., “Ulaanbaatar khot dakh’ ger khelbert modon dugan”, in: Dashnyam, L. (ed.) *Mongol nutag dakh’ tүүkh soyoliin dursgal*. Sedewchilsen lawlakh. Mongoliin Khümüünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999, p. 265.
 Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin түүкхен бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999, p. 40.
 Photoes in the Film Archive showing the *Loilan* (Box 93, 24057, 24024, 24055, 24058)
 Painting by Jүgder (1913)
Photo: Film Archive (K24057 (loilon))

On the right of *Zүүin Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, near Baga toiruu, Sүkhbaatar district, 8th khoroo

Elevation 1325 m
 N 47°55.609’
 E 106°55.177’

History

According to Sereeter (p. 40) in 1903 the 8th *jewtsүndamba khutagt* founded the last of the 30 *aimags*, called *Ekh daginiin aimag* (Tibetan transliteration: *er-he tá-ki-ni*), marked with letter A of the Tibetan alphabet, in honour of his wife, Dondogdulam. She was given the following honorific names or titles: *Achlalt noyon* in 1890, *Erdene tsetsen noyon* in 1905 and *Ulsiin Ekh dagina* (‘the mother dakini of the country’) in 1911. Consequently, this *aimag* was also became 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* (Tib. *kye*(‘i) *rdo-rje*, Skr. Hevajra) and *Jүden-ee/ Jүden-aa* or *Jigdor jүden-aa/ Jigdor jүden-ee* (Tib. (*kye-rdor*) *rgyud* (*sde*) *lnga*, ‘the five deities of Hevajra mandala’). Its main protector was *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector, though Gonchig lama’s list says it was *Jigjid* (Tib. ‘*jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka), who, according to the *Bilgiin Melmii* article (15/57 February 2005, p. 3.), was also worshipped here similarly to *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, Skr. Mahakala). According to Z. Oyuunbileg, about 1,000 lamas gathered here to worship *Choinkhor* deity (Tib. *chos-’khor*, Skr. Dharmachakra). Pozdneev claims (p. 52.) that 830 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and according to Sereeter (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 (p. 42.) accounts that when the *Ekh daginiin aimag* was founded, many talented masters were gathered to create the three-dimension mandala palace of *Dүinkhor* (Tib. *dus-’khor*, Skr. Kalacakra) (*Dүinkhoriin loilan*, Tib. *dus-’khor blos bslangs*). Tsogtzandan *tsorj* was responsible for its creation, working together with Tawkhair bor from *Anduu nariin aimag*, Chүltemсүren from *Wangain aimag*, Dugarjaw from *Shүteenii 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 Prajnaparamita sutra in Eight Thousand Verses (*Jadamba*, Tib. *brgyad stong-pa*) made by Shagj was placed. This huge Kalachakra relief image or three-dimension mandala for meditation (*loilan* or *loilon*, Tib. *blos bslangs*) 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 (*Shambal*, Tib *sham-bha-la*, Skr. Shambala) in the temple. There are some

photos of this *Düinkhoriin loilan* in the Film Archive (Box 93, see Sources).

According to Sereeter (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'), *Khoit ikh nogoon lawran* ('the big green northern palace').

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.

According to Dariimaa (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 these three *aimag* temples 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.

Current situation

The wooden yurt-shaped temple building of the *aimag* survived, but has been re-built and refurnished many times. Together with two other similar yurt-shaped temple buildings, (of *Erkhem toinii aimag* and *Wangain aimag*), it represents the old Züün Khüree as only these three temple buildings survived up to this day.

The big round shaped *aimag* temple 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 two temples of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery nearby, which now operates in the old temples of *Erkhem toinii aimag* and *Wangain aimag* (NOT in Rinchen 942) next to this building. *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery has plans to buy this old temple building and to establish a religious monastic school in it.

Rinchen 927 - Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural

Saikhan Gombiin süm

English name: Assembly of Ikh shaw', Temple of Saikhan Gombo

GPS was taken at the Sansar Trade Center

Elevation 1311m

N. 47° 55.423'

E. 106° 56.367'

Data providers: Dr O. Pürew; Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921); Gonchig lama, main disciplinary master of Dashchoimbel datsan (born 1917)

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

Laymen lived this north-east area of the city to the east of *Züün damnuurchin* and the

area was called *Ikh shaw'* as its inhabitants came from the areas of *Ikh shaw'*, which were subordinated to the *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *Züün kharchuud*. 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 (*Mongoliin uls toriin töw*, p. 92.) there was a temple called *Saikhhan Gombiin süm* ('Temple of Saikhhan 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 *khorooolol*). Gonchig lama confirmed that there was a separate temple for the worship of *Saikhhan Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*), who was the main protector of *Dashchoimbel datsan* as well. However, Jügder's painting shows only some yurts in this area without any specific temple building. Considering this, *Saikhhan Gombiin süm* may have been an assembly operating inside a yurt or perhaps the temple building was built later than 1913.

Current situation

There are no remains as the site has been completely built over.

Rinchen 928 - Khutagt Troitskiin süm

Sbyato-Troitsiin süm, Gegeen Gurwaliin süm, Ünen aldart süm

English name: Holy Trinity Church, Orthodox Church

Elevation 1333m

N 47° 55.000'

E 106° 57.573'

Data provider: Father Alexej (Trubach), the present dean of the Church

Sources: Dүгeрсүрен, Л., *Улаанбаатар хотийн түүх* (2nd edition), Улаанбаатар 1999

Forbáth, L., *A megújított Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

Nawagchamba, Ts., Yewrop khelberiin ankhonii baishin. In: ? (This short Mongolian article was shown to us by the data provider. Its date and the source where it appeared is unknown.)

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Улаанбаатар 2004

Rupen, R.A., "The City of Urga in the Manchu Period", *Studia Altaica*, Festschrift für Nicholas Poppe, Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 157-169.

Photo: Film Archive (K23684, 2708a = H-50377), etc.

History

The founding of a Russian community in the Mongolian capital began with the establishment of Russian factories and trade companies in the 19th century. According to Rupen (pp. 163-164.), the number of Russians was negligible before 1860, when the first Russian consulate was established. According to Dүгeрсүрен (p. 41.), the white two-storey building of the Russian Consulate was the first European-style building in the capital. It was situated between Zүүн Khүree 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 photoes.

According to Pürew (*Mongol 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 (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 Parnyakow, 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 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. Nawagchamba, 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 77.), some Swedish doctors and teachers came to live in the area of Setsen wangiin 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 damnuurchin. It was situated west of the Chinese store (*püüs*, Chinese pu zi/ pu li) of Wan-Shin-Khun (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 82.). In 1939 the Fifth grammar school (*Tawdugaar dund surguul*) was built there where it still stands on Baga toiruu today.

Current situation

Site of the new church (opposit to the old building), Jukow Street 55a

Elevation 1340m

N 47°55.057'

E 106°57.481'

Photos of the present Church can be seen on a Russian homepage www.mospat.ru.

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 there is a new light green coloured large temple church building (number 55a, phone: 454425) that can be seen from afar. 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 in 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.

After reconstruction, a conference room for religious meetings and consultations and the dean's private quarters were installed on the first floor. The actual church is on the second floor with an altarpiece (iconostas), several smaller icons, candlesticks and other religious artefacts. The present dean, Father Alexej arrived to Mongolia in June, 2005. Services are celebrated regularly on Sunday from 9.00am and on the holy days such as Easter and Christmas. Smaller services are held four times in the morning and five times in the evening during a week. The permanent community of the parish numbers about 30 people. During the year about 100-150 believers visit the church coming from the capital and the countryside. People from Russia, Serbia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Belorussia, Latvia, France and mixed Mongolian Russians belong to the community and attend the church. In Erdenet, the copper

mining city north of the capital, there is also a community of 15 believers whom Father Alexej visits once a month. The Church plans to establish a temple there, too.

During the time the present dean has been in post an imposing new facade to the building has been put up along with other construction work including a baptism font for adults on the first floor. A baptism bath for children was recently sent to the parish from Ulan-Ude. The most important plan of the Church is to build a separate church building in the garden attached to the current building and maybe a small park around it. However, to do this they need substantial donations. If they are unable to raise sufficient money their default plan is to pull down the older part of the present building and building a new chapel in its place. They also plan to start a grammar school for Russian and Mongolian students and a library in the present building. (In 2007 the site was visited again and the new church building with golden cupola is almost finished. It is on the west of the other building.)

The declared purpose of the Orthodox Church is not to convert Mongolians but give spiritual support to existing believers. This church in Ulaanbaatar is the only representative of the Orthodox faith not only in Mongolia but also in China, where the Chinese government forbade the operation of the old Orthodox temple. In Hongkong a priest gives support to the believers. In Phenyan, South Korea, an Orthodox church is presently under construction so that a Korean priest who studies in Moscow can lead the Korean community in the future. In Japan there are numerous Orthodox churches.

Rinchen 929 - Erleg nomun khaanii süm

English name: Erleg nomun khaan temple, Temple of the Lord of Death

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated immediately to the west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Dulam, S., Khüree dörwön uuliin takhilga, belgedel. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Pürew, O., Mongol töriin golomt. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tүүkhөн бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Photos: none

History

Numerous temples were built in and around the Chinese town (Maimaachen) situated in the present area of Amgalan. Rinchen's map marks seven of them. However, according to Pürew and Sereeter (p. 82.), there were an additional seven temples and shrines. The Mongolian assemblies were located outside the fenced-off area of Maimaachen, while the Chinese temples were situated mostly inside in the south-east quarter (*khorooolol*). One of the Chinese temples was *Erlig nomun khaanii süm*. According to O. Pürew, there were two temples dedicated to *Erlig khaan* or the 'Lord of Death' in Amgalan and he claims (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 102.) that the temple referred to in this entry was inside the wall of the Chinese town, while the other was situated near the Chinese cemetery on the north-west (NOT in Rinchen 948). According to Pürew's book *Erleg khaanii süm* was situated on the left (west) of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and on its left *Mujaanii* or *Urchuudiin süm*

(Rinchen 932) was located.

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 S. Dulam (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.

No other data was found.

Current situation

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* (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh temple*.

Rinchen 930 - Amgalangiin Geser süm

English name: Geser Temple in Amgalan

Chinese name: Guan di/Guan yu

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the north-west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

Data providers: Dr O. Pürew; B. Daajaw architect

Sources: Dүгөрсүрен, L., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin түүкhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999

Enkhbat, G., "Geser süm", in: Dashnyam, L. (ed.) *Mongol nutag dakh' түүkh soyoliin дурсгал. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümüünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999, p. 255.

Idshinnorow, Sh., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongol төриin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Ölzii, J., *Mongoliin дурсгалт уран барилгийн түүкhees*. Ulaanbaatar 1992

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin түүкhen бүтetsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Photos: Maidar (60), Film Archive (23973, 23974, 23981, 24720 (figure of Geser hero)), Palsi (112-113, 114? (may also represent *Dar' ekhiin süm*)), Geleta/Forbáth (184, two pictures)

History

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 (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 Film Archive has some pictures of this temple (within the Chinese temples category, K-23971– 23987, box 93). As the photos show, the complex was built in typical Chinese style.

Guan di is 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

began around the 7th century and was strongly influenced by Buddhist ideas. He was also accepted as a Protector of China. Guan di is most often portrayed as a standing tall giant in full armor with a long beard. According to G. Enkhbat (p. 254.) at the time when the Manchu dynasty was established, the Manchus invoked the spirit of Guan yu (Guan di being the honorific form for Guan yu). With his spiritual power, they succeeded in defeating all their enemies thus expanding their empire. They founded many monasteries for his worship. The name *Geser süm* was frequently used for temples founded by the Chinese in Mongolia. In Mongolia, there were two temples in Urga, one in Khowd, one in Uliastai and others in some strategically important places in the country with the same name. *Geser mergen khan* was the deity of all of these temples.

Gesar or Geser is also the name of an epic hero in Tibetan and Mongolian folk literature. Some make the assumption that the name Geser is connected with Ceasar. The connection between Geser and Guan di is not clear, but the two figures were juxtaposed in Mongolia. There is a photo in Film Archive, which shows an image of Geser Hero in a Chinese temple (K-24720, box 95). The Chinese lamas (*khuushaan*) of the temple were called *khökh malgait*, that is, Blue Hat lamas, different from lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects of Tibetan Buddhism. (This form of Chinese Buddhism originated in the 5th century, when the Teaching of Buddha first reached China.)

Mostly Mongolian lay people visited the temple. According to Dүgersүren (p. 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 Khүree over a period of 200 years was also kept in the temple. Chinese merchants worshipped *Tsonlkha* (Tib. *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. Pүrew, *Geser* temple was moved to its new building (*Baruun Geser süm*, Rinchen 914), near Gandan in 1927 by Dambadorj who had Chinese wife. According to O. Pүrew, the Chinese merchants were expelled from the area in 1928 after their trade was made impossible.

Current situation

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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple. According to Oyuunbileg, Z., the lions that were situated in front of this temple survived and are now at the Lion Bridge (*Arslantai güür*), on Peace Avenue over the Selbe River.

Remark:

In the area where Maimaachen once was, today there is a temple going by the name *Choi dechin dashsümprellin* that is operating in a yurt. It is situated between the ruins of an old Chinese store (next to Janjin Club), which was *Nomtiin pүүis*, according to O. Pүrew. However, the head of the new temple, J. Batkhaan (Choi) says that these are the remains of the old *Geser* temple of Amgalan. We could not find any source to confirm this assertion and all the other sources we consulted say that the only remaining temple in Amgalan is *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

For information about *Choi dechin dashsümprellin* temple see New Temples entry 24.

Rinchen 931 - Dar' ekhiin süm

English name: Tara temple

Presently a nunnery, called *Dolmalin khiid* works in the remained buildings of this old Chinese monastery, the only one in Ulaanbaatar currently with resident female lamas.

Bayanzürkh district, 12th microdistrict, near the final bus station of Botanik.

Phone: 90157706, 99279465

GPS was taken in front of the main gate (on the north of the complex)

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47°54.375'

E. 106°59.955'

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Dügersüren, L., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999

Idshinnorow, Sh., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Oyuunbileg, Z., "Dar' ekhiin süm", in: Dashnyam, L. (ed.) *Mongol nutag dakh' tüükh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümüünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999;

Mönkhbat, D., *Mongoliin tüükh soyoliin dursgaliin lawlaga. Ayalal juulchlaliin mergejiliin angiin oyuutnuudad zoriulaw*. Ulaanbaatar 2004, pp. 255-256.

Photos: Film Archive (23978, 23979-23980, 23985, 23986, 44811), Palsi 114 (may also represent Geser süm), Shepetilnikov (47, 58, 112), Maidar 204

History

One of the Chinese temples in the south-east quarter (*khorooolol*) 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.

According to Oyuunbileg (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. Photos of the monastery are in the Film Archive (within the Chinese temples category, K-23971 – 23987, box 93). 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* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, Skr. Tara) deity 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-xi (17th century), who supported the dissemination of the Yellow Sect tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. He became a donor and protector of the Teaching and also appears in the *Tsam* religious dances. The White Old Man (*Tsagaan öwgön*, Tib. *rgan-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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 103.) the two steles directly south of the main temple were erected in 1783. The 11m high granite stele had carved 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 (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 Tara 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 robes. 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 Tara 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* (Tib. *mkha'-'gro-ma*, female sky-goer, dakini, used for female practitioners), belonged to *Dar' ekhiin khural*. According to the female lamas 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 (*Mongol 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 (p. 16), some buildings in the complex were destroyed in 1937-1938.

Current situation: Dar' ekh khiid

Dulmalin khiid

Tibetan name: sgrol-ma gling btsun dgon

English name: Dar' ekh nunnery, Dulma lin/Dolma Ling nunnery

Dataprovider: Tüwden Balmuu (Thubten Palmo, Tib. *Thub-brtan dpal-mo*, by her religious name) or Denjen Myandagnyam, the head of the present nunnery from the nunnery of Kopan Monastery, Nepal) (27 years old)

Sources: Website of the Ulaanbaatar Center (Shedrup Ling) of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (<http://www.fpmtmongolia.mn>)

Printed leaflet of the nunnery

Oyuunbileg, Z., "Dar' ekhiin süm", in: Dashnyam, L. (ed.) *Mongol nutag dakh' tüükh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümüünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Mönkhbat, D., *Mongoliin tüükh soyoliin dursgaliin lawlaga. Ayalal juulchlaliin mergejiliin angiin oyuutnuudad zoriulaw*. Ulaanbaatar 2004, pp. 255-256.

Nowadays, the remaining buildings inside the boundary walls are being used as a nunnery. It is the only residential nunnery in Ulaanbaatar.

The main gate is on the Northern wall. 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. During the winter, ceremonies are held in the temple room situated in the right side residential building. 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. A

new stupa was consecrated by Choden rinpoche in 2004 on the north of the main temple building.

The present monastic community was established in 2001, at the initiation of Zopa Rinpoche, the founder of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT). Prior to this two *Gandan* lamas, O. Sodnom and his disciple, A. Badamkhand, had established a community of Buddhist women building a residential building for them and carrying out some restoration on the main temple in 1991, where ceremonies in honour of *Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, Skr. Tara) began once again in 1994/5 (Oyuunbileg, p. 256.).

According to the data published on their website, FPMT Mongolia received the historic ground of the former *Dar' ekh* monastery in April, 2001, with the main temple building already renovated in the original style but the other buildings in very bad state of repair. In October, 2001, a small group of women asked to be ordained, and the abbot of Sera Jey monastic school (*Ser je/Sera je datsan*, Tib. *se-ra byes grwa-tshang*) of Sera monastery in South-India, *agrabma* Luwsandonoi, ordained them. The FPMT City Centre sponsored the repairs and converted the buildings into a nunnery, and still supports it.

Currently, there are twenty female lamas, between fifteen and 93 years old, living in the nunnery. The head is Thubten Balmo (Tib. *thub-brtan dpal-mo*), from Kopan monastery in Nepal with the other teacher, Denzin Dolgor (Tib. *bstan-'dzin sgrol-dkar*) also coming from there. There is also one chanting master and one disciplinary master in the nunnery.

All the female lamas have *getselma* vows, given variously by Zopa rinpoche, Rigzon rinpoche and Bakula rinpoche. There are close connections with Zopa Rinpoche's Kopan nunnery in Kathmandu, Nepal of 300 nuns where two female lamas from *Dar' ekh* are currently studying. According to Sue Byrne, there are also two female lamas from this community studying in the Institute of Dialectics in Dharamsala, India who will be the most highly qualified Mongolian female lamas when they return to Mongolia. They are from the first community that was established here.

Daily chanting starts at 8.00am, and there is another at 5.00pm. The most important monthly ceremonies are: The Four Mandalas of Tara (*Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwa*) on the 8th of the month from 9.30am; and the Guru Puja (*Lamiin chodow*) on the 10th and 25th of the month from 9.30am; on the 15th of the month there is also a ceremony to *Manal* (Tib. *smam-bla*, Skr. Bhaishajyaguru), the Medicine Buddha from 8.30am; on the 25th of the month the female lamas who have the initiation of *Narkhajid* (Tib. *na-ro mkha'-spyod*, Skr. Sarvabuddhadakini), hold a ceremony in honour of this dakini (*Khajidiin chogo*) in a separate room.

The annual ceremonies have a unique and distinctive feature in this monastery, based on Kopan nunnery's practices: in the evening on which an annual ceremony has been held, the female lamas, holding candles, butter lamps and incense sticks while playing various musical instruments, circumambulate around inside the walls of the nunnery followed by crowds of believers also holding candles (following the practice of Kopan monastery's nunnery).

According to the FPMT homepage a community center named 'Dolma Ling Community Center' was also established by FPMT Mongolia in 2003, attached to Dolmalin nunnery, to carry out social services in the areas of education, social development, health and environmental protection in Ulaanbaatar's Bayanzurkh district with the aim of alleviating poverty in the area. It has its building on the right of the main entrance of the nunnery, on the north. It includes the Soup Kitchen which provides daily meals and basic medical support, the Children's Character Development Program, the Women's Skills Development Program (helping local residents improve their sewing and knitting skills and creating independent working groups for them), the Vegetable Garden Project (with a small vegetable garden and a greenhouse cultivated), and the Community Health Care Clinic (providing basic medical

attention and advice).

Rinchen 932 - Urchuudiin süm

Mujaanii süm

English name: Craftsmen's temple, Carpenter's temple

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

According to Rinchen's map and Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 102.) one of the Chinese temples situated in the south-east quarter (*khorooolol*) 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* (Rinchen 931) *Erleg khaanii süm* and *Mujaanii* or *Urchuudiin süm* (Rinchen 932) were located. As for the inhabitants outside the wall of Maimaachen many carpenters (*mu jiang* in Chinese) and smiths lived. Maybe they erected or visited this temple.

No other data was found on this temple.

Current situation

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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

Rinchen 933 - Kunziin süm

Künziin süm, Kunz bogdiin süm

English name: Confucius Temple, Kunz Temple, Kong-tse Temple

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the south-east of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

History

According to Rinchen's map and Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 102.) one of

the Chinese temples situated in the south-east quarter (*khorooolol*) 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* (NOT in Rinchen 945) and *Kunziin süm* or *Künz bogdiin süm* were situated in the south-east corner of the area of Maimaachen. North of *Odon süm* the temple of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) was situated.

No other data was found on this temple.

Current situation

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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

Rinchen 934 - Tsagaan malgaitiin süm

Laliin süm

English name: White Hat Temple, Muslim Temple

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated immediately to the west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

History

According to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 102.) *Tsagaan Malgaitnii süm* or the 'Temple of the White Hat lamas' was one of the Chinese temples situated in the south-east quarter (*khorooolol*) inside the walls of Maimaachen.

It was also called *Laliin süm* (Tib. *kla-klo*), which means a Mohammedan temple. It was a temple of Chinese Moslems (*dungan*). According to Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 102.), the Chinese temples were in the south-east part: in the corner of this area was an astrological temple, *Odon süm* (NOT in Rinchen 945) and another temple called *Kunziin süm* or *Künz bogdiin süm* to honour Confucius (Rinchen 933) on its left and a Moslem temple, *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (Rinchen 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. (On its west there was a poplar tree, which still stands on the west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.)

No other data was found on this temple.

Current situation

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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

Rinchen 935 - Dashsamsdanlin khural

Dashsamsdanlin datsan, Ölzii dayanii süm, Sandlin datsan, Erliiziin süm

Tibetan name: bkra-shis bsam-gtan gling grwa-tshang

English name: Dashsamsdanlin assembly/ datsan, Temple of the cross-breeds

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the south-west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*, outside the walls of the Chinese Town.

Elevation 1293 m,

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources:

Dulam, S., *Khüree dörwön uuliin takhilga, belgedel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Dügersüren, L., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin tüükhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999

Idshinnorow, Sh., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*, Ulaanbaatar, 1970

Naawan, D., *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal*, Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэцтэй тэмдэг*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: none

Three sources, O. Pürew, Jügder's painting and a drawing by unknown artist in Ulaanbaatar City Museum, show that *Dashsamsdanlin* 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 (*Mongol 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 *Dashsamsdanlin 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 (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* on the 1st of the 6th month, 1837, who gave the name *Dashsamsdanlin* 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 *Dashsamsdanlin* temple was *Erliiziin süm*, which literally means 'the temple of the cross-breeds'. On its east, also south-west of the fence, there was another temple, *Dejidlin khural* (NOT in Rinchen 956) with a *Zod* tantric assembly on its west.

According to Sereeter, the main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid* (Tib. 'jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka), while the main protectors were *Gombo* (Tib. *mgon-po*, Skr. Mahakala), *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector 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*, *Dorjodwiin 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 monthly a ceremony was held in honour of *Geser* on the 13th of the month and *Narkhajid* (Tib. *na-ro mkha'-spyod*, Skr. Sarvabuddhadakini) dakini was worshipped on the 25th.

According to Sereeter, lamas from the 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 (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 (for details see entries Rinchen 955-959).

According to S. Dulam (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 *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. Dүgersүren (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 (p. 41.), artifacts from the *datsan* (entry 935) were moved to the Bogd khaan Museum. The latest archive data is from 1937 which confirms that the temple was not put out of use in the 1920's as were the other Maimaachen temples.

Current situation

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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

Rinchen 936 - Dashchoinkhorlin khiid

Buyan yeröoltiin süm, Buyant-yeröölt süm

Tibetan name: *bkra-shis chos-'khor gling*

English name: Dashchoinkhorlin monastery

GPS was taken at the gate of the fenced-off area

N 48°00.477'

E 106°56.194'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of Züün Khüree *Dashchoilin* monastery, B. Daajaw architect

Sources: Banzragch, Ch., Sainkhüü, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin tüükh (emkhtgel)*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Daajaw, B., *Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh*, (Three volumes) Ulaanbaatar 2006, pp. 232-233.

Dariimaa, G., *Dursagdakhiin buyantai burkhan zuraach*. Ulaanbaatar 2003.

Forbáth, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

Pүrew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pүrew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos of Film Archive (K23612-K23635)

Painting by Jүgder (1913)

Photos: Tsүltem (intr. 32; 123), Maidar (83, 116), Film Archive (K23612-K23635, 24746,

24782, 24787, 24796, 24815, 24817, 24829), Shepetilnikov (118), Geleta/Forbáth (40, Tsam dance), 152 (two pictures)

History

The fenced-off temple complex of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery was situated on the left bank of Selbe River, north-west of *Dambadarjaa* 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, (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 34., *Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 88-89.), the monastery was founded in 1789. According to Banzragch (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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 88-89), in the beginning this monastery was independent, but later it came to belong to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs (*Erdene shanzodwiin yaam*).

Photographs in the Film Archive and in Forbáth's book, and two pictures in B. Daajaw's book (pp. 232-233.) show a monastic complex with Tibetan-style white buildings and a protective wall (*yampai*, *yang pai* in Chinese) in front of the monastery. On either sides of the main entrance, there were two high wooden flag poles (called *chii-ga/chii-gan*). The entrance temple (with the main gate and two side gates), the temple of the Maharajas (*Makhranz*, Tib. *rgyal chen*, 'great king', guards of the four directions), called *Makhranziin süm*), housed the statues of the guards of the four direction.

According to Dariimaa (p. 45), the main temple (*Tsogchin*) was a two-storey brick building with a painting showing *demberel yanlag junai* (Tib. *rtan-'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-monk of the monastery, Dorj, marks three small at the rear part of the second floor of the *Tsogchin* temple in his book. According to him, the middle one was called *Shagjtüw* (Tib. *shakya thub-pa*) dedicated to Shakyamuni Buddha. Here, on the second floor, was displayed a huge sculpture of *Shagjtüw*. 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 *Shagjtüw* 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 *Shagjtüw* 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 *Shagjtüw* 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*, Tib. *jo-bo*) and the Kalachakra temple (*Düinkhoriin süm*, Tib. *dus-'khor*) in front of it, and one on the east, called the temple of the 'Five Kings' (*tawan khaan*, Tib. *sku lnga rgyal-po*).

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 Queen Dondogdulam stayed in this palace when

they visited the area. After Dondogdulam passed away, the Bogd khaan built a stupa for her.

There was also a wooden shed on the hill. According to B. Daajaw it en housed the stone carvings of *Jigjid* (Tib. 'jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yamantaka).

According to Dariimaa (p. 45.), a lama with either a *gawj* (Tib. *dka' bcu*, 'ten hardships', a philosophical rank) or *agramba* (Tib. *sngags-rams-pa*, rank in tantric studies) degree was nominated from Ikh Khüree to perform the *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 Archive show how big this complex was (K-23612-23635, box 92), and there are also many pictures showing scenes of *Tsam* dance performed here (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.

The monastery was forced to cease operation in 1937.

Current situation

There is nothing remaining of this large monastic complex beyond some lines and heaps of bricks and stones. 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.

Rinchen 937 - Shaddublin khiid

Shadduwlin/Shadüwlin/Shaddüwlin/Shaddiwlín, Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin, Shaddüw jambal janchüwlin, Ikh shawiin Dayaanii Shaddüwlingiin Khüree, Nyamba dayaanii Shaddüwlin khiid, Nomlon büteeliin khiid, Nomlol büteel bayan arwidakh Bod' tiw

Tibetan name: bshad-sgrub-gling, bshad-sgrub (dge'-'phel) byang-chub-gling, bshad-sgrub 'jam-dpal byang-chub-gling

English name: Shaddublin/Shaddüwlin monastery, Shaddüwlin meditational monastery

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:

Elevation 1766 m

N 48° 01, 071'

E 106° 52, 863'

Data provider: Gonchig lama, main disciplinary master of Dashchoimbel datsan (born 1917), Jan Felgentrau, founder of the Tilopa centre

Sources: Banzragch, Ch., Sainkhüü, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin tüükh (emkhtgel)*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Bilgiin melmii, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/

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Gangaa, D., *Khüree tsam*. Ulaanbaatar 2003

Iderbayar, B., Shadüw gepel janchüwlin khemeekh büteeliin khiidiin diyanch nariin tsaaz jayagiin altan üseg jewzündambiin aman zarlig orshwoi, In: *Erdeniin tülküür*, Ulaanbaatar,

(date unknown) pp. 4.,5.,8.

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Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development, Ulaanbaatar 2005

Homepage of Tilopa Center, <http://www.tilopa.net/>

Photo: <http://www.tilopa.net/>

History

According to Zawa lam Damdin (Golden Annals, 160r), there was an isolated place in a valley, called *bshad-sgrub-gling* or *bshad-sgrub byang-chub-gling* in Tibetan (the Mongolian equivalents being *Shaddüwlin/ Shadduwlin* or *Shaddüw janchüwlin*), north of the capital at the foot of the Chingeltei Mountain, used by lamas to contemplate and meditate. As a place for meditation, it was also called *Dayanii Khüree* (Skr. dhyana, meditation). Sixteen fully ordained lamas (*gelen*) and four novices (*getsel*) lived there, all being contemplative lamas (*diyanich*).

According to a text of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt* (Iderbayar, p. 4.), which describes the foundation of the monastery in detail the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 gepel Janchüwlin* monastery (*Nomlol büteel bayan arwidakh Bod' tiw*), on the south-east of the Chingeltei mountain, was found. The text also mentions that the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* had used this place for meditation.

According to Banzragch (p. 13), the meditation place (*samadiin dayaanii khüree*), called *Shaddüw jambal janchüwlin* (Tib. *bshad-sgrub 'jam-dpal byang-chub-gling*) was founded by the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1807 near *Dambadarjaa* monastery (see entry Rinchen 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 *Ikh Khüree*.

According to S. Dulam (pp. 88-90.), a monastery called *Shaddübgempillin* (an alternative spelling variation being *Shaddüwgepillin*, Tib. *bshad-sgrub dge-'phel gling*) was founded in 1858 in the Chingeltei mountain about 10 km far north of *Ikh Khüree*, on the right bank of the Selbe river in *Shaddüwlin* valley. The place was also known for the sculptures kept there: *Shaddüwlingiin Ochir-Dar'* (Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. Vajradhara of *Shaddüwlin* valley) or *Shaddüwlingiin Dagwanamdal* (Tib. *dag-pa rnam-grol?*⁶ of *Shaddüwlin* valley). There was a yurt-shaped temple with the sculpture of *Bazarsad* or *Dorjsembe* (Tib. *rdo-rje sems-dpa'*, Skr. Vajrasattva) 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* (Tib. *gnas-brtan bcu-drug*), the sixteen arhats.

Jügder's painting of *Ikh 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*

⁶ The authors could not identify the origin and meaning of this name.

(Iderbayar), the sculptures of Tsongkapa and the statue of *Ochirdar* (Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. Vajradhara) kept here. According to Dulam, in the north of the complex there was a yurt-shaped *dugan*, *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*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, 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 time in meditation. Rituals were held during the day and night as well.

The monastery was part of Ikh Khüree, which administered it with the great treasury (*Ikh san*) of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* providing the funds.

According to Gangaa (*Khüree tsam*, 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.

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* (Tib. *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 *Shaddüwlingiin naidan* (Tib. *gnas-brtan*) or "the saint of *Shaddüwlin*".

One of the main sources about the monastery is the text composed by the 8th *jewtsündamba* in Tibetan ('The golden letters of the rules and regulations for the lamas of the meditational monastery called *Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin*, being the command of the *jewtsündamba*'), a modern Mongolian translation of which has been published by Iderbayar (the original Tibetan text was not available for the researchers). Apart from the history of the founding of the monastery mentioned above, it also contains the very strict monastic rules (dictated by the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*) that had to be applied in the monastery. According to the text, the lamas of this monastery were highly educated in the three classes of the Buddhist texts (*gurwan aimag saw*, Tib. *sde snod gsum*, Skr. Tripitaka), and especially in discipline (*dulwaa*, Tib. 'dul-ba, Skr. Vinaya). Only *gelen* and *getsel* lamas could belong to the community, so *barmarawjün* and *genen* were not allowed to live in the monastery. 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 *wanshü* (Tib. *pan-zhwa*, 'pandita hat'), and wear the pieces of lama garments called *namjar* (Tib. *snam-sbyar*, a loose mantle), *lagoi* (Tib. *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 uur*), 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* (Tib. *chos-gos*, 'religious robe', the collective name for the different pieces of monastic garment of monks - originally there were three) at all times except when they were riding a horse.

The text, being the *jewtsündamba khutagt*'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 beggars 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*'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 (*Mongoliin 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 tagnuuliin 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. (On his life see: Lattimore, O., *The Diluv Khutagt: Memoirs and autobiography of a Mongol Buddhist reincarnation in religion and revolution*. Asiatische Forschungen, Band 74, Wiesbaden- Harrassowitz, 1982).

Current situation

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 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. The Tilopa Centre (*Dilaw töw*) a Drikung kagyü (Tib. '*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. They plan to use the remaining old bricks of the small temple that once stood there to build a stupa on the site. Besides reviving religious activities on this old site, Tilopa center has other projects in Mongolia, working together with some monasteries in Ulaanbaatar and in the Gobi area. 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.

In 2007 spring the site, situated up on a hillside on the north side of *Shaddüwlin* valley, was visited by the researchers. There are two wooden temple buildings, in front of them a small house for the guard who was the only person who resided there that time. The

ruins are said to have situated on the east side of the two temple buildings, but nothing is visible of them, as a new building is being built on its site. On the east there are also some meditational huts standing. The complex is used only in summer as a meditational retreat. The area is surrounded by a small wooden fence. Jan Felgentreau and his center can be connected via phone as well (317983, 99090147).

**Rinchen 938 - Bogdiin khiid (dugan), (Tsetsee gūnii khural)
Dūnjongaraw, Dūnjingaraw(iin sūm)**

English name: Bogd temple (shrine), Tsetsee Gūn Assembly

Elevation 2261 m

N 47°48.492'

E 107°00.164'

Dataprovider: B. Daajaw architect

Sources: Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

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Photo: Film Archive (K23846)

History

This small complex was built on the Tsetsee gūn, 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. The temple is known as *Bogdiin khiid* or *Tsetsee gūnii khural* though Maidar calls it the *Dūnjingarawiin sūm* (Maidar, D., *Mongoliin arkitektur ba khot baiguulalt*, [Mongolian Architecture and City Planning] Ulaanbaatar 1972, p. 100., and Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*. [Three maps of Mongolian Cities and Villages] Ulaanbaatar 1970, p. 72.). However, this is the name of another temple mapped by Rinchen (Rinchen 924).

The honour of Tsetsee gūn is connected to the worship of local mountain spirits and also the national heroes and ancestors of Mongols. Therefore, the belongings of famous descendantst of Chinggis khan (see below) were kept here and used for worshipping the *owoo*. 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 S. Dulam (pp. 74–76.), the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* asked *Raden khanchen* Agwaanprinlaijamts (Tib. *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*, Tib. *bsang gser-skyems*) all of which were presented to the local spirits of the mountain. The main protector spirit of Bogd khan Range is Garuda (Tib. *khyung*), the mythical bird. On Tsetsee gün, the *owoo* of Bogd khan Mountain was in front of a cliff in whose face was a formation looking like a Garuda bird with extended wings. In front of the *owoo*, 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 *owoo* of religion, and the right one the *owoo* of politics.

Pozneyev (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 (also kept in the Film Archive collection: K23846). 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 günii khural*, based on these pictures.)

S. 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 Shijir baatar) who was the younger brother of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar were kept in the temple. Both 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 (Dendew, p. 41.). Thus, the peak was said to be his watch post. One day before the ceremony to the mountain spirits, which was to be led by a prince from Tüsheets khan clan (descendants of Chinggis khan) the following items were delivered from *Dünjingaraw* temple (Rinchen 924) 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 Tüsheets 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 money was sent from Peking 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 money 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* 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 Ikh Khüree medical monastic school.

According to B. Daajaw, 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 gegeenii agui*) can be found with an incense vessel (*boipor*, Tib. *spas-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 Baruun 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 AH HUM 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 (p. 31), *Tsetsee gün* temple was destroyed in 1924.

Current situation

Tsetsee gün is 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 S. 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. 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 Garuda statue is inside the marble monument.

Rinchen 939 – Dambadarjaagiin khiid

Dambadarjaa, Danbadarjialin, Damba, Shashniig badruulagch

Tibetan name: *bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling*

English name: Dambadarjaa monastery

N 47°58.953
E 106°56.263

Data provider: Kh. Enkhbaatar, the *lowon* lama of the monastery; B. Mönkhbold, lama of the monastery (about 20 years old)

Sources: leaflet of the monastery entitled *Danbadarjialin Monastery of Mongolian Buddhist's*

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Painting by Jügder (1913)

survey carried out in 2004

Photos: Tsültem (122), Maidar (84, 85, 123), Film Archive (K23777-K23791), Shepetilnikov (119-121), Dashnyam (255)

Sükhbaatar district, 16th khoroo, Dambadarjaa, Dar' ekh area

www.buddha.mn, www.danbadarjialin.org, PO. Box 194, Ulaanbaatar 49, Mongolia, 976-11-357378, 357370, info@buddha.mn

History

Dambadarjaa 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 (*Tenger tetgesen*) ordered this large complex be built in 1759 (in the 24th year of his reign) and dedicated it to the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt's* memory. The construction was financed from the treasury of the Manchu emperor. The Emperor's order was carved on stone steles in four languages (Mongolian, Tibetan, Manchu and Chinese). The language steles are housed in the two Historical temples (*Tüükhiiin süm*) (the inscriptions are available in the collection of the State Central Archive (M130/1. *Shashniig badruulagch khiidiin gerelt khöshöönii bichgiin ekh khuulga (mongol töwd kheleer)*, and can be read in facsimile in Daajaw's book (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh*, p. 124., pp. 125-126.).

The complex was built between 1761 and 1765. Daajaw claims (p. 122.) that for its site the area to the north of the present Ulaanbaatar, at the feet of Bogd Zonkhow uul (Bogd Zonkhow hill), where Tselkhiin gol meets the eastern branch of Selbe gol was chosen. Administratively the site belonged to the area of TüsHEET khan aimag's Darkhan chin wangiin khoshuu (parts of today's Töw, Bulgan and Öwörkhantai aimags). According to Daajaw (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh*, pp. 122-125.), *Chin wan* Sanzaidorj was placed in charge of its building. He was the oldest son of *Zorigt wan* Danzandorj (died in 1736), and became the ruler of Zorigt wangiin khoshuu. Many of the monks of Dambadarjaalin monastery were from the area of Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, and the neighbouring *khoshuus*, *Süjigt* gүнii khoshuu and *Bishrelt* gүнii khoshuu, the last two being ruled by the two younger brothers of Sanzaidorj, bearing the titles *Bishrelt gүн* and *Süjigt gүн*.

According to Daajaw (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh*, p. 123.), 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 tiles in Chinese style, and there were wooden temples as well. According to Banzragch (*Mongol khüree khiidiin tүүkh (emkhtgel)*, 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.

According to Oyuunbileg (*Mongol nutag dakh' tүүkh soyoliin dursгал*, p. 255.) in 1774, a stupa for the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* was erected in the north-west corner of the main courtyard, within a temple of relics (*Shariliin süm*). (According to Daajaw (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tүүkh*, p. 123.), this stupa 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 stupa was situated, but may be that it was the one that stood in the western *khashaa* of the monastery with a yurt beside it.) In 1778, the relics of the 3rd and later the 6th *jewtsündamba khutagts* were also placed to the monastery. However, Sereeter (Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tүүkhөн бүтэсiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999, p. 92) gives this data for the erection of the stupa for the relics of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt*. According to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 87-90.) and Daajaw (p. 127.) the relics temples of the 2nd and 3rd *jewtsündamba khutagt* were situated on the north-west, while that of the 6th *jewtsündamba khutagt* on the north-east.

Initially 40 lamas were appointed to hold ceremonies and according to archive data (National State Archive, 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. Jүгдөр's painting represents the monastery and its *aimags* and *aimag* temples in details. There are three sketches of it in Daajaw's book, too (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tүүkh*, p. 122., pp. 126-127.). As a drawing in Dambadarjaa monastery and the sketches in Daajaw's book represent the general view of the monastery the *aimags* surrounded the temple complex almost in an upside-down U 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: *Jadariin aimag*, *Shүteenii aimag*, *Anduu nariin aimag*, *Toisomlin/Toislin aimag*, *Mayaa aimag*, *Jasiin aimag*, *Sangain aimag*, and the kitchen (*manz*, Tib. *mang ja*) on west of the palace, while it was continued from the northeast as *Zoogoin aimag*, *Dugariin aimag*, *Khүүkhөн noyonii aimag*, *Bandidiin aimag*, *Örlүüdiin aimag* were situated there. Dariimaa (p. 44.) adds *Setsen toinii aimag*. Every *aimag* had its own temple, so in the whole territory of *Dambadarjaa* there were about 25 temples. According to Daajaw (p. 126, 129.) the *Jarankhashor stupa* was situated on the north-east of the monastery walls, outside it, at the back of *Zoogoi aimag*. On the south-east there was another stupa.

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 stupas. Above them there was an image of Zonkhow scarved in stone, inside a small wooden temple. This image is now kept in Gandan, in the courtyard of the Tsogchin temple (*Zuugiin süm*) and *Ochirdariin süm*. On the top of Zonkhow uul there was an *owoo* worshipped by the monastery's monks.

As a drawing kept in the monastery shows, and Daajaw's sketches illustrate, the following buildings belonged once to the monastery: a protecting wall (*yampai*, Chinese *yang*

pai) 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 (*Jin*) *Kharangiin* or *Jin khonkhonii 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 (*Makhranz*, Tib. *rgyal chen*, Skr. Maharaja) as a second entrance leading to the main courtyard. Then, housing the steles with the emperor's order, *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* (Tib. *mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang*, philosophical school) and the two-storey *Güremiin dugan* (Tib. *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 *jewtsündamba khutagts* stood. East of the main assembly hall on the south *Mamba datsan* (Tib. *sman-pa grwa-tshang*) for medical science, behind it the yurt winter temple of *Jüid datsan* and behind it the wooden temple building of *Jüid datsan* (Tib. *rgyud grwa-tshang*) for tantric studies were located with the relics temple (*Shariliin süm*) of the 6th *jewtsündamba khutagt* in the north-east corner of the main courtyard. Behind the main assembly hall *Zuugiin 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 (*büreenii shat*) was situated. Behind the inner courtyard another courtyard housed the two-storey *Serüün lawiran* (summer palace) or *Logshir süm* (the temple of Lokeshvara) and *Düinkhor datsan* (Tib. *dus-'khor grwa-tshang*), the Kalachakra temple in the north-east corner, and two *Jodkhans* (Tib. *mchod-khang*, 'shrine room, chapel') or, according to Daajaw (p. 129.) *Khantshans* (Tib. *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 stupa 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* (Tib. *dka'-bcu*) philosophical rank. The *Tsam* dance was not held in this monastery although the Maitreya circumambulation (*Maidar ergek*) was performed every year. Representations of the complex (Daajaw, *Mongoliin uran barilgiin tүүkh*, pp. 126-127. and the drawing being 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* dance was not held in the monastery at all.

Dendew (Naawan, D., *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal*, p. 12.) mentions that the other name of the monastery was *Logiishurai* (Mongol distortion of Sanskrit Lokeshvara, Tib. '*jig-rten dbang-phyug*') referring to its main idol, *Logshir Janraiseg* (Skr. Lokeshvara), the two-handed standing emanation of *Janraiseg* (Tib. *spyan-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara). Dariimaa claims (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*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286.).

As Daajaw says (p. 130.), the buildings were repainted between 1880 and 1886 and according to Ölzii's book (*Mongoliin dursgalt uran barilgiin tүүkhees*, pp. 97-98) and

Daajaw, the buildings of the complex were repaired in 1907.

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 Ölzii's book, 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 *Dambadarjaa* to the direction of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery (Rinchen 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 89.) the place was a burial place of lamas of *Dambadarjaa* before the revolution.

Current situation

Description of the site

Today, the whole territory of the yurt quarter, situated 8 km north of the capital, is called *Dambadarjaa* 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 stupa has been recently erected outside the monastery wall on the initiative of the monastery and a smaller stupa also can be seen on the hill. On the top of the hill behind the monastery there is a large and several smaller *owoos*.

The main goal of the community today to restore the monastery to the way it was in the past. The eleven temples that survived in part or in full the destruction of 1937 are: *Tsogchin dugan* (main assembly hall), *Jin khonkhonii süm* (the shrine of the bell, survived and renovated), *Jin khengeregiin süm* ('the shrine of the drum', survived and renovated), *Tüükhiiin baruun süm* ('the right side historical shrine', survived and renovated, contains a stele carved in Mongolian), *Tüükhiiin züün 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 *Jodkhan* (Tib. *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. (One of them to the left of the *Lawiran* is still used for reading requested texts to individuals. In 2004, the *Jarankhashar* stupa was erected behind the yurt-shaped temple. A square-shaped stupa-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 *Shariliin süm*. It is surrounded by prayer wheels and functions as a chapel called *Isheepandelin dugan* (Tib. *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. The *Serüin Lawiran* has been renovated. This two-storey building houses the new statue of *Logshir Janraiseg* (Skr. Lokeshvara), the two-handed standing emanation of *Janraiseg* (Skr. Avalokiteshvara). 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.

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.

Religious practice

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* of *Dambadarjaa* monastery and began to hold ceremonies once again. D. Dashtserin, who was born 1910 in the year of dog, is the current abbot. However, he was away to America at the time of the survey in 2006. (In 2007 he was interviewed by the researchers on his old monastery, *Yaruugiin khüree*, present Zawkhan aimag, Uliastai)

At present, there are about 35 lamas in the community who live in or around the capital rather than residing near the monastery. There are lamas with *genen* and *getsel* vows and two old lamas in the community have *gelen* vows.

There are still some old lamas belonging to the monastery all of whom played a role in the revival. They include Gombojawiin Ochir-Danzan, the *tsorj* lama (born 1915 in the year of hare, a lama of (*Erdene-toin*) *Lamiin khiid/ Noyon khutagt lamiin khüree*, in the present Bulgan aimag, Khangal sum, Erdenet khot) and Gombiin Galsan (born 1917 in the year of snake, *Usan züiliin khüree*, present Gow'-Altai aimag, Tonkhil sum). These two old lamas were also interviewed by the researchers about their old monasteries and details of ceremonial life in them. This material will be contained in another publication as it is out of the scope of the present survey. Some other old lamas, like Sodow, Jawsanjaw, and Khorjimsüren could not be interviewed as they are not able to attend ceremonies due to their health problems, their age, and living far away from the monastery.

Today, daily chanting takes place (in the yurt-shaped temple) from 10.00am to 01.00pm. Readings of requested texts are performed for individuals until 01.00pm. Inside the yurt-shaped wooden temple, the roof is supported by eight outer red pillars and six inner red pillars all decorated with colourful dragons. On the main altar there is a statue of Buddha and his two main disciples, and a stupa among other valuable artifacts. The volumes of the Tibetan *Ganjuur* and *Danjuur* and other holy books are kept in a closed cupboard decorated by double vajras (*natsagdorj*, Tib. *sna-tshogs rdo-rje*, Skr. visvavajra, double vajras in the form of a cross,). A throne with a picture of the Buddha (shown in red with an alms bowl in his right hand) is placed on the right. Thangkas of the assembly tree (*tsogshin*, *chuulganii oron*, Tib. *tshogs-shing* or *tshogs-zhing*) and Tsongkhapa hang in the temple. Large thangkas representing *Ochirwaan'* (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje / phyag-rdor*, Skr. Vajrapani), *Manzshir* (Tib. *'jam-dpal / 'jam-(dpal)- dbyangs*, Skr. Manjushri), *Janraiseg* (Tib. *spyan-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara), Buddha, *Manal* (Tib. *smān-bla*, Skr. Bhaishajyaguru) and *Tsagaan Dar'ekh* (Tib. *sgrol dkar*, Skr. Sitatara, the White Tara) hang down from the middle of the temple. On the left of the altar there is the seat of the *Jasaa lam* (the lama who performs the reading of texts requested by individuals), with the picture of *Jigjid* behind him. There is also a

picture of *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector above the thrones of the two disciplinary masters (*gesgüi*).

The main deity of the whole monastery is *Logshir Janraiseg* (Tib. *'jig-rten dbang-phyug*, Skr. Lokeshvara, a form of Avalokiteshvara).

There are the following ranks in the monastery: *tsorj*, *lowon*, *daa lam*, two chanting masters and two disciplinary masters. As in most monasteries, there is a lama in charge of the offerings (*chowombo/chombo*), and a shrine keeper (*duganch*).

Special ceremonies are held every month such as the Medicine Buddha ritual (*Manaliin donchid*) on the 8th of the month, Guhyasamaja tantra (*Sanduin jüid*) on the 15th, the ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities (*Arwan khangal*) on the 29th and the ritual of the sixteen arhats or Buddha's main disciples (*Naidan chogo*) on the 30th day of the month. As one of biggest monasteries in Mongolia, *Dambadarjaa* has several annual ceremonies. For example, *Sor zalakh*, a ceremony aimed at removing the bad influences of the old year, is performed once a year, on the 29th of the last winter month.

The reception for ordering texts (with a fixed price list) by individuals is in a separate building on the right side of the old *Serüün Lawiran*. The building on the other side is used by the office holding lamas.

The 240th anniversary of the monastery was celebrated in August 2005, when 1,000 lamas came to perform and take part in a commemoration ceremony.

The *Logishura* foundation was established in 2004 named after Lokeshvara (*Logshir Janraiseg* (Tib. *'jig-rten dbang-phyug*, Skr. Lokeshvara, a form of Avalokiteshvara), the main image worshipped in the monastery with its main purpose being to renovate the buildings, revive the traditions, provide education and training for lamas and maintaining external relations.

Rinchen 940 - Züün salaanii khural

English name: Assembly in Züün salaa

The temple site is at the current area of Tolgoit, in (Tolgoitiin) Züün salaa, on the north-west of Ulaanbaatar.

GPS was taken at the final bus stop of Züün salaa, as the exact location is unknown.

Elevation: 1440 m

N 47°59.664'

E106°53.157'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Source: Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Photos: none

History

This 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 (*Namdoldechinnen khiid*, *Jagarmolomiin neremjit ulaan yosnii töw*, located nearby, see New temples 18) 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 khulgait as another name for the place and has even visited it searching for the ruins, but, according to him, there is nothing left. Pürew (*Mongoliin 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*, Tib. *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 (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 71), this temple was destroyed in 1937-38.

Current situation

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.

Rinchen 941 - Bayanzürkhiin dugan

English name: Bayanzürkh shrine

Elevation 1364m

N 47° 53.309'

E 107° 04.097'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Dariimaa, G., *Dursagdakhiin buyantai burkhan zuraach*. Ulaanbaatar 2003

Forbáth, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

Photos: none

History

Bayanzürkh Mountain, one of four mountains around Ulaanbaatar, is situated on the East of the valley in which the city lies.

According to O. Pürew, there were several chapels mainly on the outskirts of the city, which had only temporary assemblies, built for the worship of local mountain spirits such as *Dünjingarwiin süm* (Rinchen 924), *Bogdiin khiid (dugan)* or *Tsetsee günnii khural* (Rinchen 938) (for the worship of the spirit of Bogd khan mountain). In *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* the dog-headed spirit (*Chidon* or *Nokhoi nüürt*, Tib. *khyi gdong*) 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 (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 (*modchin*), 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. 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.

According to O. Pürew, this kind of small temples was abandoned and neglected after 1937-38.

Current situation

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.

NOT in Rinchen 942 - Züün Khüree

English name: Züün Khüree, 'Eastern monastic district'

GPS was not taken as it was a whole monastic part of Ikh Khüree (see GPS data of the remained temples)

Data providers: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (born 1921); Gonchig lama, main disciplinary master of *Dashchoimbel* datsan (born 1917); Ts. Dorj (1901-2007) lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery, Zuunmod; Ts. Tserenpuntsog (born 1914) lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery, Zuunmod; Choisüren (born 1916) lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery, Zuunmod; S. Dagwa (born 1910) teaching master (*gergen*) of *Manba datsan*; P. Luwsandanzan (born 1921) lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery; L. Dashdorj (born 1918), living near Altanbulag sum centre, Töv aimag

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Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos:

Tsültem: intr. 11, 15, 16; 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 (*aimag* temples)
Maidar 40, 41 (*aimag* temples), 42 (*Anduu nariin aimag* temple), 49
Sereeter: 51 (*aimag* temples)
Film Archive K23997-K24101 (pictures of Züün Khüree and *Shar ordon*) (24006, 24047 (*aimag* temple), 24056 (*Amduu nariin aimag* temple), 24057 (*Ekh daginiin aimag, loilon*), 24092 (*aimag* temple), 24764 (Maitreya circumambulation), 24802 (Sand mandala procession), 24803, 24804 (Maitreya circumambulation), 24832 (Sand mandala procession), 24833 (Maitreya circumambulation), 24835, 24837 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*), 24863 (*Tsam* dance), 24888 (*Tsam* dance)

History

Ikh Khüree was divided into two main parts: Züün Khüree (written Mongolian *Ĵegün küriyen*, eastern monastic district) and Gandan (Tib. *dga'-ldan*) or Baruun Khüree (written Mongolian *Barayun küriyen*, western monastic district). 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 Ikh Khüree. According to Banzragch (p. 15.), the territory of Züün Khüree was 720×720 ald (1 ald=1.6 m). The eastern part of the capital was settled first and, as such, was the administrative centre of the capital with the main residence of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*, and the main assembly hall, *Bat tsagaan Tsogchin* temple in its centre. The western part was the centre of philosophical Buddhist traditional education. Both parts were surrounded by *aimags* where lamas lived.

In addition to the buildings referred to above, there were about 15 other buildings in the centre of Züün Khüree. There were temples and shrines inside and outside the court of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*'s residence, such as *Dechingalawiin datsan*, *Dorj powran*, *Dar' ekhiin süm*, *Eregsümgombiin süm*, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Tünkhagiin khural*, *Namsrain khural*, *Baruun örgöö*, *Maidariin süm*, *Noyon shüteenii* or *Manaliin süm*. 30 *aimags* in which over 10,000 (*tüimen*) lamas lived, encircled the central complex. Each *aimag* had its own temples. Monastic schools, situated east of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*'s residence (*Zurkhain datsan*, *Jüd datsan*, *Manba datsan*), were independent from the *aimags*.

The central part of Züün Khüree is described in Rinchen Entry 910 under the summary name *Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin*.

Therefore, under this entry, only the 30 *aimag* temples are described in brief based on information published by Sereeter and Pürew, the descriptions of Pozdneev and other sources, such as the information gained from the data providers.

The 30 aimags of Züün Khüree

The capital moved numerous times from its inception, until, in 1855, it finally settled in the present area of Ulaanbaatar.

When *Örgöö* was founded by Öndör gegeben in 1651 the population surrounding the palace was divided into seven territorial units (*aimag*). In the beginning the *aimags* had names referring to the 'work' done by or describing the people in it, like *Sangiin aimag* ('*aimag* of the treasury'), *Zoogiin aimag* ('*aimag* of food'), *Jasiin aimag* ('*aimag* of the financial and

administrative unit'), *Darkhan emchiin aimag* ('*aimag* of the honoured doctor'), *Anduu nariin aimag* ('*aimag* of the Tibetans from Amdo district'), *Örlögüüdiin* or *Örlüüdiin aimag* (a term with controversial meaning, '*aimag* of the nunny' or '*aimag* of the general') and *Khüükhen noyonii aimag* ('*aimag* of the Noble Lady' ie. Öndör gegeen's wife). 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.

According to the Short History of Mongolian Buddhism (G. Diwaasammbuu, D. Taiwansaikhan, *Mongoliin burkhan shashnii tүүкхен тоим*, p. 89.), Öndör gegeen created separate *aimags* for each of the Nyingmapa, Sakyapa and Karmapa sects, as they had been followed in Mongolia in the previous times. According to Sereeter (p. 9) in Öndör Gegeen's old age four new *aimags* were added to the original seven: *Shüteenii aimag*, *Setsen toinii aimag*, *Bargiin aimag* (where the lamas of the Karmapa tradition lived), and *Bandidiin aimag*. The *aimags* were residential and economic units and usually occupied by people coming from the same territories in Mongolia.

Once again (Sereeter, p. 9.), during the time of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* (1729-1757) eleven new *aimags* were added to the existing eleven, these being *Erkhem toinii aimag*, *Mergen nomon khanii aimag*, *Wangiin aimag*, *Nomchiin aimag*, *Mergen khambiin aimag*, *Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag*, *Jaddariin aimag*, *Lam nariin aimag*, *Biz'yaagiin aimag*, *Dugariin aimag*, *Düinkhoriin aimag*.

Finally, between 1775 and 1903 eight new *aimags* were added to the 22 making 30 in total: *Makhamayaagiin aimag*, *Dondowlingiin aimag*, *Toisomlingiin aimag*, *Namdollongiin aimag*, *Jam'yansüngiin aimag*, *Choinkhorlingiin aimag*, *Dashdandarlin aimag* and as the last, *Ekh daginiin aimag*.

As Sereeter claims (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* each *aimag* was marked with a letter of the Tibetan alphabet. The Tibetan letters were carved on brass boards and displayed in front of the *aimags*. 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, although they 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 daily chanting in their own temples with their own deities, which were worshipped there. The temples contained images of the worshipped deities.

As Jügder's painting shows the *aimags* were clustered, as in Gandan, in a U shape form, facing south, around the centre of Züün Khüree following the principle of *khüree deg* i.e. the grouping of *aimag* temples and the lamas' dwellings around the main assembly hall and the main monastic institutions. 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 for whom the *aimag* was founded or their worshipped deities. The monastic cities throughout Mongolia were built in the same way.

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 (*Mongoliin улс төрийн төв*, pp. 36-37.) and the map in Ulaanbaatar city museum shows that the first *aimag* on the west side of the *aimag* 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 U shape on the east, *Örlüüdiin 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 U shape to the north of these two *aimags*. Therefore the zone between the former Züün Khüree *aimags* is currently the area between the present Sükhbaatar Street and Ikh surguul' Street. This area was the central square (*örgön chölöö*, *gol chölöö*) or street leading to the Shar ordon. It was called Zalrakh zam, 'The approach road used by the Bogd' on which he arrived from his palace. 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*; or the residence of the Prime Minister *Erdene shanzaw* Badamdorj (the head of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs), which was at the beginning of Wangain highstreet.

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*, *Düinkhoriin güür* and *Jadariin güür*, all bearing the names of the *aimags* next to which they were situated (Pürew, *Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 19.).

According to Pozdneev (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* of Ikh Khüree. There were 4 *aimags* with 1000 lamas (*Shüteenii*, *Sangain*, *Zoogoin* and *Ekh daginiin*), 15 *aimags* with 500 lamas (*Setsen toinii*, *Anduu nariin*, *Dugariin*, *Wangain*, *Süngiin*, *Düinkhoriin*, *Erkhem toinii*, *Bargiin*, *Örlögüüdiin*, *Lam nariin*, *Nomon khanii*, *Dondowlin*, *Jadariin*, *Toisomlin*, and *Darkhan emchiin*), 6 *aimags* with 350 lamas (*Khüükhen noyonii*, *Biz'yaagiin*, *Jasiin*, *Nomchiin*, *Dandarlin*, *Namdollin*) and 5 *aimags* with 250 lamas (*Makhamayaa*, *Choinkhorlin*, *Mergen khambiin*, *Khuwilgaanii*, *Bandidiin*).

Dashtseren lama, who belonged to *Choinkhorlin aimag*, gave us a description of 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 treasurer or bookkeeper (*nyaraw*, Tib. *gnyer-ba*). Each *aimag* was a self-sufficient unit having lamas fulfilling 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 *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) (*gesgüi*) 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 (pp. 53-54.) that the *aimag* temples had two sections: a larger one, called the 'temple of worship' (*khurliin 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* (Tib. *mgon-khang*) and sometimes *zonkhon* (Tib. *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 *büreenii shat* (a wooden platform used for calling the lamas to the ceremonies) set up on the southeast side of the *aimag* temple (*khurliin süm*).

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 (Tibetan transliteration: *gan-ji-ra*, Skr. *gascira*, top ornament) on their top. In two *aimags*, *Sangain* and *Zoogoin*, the sanctuary was two storeys high according to Pozneev. 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 temples 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 the financial units (*jas*) that belonged to the temples. (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 could be found on the latter.) Most of this data is drawn from Sereeter's work. 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. We also used the list of the *aimag* temple deities published in *Gandan* monastery's newspaper, *Bilgiin melmii* (15/57. February 2005, p. 3.), which shows similarity with Soninbayar's list (Soninbayar, Sh. (ed.), *Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui tüükh*, 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 (*Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 19., 22-23.). Pürew's book (*Mongol töriin golomt*, pp. 19., 22-23.) also gives some data on the styles of the *aimag* temples and their exact site. The researchers took GPS readings 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 (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 U shape facing to the south, the *aimags* are listed below from south-west to south-east in order.

1. **Shüteenii aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *zhu-te-ni*), marked with letter KA of the Tibetan alphabet, was one of the first seven *aimags* being initiated between 1665 and 1720 according to Sereeter (pp. 18-20.). As Luuzan lama, born from Büüwei prince family, was the initiator of this *aimag*, it was called *Luuzan toinii aimag*, 'the *aimag* of Luuzan 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* (Tib. *mgon-po*, ‘protector’ epithet of Skr. Mahakala), 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 *Zügiüü Namnan* (Tib. *gtsug dgu rnam snang*, an epithet of Vairocana) and its main protectors were *Naichün/Naichin* (Tib. *gnas-chung*) and *Namsrai* (Tib. *rnam-(thos)-sras*, Skr. Vaishravana). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Danshigiin Khangaliin jas*, *Tümen Sanjidiin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Itgeliin jas*, *Tseder Lkhamiin jas*, *Mandalshiwaagiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Dordüwiin jas*, *Ikh Dar’ ekhiin jas* (from 1908: *Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas*), *Garawchogchidiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Baga Dar’ ekhiin jas*, *Shunkhan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Ikh Lamiin chodwiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Dalai eejiin jas*, *Baga Lamiin chodwiin jas*, *Dugan jas*. Pürew whose descriptions are most probably based on the painting by Jügder, says that it had a wooden yurt-shaped temple and it was situated on the east of what is now the Natural History Museum (*Baigaliin tüükhiin müzej*, N 47°55.345’, E 106°54.916’). A photo is available in the Film Archive (K24038) that also appears in Tsültem’s book (picture 27). According to Ts. Dorj lama (1901-2007), who lived in *Shüteenii 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** (Tib. *don-grub gling*), marked with letter ZA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1780 according to Sereeter (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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1780 and founded a new aimag with some lamas from *Shüteenii aimag*. Its main tutelary deity was *Nagbo Demchig* (Tib. *nag-po bde-mchog*, ‘Black Chakrasamvara’) or *Nagwushawlügji Demchog* (Tib. *nag-po ...- lugs ?-kyi bde-mchog*, the Tibetan origin of this deity’s name couldn’t be identified) (*Bilgiin melmii*) and its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Damjan Chojil* (Tib. *dam-can chos-rgyal*, epithet of Yama). However, Gonchig lama names the four-faced emanation of *Gombo*, namely *Shalsh* (Tib. *zhal bzhi*, four-faced Mahakala) as one of its protectors. The large sculpture of *Chojil* or *Chojoo* (Tib. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. Dharmaraja, epithet of Yama) made by Öndör gegeen, which was kept in *Dondowlingiin aimag*, and was known as ‘*Chojoo* of the Astrologic temple’ (*Zurkhain Chojoo*) is presently kept in the Vajradhara Temple (*Ochirdariin süm*) in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286.). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dültsen(giin) jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Dorjnamjimiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*. 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** (Tib. *kye(‘i) rdor/ kye(‘i) rdo-rje*), marked with letter KHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1745 according to Sereeter (p. 22.). The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Jadar/Jiddar* (Tib. *kye’i rdo-rje*, Skr. Hevajra). According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article *Tonbajin* (Tib. *thod-pa-can*, ‘the one with the skull cup’, an epithet of Chakrasamvara) was its other main tutelary deity. Its main protector was *Gombo gür* (Tib. *mgon-po gur*), an emanation of Mahakala, being worshipped by the Sakya stream (Tib. *sa-skya*) of Tibetan Buddhism. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Ikh Tarawiin jas*, *Tsawiin jas*, *Jambiin chogiin jas*, *Donchidiin jas*,

Baga Tarawiin jas, Dondogiin Sanjidiin jas, Soiwangiin Sanjidiin jio. Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a square shaped temple building, situated near, what is now, the Library of Sükhbaatar 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 Luwsan Khaidaw* (Tib. *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 many 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 stream. In this *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 54 in 1938.

4. **Toisamlin/ Toisomlin/Toslin aimag/ Dashtoisomlin aimag** (Tib. *thos bsam gling*), marked with letter RA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1798 according to Sereeter (p. 23.). In the 1790's *taij* (prince) Tsendenbhirelt and Rawdan lama (*toin*) from *Orjinjawiin khoshuu* of Tüsheets khan aimag founded a temple in their area. They moved to Ikh Khüree and dedicated it to the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt* who gave *Dashtoisomlin* as the name of the assembly. Its main tutelary deity was *Sandui Mijid* (Tib. *gsang-'dus mi bskyod*, Skr. Guhyasamaja Akshobhya) 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* (short form of *Baldan lkham*, Tib. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Skr. Shridevi). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas, Diiitsen 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 in the *aimag*. The *aimag* had a temple with golden roof and *Manzshir* (Tib. *'jam-dpal / 'jam-(dpal)- dbyangs*, Skr. Manjushri) was one of its main protectors. 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. **Düinkhoriin aimag** (Tib. *dus-'khor*), marked with letter GA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the period of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* according to Sereeter (p. 24.). The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Düinkhor* (Tib. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kalachakra) and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Gol jas, Sakhiusnii jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Khawriin arawnii jas, Öwliin arawnii jas, Namriin arawnii jas, Namsrain jas, Ayuushiin jas, Naidangiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Khangaliin jas, Ündesnii jas, Dordowiin jas, Puntsaldulamiin (Puntsagdulamiin) bumbanii jas*. Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a square shaped temple building. According to O. Pürew, it was situated near, what is now, the Sükhbaatar district Hospital. In this *aimag* 400 lamas lived in 1855 and 155 in 1938.
6. **Setsen/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 (p. 25.). Its main tutelary deity was *Sandui Jamdor/Jamdar* (Tib. *gsang-'dus 'jam-rdor*, Skr. Guhyasamaja Manjushri) and its main protector was *Jamsran* (or *Ulaan sakhius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*), the Red Protector). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas, Dar' ekhiin dültsengiin jas, Dültsengiin magtaaliin jas, Dashnyam arawnain jas, Khuuchin Ganjuuriin jas, Namsrain dordowiin jas, Lkhamiin dordowiin jas, Dar' ekhiin nünnain jas, Sereeteriin Günregiin jas, Awidiin chogiiin jas, Demchogiiin donchidiin jas, Mintügiin dültsengiin jas, Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*. According to O. Pürew, the wooden yurt-

shaped *aimag* temple was situated near, what is now, the University of Fine Arts, called SUIIS (*Soyol Urlagiin Ikh Surguul*). The old photo of the temple is available in the Film Archive (K24083) and in Tsültem's book (picture 28). In this *aimag* 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 154 in 1938.

7. **Amduu/Anduu nariin aimag or Anduugiin aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *ang-dwo-nar*), marked with letter NGA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 according to Sereeter (p. 26.) as dwelling of Tibetans from Amdo (a north-eastern Tibetan district) who came to Mongolia with Öndör gegegen to spread Buddhism. Its main tutelary deity was *Jalwajamts/Jalbajamts* (Tib. *rgyal-pa rgya-mtsho*, a form of Avalokiteshvara) and its main protector was *Lkham*. According to the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Janraiseg* (Tib. *spyen-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteshvara) was also worshipped here, which must refer to the above form of Avalokiteshvara, *Jalwajamts*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Shagjtiwiin dülsengiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Mönkh Gombiin dordowiin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Buman Itgeliin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Mönkh Günregiin jas*, *Mönkh Dүdбиin jas*, *Mönkh Jambiin chogiiin jas*, *olon khünii mönkhölsön buman Nogoon Dar' ekhiin jas*. Pүrew claims that the *aimag* had a wooden square-shaped temple building (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 19.). On its site there is now a Honda repair garage, which we could not find (this area on *Ikh toiruu* has many garages). Ts. Tserenpuntsog lama (born 1914), who once lived in this *aimag*, 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** (Tib. *bkra-shis bstan dar gling*), marked with letter HA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1892 according to Sereeter (p. 27.). Following the command of the 8th *jewtsүndamba khutagt* this *aimag* became separated from *Makhamayaagiin aimag*. It housed Luwsankhaidaw's yurt-palace (*Lawran tugdum/tugdum*). He was the third younger brother of the *jewtsүndamba khutagt* and later became the state oracle known as *Chojjin lam* (see entry Rinchen 915 on his temple). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Tүmet sakhiusiin jas*, *Gүнregiin dülsengiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Danshogiin khangaliin jas*. Its main tutelary deity was *Makhamayaa* (Tib. *sgyu-ma chen-mo*) and its main protector was *Jamsran* or *Jagonjamsran* (a form of Jamsran, Tib. *lcam-sring*, the Red Protector, Tib. ? *lcam-sring*, Gonchig lama's transliteration: *tsha-kang* (?) *lcam-sring*, which Tibetan form also seems erroneous) (*Bilgiin melmii*). According to O. Pүrew the wooden square-shaped *aimag* temple was situated on the east of Bayanbүrd (N 47° 55.664', E 106° 54.424'). However, as Bayanbүrd is far to the west, very near to Gandan, it seems impossible that one of the *aimag* temples was situated there. The photo of the temple is available in the Film Archive (K24088) and in Tsүltem's book (picture 40-41). In this *aimag* 270 lamas lived in 1915 and 115 in 1938.
9. **Maya or Makhamayaagiin aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *ma-ha ma-ya*), marked with letter YA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1741 according to Sereeter (p. 28). Its founder was the father of the 2nd *jewtsүndamba khutagt*, *Chin wan Dondowdorj*, who moved his temple into *Ikh Khүree*. The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Makhamayaa* and its main protector was *Jamsran* or *Jagonjamsran* (according to the *Bilgiin Melmii*). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Makhamayaagiin dülsengiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*. *Dashdandarlin aimag* separated from this *aimag* in 1892. According to O. Pүrew (*Mongol 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 Puntsagdegchilen aimag** (Tib. *spyi-gsog*, 'public accumulation/reserves', or *phun-tshogs theg chen gling*), marked with letter CA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 according to Sereeter (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 Tib. *rta-mgrin gsang-sgrub* (?), 'Hayagriva secret sadhana') and its main protector was *Jamsran*. According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin Melmii* article, *Lowanrünaa/Lowonrünaa* (Tib. *slob-dpon sku lnga* or *slob-dpon rigs-lnga*?) and *Damjin* (Tib. *dam-can*, 'oath-bound protector, vow-holder') were also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin donchidiin jas*, *Tarwaachembiin jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Ikh Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Baga Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Awidiin chogiin jas*, *Tsedewiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Mintügiin chogiin jas*. 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** (Tibetan transliteration: *nom-chi*), marked with letter CHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt*, as Sereeter claims (p. 30.). It was founded by the disciplinary master of the main assembly hall (*tsogchin gesgüi*) 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* (Tib. *rig byed-ma* or *ku-ru kul-li/le*, Skr. Kurukulle) and its main protector was *Dürteddagwa* (Tib. *dur-khrod bdag-po*, Skr. Cittipati). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dördüwiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Ömnö arawnii magtaaliin jas*. 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** (Tibetan transliteration: *sang-gas*), marked with letter JA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as Sereeter claims (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* (Tib. *rnying-ma-pa'i sgrol-ma*, 'The Tara of the Nyingmapa sect') or according to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Nürshinbawuu Dolma/Dulma* (Tib. *myur zhi dpa'-po'i sgrol-ma*?) and its main protector was *Jamsran*. According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Daragshad* (Tib. *tra-kshad*) was also worshipped here. The sculpture of *Namsrai* from *Sangain aimag* is presently kept in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286.). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Zurkhaich Mönpeliin mönkhölsön dültsen jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Tümet Sakhiusiin jas*, *Ganjuur Danjuuriin jio*, *Otoch Nyambiin mönkhölsön Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Buman Itgeliin jio-uud*, *Galsangiin mönkhölsön Lamiin chodwiin chogo*,

Sakhiusnii dordowiin jio. 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. **Zoogoi(n) aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *tso-gas*), marked with letter TA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as Sereeter claims (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, *Zoogiin aimag* ('Aimag of meal/dishes') became distorted to *Zoogoin aimag* during the years. Its main tutelary deity was *Chagsh Gombo* (Tib. *phyag bzhi mgon-po*), the four armed Mahakala and its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Chagsh Lkham* (Tib. *phyag bzhi lha-mo*), the four armed Shridevi (Gonchig's manuscript says simply *Lkham*). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Dülbiin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Tsogt sakhiusnii jas*, *Gongor Namsrain jas*, *Danshigiin Khangaliin jas*, *Derged sakhiusnii jas*, *Gelen lam nariin jas*. 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** (Tib. *gdugs-dkar*), marked with letter THA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* according to Sereeter (p. 33.). The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Dugar* (or *Tsagaan shükhert*, Tib. *gdugs dkar*, Skr. *Sitatapatra*). Its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Damjan Choijil*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*. 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** (Tib. *chos-'khor gling*), marked with letter SHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1877. As Sereeter claims (p. 34.), this *aimag* broke away from *Mergen khambiin aimag*. Its main tutelary deity was *Demchog l Khan-aa* (Tib. *bde-mchog lha lnga*, the five deities of Chakrasamvara) 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*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Khuuchin nomiin jas*. According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. However, Dashtseren lama, who once lived in *Choinkhorlin aimag* 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** (Tib. *mkhan-po*), marked with letter DA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt*. As Sereeter claims (p. 35.), its founder was *mergen khamba* Baitaw or Baidüw, who was one of the seven great *khutagts* of the subordinated areas (*Ikh shaw'*; for further information on him see Dashbadrakh, D. *Mongoliin khutagtuudiin namtriin oillogo /XVII-XX zuun/*, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 167.). *Choinkhorlin aimag* separated from this *aimag* in 1877. Its main tutelary deity was *Chagsh Janraiseg* (Tib. *phyag bzhi spyen-ras gzigs*, the four armed Avalokiteshvara) and its main protector was *Gombo*. More correctly, according to the *Bilgiin Melmii* article, *Chagsh Gombo* and *Shalsh* were worshipped here. Gonchig simply says *Gombo* and *Shalsh*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Zuliin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Nünnain jas*. 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 but the researchers could not identify this place. In this *aimag* 400 lamas lived in 1855 and 12 in 1938.

17. **Biz'yaagiin aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *be-za-ya*, Sanskrit origin: Vijaya, Tib. *rnam rgyal-ma*), marked with letter NA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1750. Sereeter claims (p. 36.) that its initiator was *Darkhan gūn* Möngö, the *zasag* noble of Tüsheet khan aimag. The temple was named after its main deity, as the main tutelary deity of the aimag was *Biz'yaa* or *Jügder/Jügdor namjil* (Tib. *gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal*, Skr. Ushnishavijaya) and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Danshogiin Khangaliin jio*. According to Pürew, this *aimag* had a felt yurt temple. The National Sports University, Oyun College and Khan-uul 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** (Tibetan transliteration: *no-yon-ni*), marked with letter PA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651. Sereeter claims that, as one of the first seven aimags of Örgöö, this aimag was founded on the initiation of Öndör geegen's wife (*gergii*) (p. 37.). Its main tutelary deity was *Demchig/Demchog lkhan-aa* (Tib. *bde-mchog lha lnga*, the five deities of Chakrasamvara) and its main protector was *Gongor*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ur'dakh arawnii jio*, *Khoidokh arawnii magtaaliin jio*. According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a yurt-shaped temple building (p. 19.). The present building of Önöödör 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** (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 an honorable Tibetan doctor, who was invited by Öndör geegen (p. 38.). Its main tutelary deity was *Düzeichalba/Düdzüichilba* (Tib. *bdud-rtsi dkyil-ba' khyil-pa*, 'Amrita Pooler') and its main protector was *Gürdagwa* (Tib. *gu-ru drag-po*, 'Wrathful Guru') and *Gombo*. According to Gonchig lama, *Tsamba* (Tib. *tshangs-pa*, Skr. Brahma) was also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Dültseugiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*. According to Dendew (p. 11.), who also claims that the *aimag* was named after a very famous doctor, some of his famous medicine (*mankhagtai em*, Tib. *sman khug*, medicine bag) hung in a bag from the smoke hole of the yurt-shaped temple of *Darkhan emchiin aimag*. 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 toyinii aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *'er-khem*), marked with letter BA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated after 1737 during the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* according to Sereeter (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 geegen Zanabazar, his grandfather Sidshir and his father Tsembeldorj, and established a

temple. The 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* awarded him the title of *Erkhem toin* and named his temple *Erkhem toinii aimag*'s temple. The aimag's main tutelary deity was *Dorjpagam* (Tib. *rdo-rje phag-mo*, Skr. Vajravarahi) and the main protector was *Tsambashadag/ Tsambashidag* (Tib. *tshangs-pa gzhi bdag* ?). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Tsogiin jas*, *Sanduin jas*, *Nünnain jas*, *Garawchogchdiin jas*, *Günreg Mintüywaagiin 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 (*jas*) 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt* it had about 300 lamas. The wooden yurt-shaped temple survived and is now used as the Temple of the Protector deities in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery. (N 47° 55.657', E 106° 55.247') (see the Current Situation part of this entry). 400 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 37 in 1938.

21. **Ekh daginiin aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *er-he tá-ki-ni* (?), marked with letter A of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1903 according to Sereeter (p. 40.). Rinchen marked this *aimag* temple separately on his map (No. 926) even though it was part of *Züün Khüree*. 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'). See details on this temple in entry Rinchen 926.
22. **Wangai(n) aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *wang-gas*), marked with letter MA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1757 as Sereeter claims (p. 42.). *Zorigt wan* Sanzaidorj, a *zasag* noble from *Tüsheets khan aimag*, established a temple in *Ikh Khüree* in 1740. The second *jewtsündamba khutagt* accepted it as a real *aimag* in 1757 with the name *Wangiin aimag* or *Wan guain aimag* ('*aimag* of the prince'), as it had been initiated by a person with the *jün wan* rank (*wan* being one of the noble or princely ranks). 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*' (Tib. *phyag-na rdo-rje*, Skr. Vajrapani) and *Dorjnamjim* (Tib. *rdo-rje rnam-'joms*, Skr. Vajravidarana) and the main protector was *Gombo*. Gonchig lama's list adds *Dolmanaljor* (Tib. *sgrol-ma rnal-'byor-ma*) as its tutelary deity. North of the temple there was a separate chapel for worshipping deities (*gonkhon süim*, Tib. *mgon-khang*). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: *Ikh jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Düdbiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Tsanidiin jas*, *Ikh Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin бага jas*, *Jasaa Gürmiin jas*, *Namsrain dorduwiin jas*, *Gawj nariin Günregiin jas*. Wangain highstreet (*Wangain örgön gудамj*) leading east from the Yellow Palace (*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 is nowadays used as the *Tsogchin* temple in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (N 47° 55.628', E 106° 55.240') (see the current situation part of this entry).

According to the lamas of present *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery the *aimag* was famous for its 12 volumes of the Prajnaparamita Sutra written in vermilion or red colour ink (*Ulaan yuüm*, Tib. *yum*) and many other unique and precious religious artifacts. Eminent scholars like Agwaantüwden (Tib. *ngag-dbang thub-bstan*, 18-19th centuries), known as *Wangain rawjambaa* (Tib. *rab-'byams-pa*, the philosophical doctor of *Wangai*), lived in this *aimag* and compiled numerous books, biographies and chanting texts, all of which they wrote in Tibetan. According to Dendew (p. 11.), a talented sculptor, Minjüür *agramba* lived in *Wangain aimag*. 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.

23. **Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag/ Khuwilgaanii aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *hwwu-bil-kaang*), marked with letter TSA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1736. Sereeter claims (p. 43.) that its founder was *Erdene khuwilgaan lam* Minjüürdorj, who was one of the seven great *khutagts* of *Ikh shaw'* (subordinated areas; for further information on him see Dashbadrakh, D. *Mongoliin khutagtuudiin namtriin oillogo /XVII-XX zuun/*, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 168.). Its main tutelary deity was *Chagdar/Chagdor khorchin* (Tib. *phyag-rdor* 'khor-chen, Skr. Vajrapani with his attendants) and its main protector was *Damjin/Damjan*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin Nünnain jas*. According to Pürew, it 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** (Tibetan transliteration: *wa-rko*), marked with letter TSHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in the turn of 18th century as Sereeter claims (p. 44.). Nobles, a contemplative lama (*dayanch*) named Dondom of Ilden wangiin 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 were *Dorjdagzal toiwonagwa* (Tib. *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* (Tib. *ber-nag mgon-po*, Mahakala 'with the black cloak'). According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin Melmii* article, *Nyamabiiyugdorjpagam* (Tib. *nying-ma-pa'i ? rdo-rje phag-mo*, Vajravarahi of the Nyingmapa Sect), and *Lkhamshaljirmaa* (Tib. *lha-mo zhal sbyor-ma ? / lha-mo zhal 'gyur-ma ?*) were also worshipped here. G. Dewaasambuu, the current *tsorj* lama of *Gandan* monastery informed the researchers that 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. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Khuuchin nomiin jas*, *Nomun khanii sakhiusnii jas*, *Khuwilgaan toin tsorjiin san*. 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 this *aimag*. Its temple was made of wood and was decorated by a golden top ornament (*ganjir*, Tibetan transliteration: *gan-ji-ra*, Skr. gascira, 'top ornament'). Its main protector was *Gombo*. 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** (Tib. *rnam-grol gling*) or **Dashilin** (Tib. *bkra-shis gling*) **aimag**, marked with letter LA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1836 as Sereeter claims (p. 45.). *Nomch nomon khan lam* Rinchinjaw (Rinchinjaw who had the title *Nomch nomon khan*) of the subordinated areas (*Ikh shaw'*) and *Tsorj lkhaaramba lam* Agwaanbaldan (Agwaanbaldan with the title *tsorj lkhaaramba*) established it. The 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt* gave it its name. According to Pozdneev (p. 52.), *Dashilin aimag* was established in the autumn of 1877 with 300 lamas. Pürewjaw claims (p. 30.) that *Dashilin aimag* and *Namdollin aimag* are two different names for the same aimag. The *aimag's* main tutelary deity was *Mintüg Sandui* (Tib. *mi-'khrugs gsang-'dus*, Skr. Aksobhya and Guhyasamaja) and its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Jamsran*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mintügiin jas*,

Sanjdmolomiin jas, Magtaaliin jas, Khangaliin jio, Tsanidchinii jio, Diwaajingiin jio, Sanjidiin jio, Jiin chogchdiin jio, Nomch nomon khanii san. The *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Zaluuchud 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.

26. **Pandidiin / Bandidiin aimag / Bandid lamiin aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *pa-nthid*, Sanskrit origin: *pandita*), marked with letter JA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 1st *jewtsündamba khutagt* as Sereeter claims (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* (Tib. *dgra-nag gshin-rje-gshed*, 'the black sworn enemy of the lord of death', Yamantaka) 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*. 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'). 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 35 in 1938.
27. **Jam'yaansüngiin aimag or Süngiin aimag** (Tib. *chos-dbyings gsung/bsrung*), marked with letter WA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated between 1781-1819 as Sereeter claims (p. 47.). Nobles of Mergen wangiin khoshuu of TüsHEET khan aimag initiated its foundation to dedicate it to the 4th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. Its main tutelary deity was *Jam'yaansün* (or *Jam'yaansüren*, Tib. 'jam-dbyangs *bsrung*, 'protected by Manjugosha') or *Choiyonsün* (Tib. *chos-dbyings bsrung*), and its main protector was *Lkham*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas, Günregiin jas, Dültsengiin jas* and *Nünnain jas*. 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. *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 (p. 11.), there was a *loilan* (Tib. *blos bslangs*) or meditational mandala in this temple, which was made by Junai, the talented master of *Süngiin aimag*. Dariimaa claims (p. 97.) that Junai was the layman smith in the *aimag*, who created and dedicated the *loilan* to his *aimag* in 1924, in his old age. It was a casted and gilded golden *jinkhor* (Tib. *dkyil-'khor*, Skr. mandala), one of the last great artifacts to be made before the purges. It was placed to a small two-storey wooden temple. 600 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 123 in 1938.
28. **Lam nariin aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *bla-ma nar*), marked with letter SA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* as Sereeter claims (p. 48.). The *khamba nomon khan* who was invited from Tibet, and other lamas with the title of *lowombo* (Tib. *slob-dpon-po?*) founded the *aimag*, which got its name from the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt*. Its main tutelary deity was *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* (Tib. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitayus) and its main protector was *Lkham*. The *aimag* had the following financial units: *Ikh jas, Dorduwiin jas, Khambo nomon khanii san, Yerööliin jas, Dültsengiin jas, Jamgan Renbuuchiin Naidan chogiin jas, Ganjuuriin jas, Gachin khambiin jas, Danjogiin jas, Sanjidiin jas, Maidariin jas, Ayuushiin donchidiin jas, Lkhamiin shalshimiin jas, Zunii Sakhiusnii*

tsawiin jas, *Öwliin Sakhiusnii tsawiin jas*, *Khürdnii jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Tüdewiin jas*. 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.

29. **Mergen nomon khanii aimag or Nomon khanii aimag** (Tibetan transliteration: *no-mong khaang*), marked with letter ZHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd *jewtsündamba khutagt* as Sereeter claims (p. 49.). Tseweendorj *lamtan* initiated it. He was the 3rd incarnation of *nomon khan khutagt* of *Bereiwen* (Tib. '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, D. *Mongoliin khutagtuudiin namtriin oillogo /XVII-XX zuun/*, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 162.). Its main tutelary deity was *Demchig garaw* (Tib. *bde-mchog dkar-po*, a white form of Chakrasamvara) and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Mergen nomon khanii lamiin san*. 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** (Tibetan transliteration: 'ur-lu-de), marked with letter 'A of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651, as Sereeter claims (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* (Tib. *so-sor* 'brang-ma, Skr. Mahapratishara) and its main protector was *Lkham*. Gonchig lama's list adds *Gombo* as its protector. The sculpture of *Baraishir* from *Örlüüdiin aimag* is presently kept in *Gandan* monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, pp. 285-286). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: *Ikh jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Zunii jas*, *Nünnain jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*. 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'). 400 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 47 in 1938.

All *aimag* temples were closed in 1938 and most were burnt. However, three of the thirty temple buildings survived. Detailed information about the present condition and use of two of them is given below in the Current Situation part of this entry, while the temple of *Ekh daginiin aimag* is described under entry 926.

Besides the above-mentioned *aimag* temples, many significant buildings were situated here. According to Dendew (p. 12.), in addition to the lamas' dwellings there were dwellings of the nobles (*noyon*), holy persons and reincarnations (*khutagt*, *khuwilgaan*), 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.

Residence of the khamba nomon khan

Khamba nomon khan (the 'Khan Abbot of the Religion') was the title of the highest ruler of Ikh Khüree in religious affairs, being the most significant cleric apart from the *jewtsündamba khutagt*, 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, 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 Mongolian State University (MUIS). According to Choisüren lama (born 1916), *yonzon khamba* (Luwsankhaimchog), the head of all Züün Khüree, lived in a small yurt with his Tibetan attendants close to *Süingiin aimag*, which seems to refer to the same place.

According to Sereeter (p. 108.), Luwsankhaimchog was born in Tibet in 1873. He obtained the *gachin* (Tib. *mkhan chen*, ‘great scholar’, great abbot) rank in Tashilhunpo monastery and arrived to Mongolia in 1915 as a *jawtüi lam* (Tib. *byabs-khrus*) of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*, that performs purifying liturgies. Later, he became the personal tutor (*yonzon*, Tib. *yongs-'dzin*) of the 8th *jewtsündamba khutagt*. In 1920 he was nominated as the main abbot (*khamba nomon khan*) of the main assembly hall and whole Ikh Khüree. In 1937 he was executed being one of the highest ranked lamas.

Shanzodwiin yaam/Shanzawiin yaam

As the main administrative office of Ikh Khüree, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs (*Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam/Shanzawiin yaam*) was situated behind the *Tsogchin* temple and the Maitreya temple, south-east of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children’s Creativity (*Khüühediin urlan büteekh töw*, previously known as *Pioneriin ordon*, ‘Pioneer Palace’). Its head was the *erdene shanzodwa/shanzaw* (Tib. *phyag-mdzod-pa*), the ‘precious treasurer’. In Pozdneev’s time it was the only office in Khüree. As well as being the chief administrator of Ikh Khüree, the *shanzodwa* was the supreme administrator of the *jewtsündamba khutagt*’s entire department estates and was also responsible for the affairs and properties of *shaw’ nar* who were subordinated directly to the *jewtsündamba khutagt*. As can be seen from Jügder’s painting, the *Shanzodwiin yaam* had a large fenced-off courtyard with a red gate. Pozdneev claims (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 *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.

Current situation: Züün Khüree Dashchoilin khiid

Tibetan name: bkra-shis chos gling

English name: Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery

Sükhbaatar district, 8th khoroo, Akademch Sodnom Street

Main gate:

Elevation 1304 m

N 47°55.620’

E 106°55.255’

Data providers: Ts. Altankhüü, main disciplinary master, G. Buyandelger, main chanting master of the monastery

Photo: Dashnyam (265)

The only extant buildings of the thirty *aimags* of Züün Khüree are two temple halls

now being used by *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery and the temple of *Ekh daginiin aimag* (see Rinchen 926). According to Dariimaa (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.).

Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery operates in the two remained temples of *Wangain* and *Erkhem toinii aimags*. So it is that Dashchoilin ‘inherits’ and uses the honorific name *Züün Khüree*.

In 1971 the surviving buildings of *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag* 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.

Before this, in 1990, *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery was established in the two old temple buildings of *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*. 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 warehouse.

The present *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery is the second biggest in Ulaanbaatar (after Gandan), having three temples (*Wangain*, *Erkhem toinii aimag* and *Gandanchoinchorlin* temple), a library and a College for training young lamas. It is situated in Sükhbaatar district (Akademich Sodnomin Street, 8th *khoro*). When the democracy was introduced in Mongolia, worship became free and the Buddhist religion was revived. *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery was revived on part of the old site of *Züün Khüree*: to be more precise, at the site of the only remaining temples of *Züün Khüree*. It was re-opened on 6th of July 1990 at the initiative and efforts of Venerable Ch. Dambajaw, who became the abbot, and old lama, Chandrabal, who became the chanting master and other old lamas. Currently there are 156 lamas in this community, which holds daily chanting every day and celebrates weekly, monthly and annual religious feasts. Apart from the abbot, there are the following ranks: *tsorj*, *lowon*, two chanting masters and two disciplinary masters. Besides, there are various other duties, such as two *takhilch* lamas and two *duganch*. Many lamas have *getsel* vow and five of them are *gelens*. Moreover, the monastery owns a unique collection of sutras, tantras, statues and images of deities and various objects of worship, many of which date back before 1937.

The wooden and concrete yurt-shaped temples in the complex represent the typical style of Mongolian monastic architecture, which draws from the domestic yurt. Today the monastery has three temples (the two old wooden ones and a newly built concrete one) and other buildings such as the one enhousing the library (an old *jas* building). All of them were built in the form of the traditional Mongolian yurts. Among them, the *Erkhemiiin aimgiin*

dugan serves as the temple of the wrathful deities or 'the protectors of the Teaching' (*sakhiusnii dugan*), the *Wangiin aimgiin dugan* is the main assembly hall for the everyday ceremony (*tsogchin dugan*). The *Gandanchoinkhorlin dugan* (Tib. *dga'-ldan chos-'khor-gling* 'du-khang) is a large concrete round temple, which was built in 1999. It contains a large statue of the seated Shakyamuni Buddha, a statue of *Maidar* (Tib. *byams-pa*, Skr. Maitreya), the future Buddha and has elaborate colourful wall paintings.

The main tutelary deity of the monastery is *Jigjid*, and the main protectors are *Gombo* and *Lkham*.

Tsogchin temple, main assembly hall for daily chanting (the Wangain aimag temple)

The interior of the temple is fascinating with its light blue coloured ceiling, red and golden coloured beams, and gold and red painted pillars. It was repainted in 2005. The side-wall is decorated with characters in *soyombo* script. On the main altar there are statues of Buddha and his two main disciples, surrounded by the 16 arhats (*Naidan*). The statue of *Dar'ekh* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, Skr. Tara) and 1,000 statues of Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar also can be seen, 500 in the right and 500 in the left of the main altar, placed in wooden glass fronted cupboards. The distinctive feature of these statues is that they represent Öndör Gegeen with five different hand gestures (*mutar*, Tib. *phyag-rgya*, Skr. *mudra*). There are 200 sculptures of every kind. There are no thangkas in the hall. The volumes of the Tibetan *Ganjuur* and other holy texts are kept in cupboards whose doors are decorated with Buddhist symbols.

Daily chanting is held in this temple from 9.00am to 1.00pm. Some other ceremonies, for example *Ganjuur*, are also held here. At the same time that daily chanting is taking place, four *Jasaa* lamas sit separately on the left of the temple reading texts requested by individual laypeople.

Sakhius temple, temple of the protector deities (the Erkhem toinii aimag temple)

The images of the protectors of four directions can be seen on the either side of the entrance hall. As it is the temple of the wrathful protector deities, the red colour is dominant inside the temple with numerous representations of wrathful deities decorating the temple. Huge thangkas of *Jigjid* and *Ochirwaan'* can be seen hanging down from the centre of the temple, while the huge thangkas of *Gongor* and *Gombo* hang on the left, *Lkham* and *Choiजू* on the right. On the main altar there are the statues of Tsongkapa and his main disciples, *Maidar*, *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmid* and other deities. On either side of the main altar there are statues of the ten protector deities, five on either side. Many other pictures and old thangkas decorate the temple. The ceremonial texts are kept in red cupboards the doors of which are decorated with the eight auspicious symbols.

The image of *Lkham* is displayed above the seat of the main disciplinary master, with the image of *Jamsran* being above the seat of the vice disciplinary master.

Gandanchoinkhorlin Temple

The temple of *Gandanchoinkhorlin* (written Mongolian: *Tögs bayasgalant nomiin khürden dugan*, Tib. *dga'-ldan chos-'khor gling*) opened its doors in 2000 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the opening of *Dashchoilin* monastery, which is often referred to as the revival of Züün Khüree. The main image in this temple is a huge Shakyamuni Buddha statue cast in copper and gilded with gold. The temple wall is covered with a unique composition of colourful wall paintings showing the eight main disciples of Buddha, the sixteen Arhats, the ten protectors (*sakhius*, Tib. *chos-skyong*, Dharmapala) the guards of the four directions (*Makhranz*, Tib. *rygal chen*, Maharaja), the White Old Man (*Tsagaan öwgön*, Tib. *rgan-po dkar-po*), the Goddess with the white Parasol (*Tsagaan Shükhert* or *Dugar*, Tib. *gdugs dkar*, Skr. Sitatapatra) and the eight types of stupas with various Buddhist symbols arranged

between the main figures.

In December 2005, several new copper statues were installed in the monastery. They were all made in *Kumbum* (Tib. *sku-'bum*) monastery in Tibet, with which the monastery has connections through several of its young lamas who studied there for a number of years in the 1990s. The most important of these new sculptures is the 1.6m high *Maidar*, the future Buddha, which is exhibited in *Gandanchoinchorlin* temple as a model for the 16 meters high statue to be placed inside the planned reinstated *Maidar* temple, destroyed in 1938. A model of this temple is also exhibited here: a four-storey white building in Tibetan style with a yurt shaped domed roof as a traditional Mongolian element. Fundraising for this ambitious plan to rebuild the statue and the temple of *Maidar* began in December 2005. Other new statues in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery are of Buddha and his two main disciples, Tsongkhapa and his two main disciples and *Nogoon Dar' ekh* (Tib. *sgrol ljang*, Skr. Shyamatarā, the Green Tara), which are in the two temples where ceremonies take place.

No ceremonies are currently held in *Gandanchoinchorlin* temple with it being used by laypeople to consult fortune-tellers and to have readings of requested texts. It is also used for receptions and other official events as it has a more spacious interior.

The outer part of the temple encircling the main temple hall is used to house the administrative offices, the office of the Abbot, the College classrooms, teacher's room, and the reception room for ordering sutras (*nom ailtgakh khüleen awakh gazar*) with a computerized system installed in 2007.

In the courtyard there are three stupas on either side of the *Sakhius* temple built in 2000 and a bigger stupa complex built in 1990 with a large central 'hollow' stupa surrounded by the eight Tathagata stupas, with prayer wheels inside. There is a new Buddha statue in the courtyard (2006, 2007), on the right of the *Sakhius* temple, in front of the library. In front of the *Tsogchin* temple, on the left, there is a new small building for burning butter lamps (2006, 2007).

The monastery has reinstated the important task of educating young lamas. The Great Abbot Ch. Dambajaw and the then Vice Abbot Ch. Tsedendamba, Ts. Mönkh-Erdene, the headmaster of the College, and other lamas established the *Züün Khüree* Monastic College to prepare educated lamas, teachers, researchers and Tibetan linguists. The College was founded in 1998 and held its first graduation in 2002. Subjects taught in the four year course are: Reciting of ritual texts, Buddhist Philosophy, *Lamrim* (Tib. *lam-rim*, The Gradual Path, the main work of Tsongkhapa), History of Mongolian Religion, Mongolian History, the World's Religious History, Tibetan grammar, Theory of translation, Theory of Poem, traditional Tibetan medicine, English, management and computer skills. The headmaster, Ts. Mönkh-Erdene, is a specialist in different Tibetan and Mongolian writing systems and gives great emphasis on passing his knowledge on to the next generation of students.

The monastery's library, which is housed in one of the surviving pre-1937 buildings, situated on the east of the *Sakhius* temple (connected to it by a corridor), has a collection of books, manuscripts and selected works written by Mongolian, Tibetan and Indian scholars. There is also a copy of the entire *Ganjuur* (Buddha's Teaching) and *Danjuur* (its commentaries), the collected works of many Tibetan sages and works of Mongolian scholars composed in Tibetan and Mongolian language in all branches of Buddhist science. Some of these books came from monasteries in Tibet and were paid for by Tibet Foundation.

The monastery has established connections with organizations and institutions in many countries, such as: China (Tibet), India, Russia (Buryatia), Japan, Korea, Great Britain, USA, Hungary, Czech Republic.

The monastery is planning to rebuild the 16m statue of *Maidar* in cast brass and a temple in which to house it both demolished in the repression (see the History part of this

entry). Another plan is to buy the old temple of *Ekh daginiin aimag*, the present Circus College next to the monastery, in which to establish a philosophical school (*choir datsan*). Thus the courtyard will also be enlarged making it possible to erect the big *Maidar* temple within the monastery complex.

As well as these rebuilding plans, the lamas in this monastery are endeavouring to revive many forgotten rites and traditions to reintroduce them into present religious practice. Today these revived special rites and ceremonial events, which are not yet common in other Mongolian monasteries, attract large number of believers to the monastery giving it a special place in the modern city.

One example of the revived special ceremonies now held in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery is the ritual circumambulation (*Maidar ergekhe*) of the future Buddha, Maitreya (*Maidar* or *Jamba*, Tib. *byams-pa*). This tradition was broken in 1939 and was revived in 1993. From this time it has been celebrated every year on the 3rd day of the first summer month. Today it is only performed in large monasteries such as Gandan and this monastery in Ulaanbaatar, and a very few monasteries in the countryside. The ceremony itself is called *Jambiin chogo* (Tib. *byams-pa'i cho-ga*, 'ceremony held in honour of *Byams-pa*' i.e. Maitreya), where the lamas and the public gather together in circumambulating the monastery with the statue of *Maidar* placed on a cart with green horse head and the lamas praying for his coming.

Another such special ceremony now revived is the tradition of *Sor zalakh* (the ritual burning of a triangular based pyramidal shaped wooden construction along with sacrificial cakes), which was performed once again in 1999. This ceremony aims at relieving natural disasters such as droughts, harsh winter cold (*zud*), or contagious diseases and other negative phenomena. It is performed in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery twice a year, once in winter, before the New Year ceremonies, and again in summer during the *Tsam* dance period.

The most significant event in this monastery's ritual year is the masked ritual dance, *Tsam* (Tib. 'cham'), which now attracts many people. Prior to this revival, the last *Tsam* was performed publicly in Mongolia in 1937. *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery first performed it again in the old traditional manner in September 2003 - on the 9th of the last summer month. Today, an annual *Tsam* ceremony has only been revived in Mongolia in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, in *Amarbayasgalant* monastery (Selenge aimag) and partly in Bulgan (*Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery).

The type of *Tsam* ceremony in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery is the special *Jakhar tsam* (Tib. *lcags-mkhar*, 'metal palace', the castle of *Erleg nomun khaan* or *Choiijil/Choiijoo* (Tib. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. Dharmaraja, epithet of Yama) or *Khüree tsam*. The Mongolian word *khüree* ('circle') here refers to the fact that the *Tsam* dancers are moving in a circle. The other meaning of this word *khüree* refers to the Ikh Khüree, the Mongolian capital, where this special kind of *Tsam* was introduced. The preparation period for the *Tsam* dance lasts for almost two months, with participating lamas rehearsing the dances, one week meditation (*Nyamba düwa*, Tib. *mnyam-pa sgrub-pa* / *snying-pa sgrub-pa* (?)) on *Jigjadbawuuchigwaa* (Tib. 'jigs-byed dpa'-bo gcig-pa), the single form of *Jigjid* (Tib. 'jigs-byed, Skr. Bhairava, or the 'Terrifying', one of the ten wrathful deities) the main meditational deity of the dance, and, at the end of the meditation, the fire-offering called *Jinsreg* (Tib. *sbyin-sgreg*). On the 6th of the month, four days before the *Tsam* dance itself, the ritual offering cakes (*balin*) used in the *Jakhar tsam*, the masks and robes to be worn and the other accessories for the ceremonies are consecrated and blessed in a ritual ceremony (*Adislaga*, Tib. *byin-rlabs*). On the 7th and 8th of the month, the special inner *Tsam* dance (*dotor tsam*) is conducted with only one dancer (*Chambon*, Tib. 'cham-dpon, 'the master of the *Tsam* dance', the messenger of *Choiijil*) inside the temple. On the great day of the *Tsam* (the 9th of the last summer month), there is an inner *Tsam* after which the outer *Tsam* takes place in the

courtyard of the monastery. The dancers wearing brightly coloured costumes and masks, embody different Buddhist deities. The *Tsam* dance ends with the burning of the *Sor* (Tib. *zor*) or *Soriin balin*, that is, the sacred cake and the sacred wooden construction, which is used symbolically for combating the evil spirits. It is burnt outside the monastery walls, then the procession returns to the temple. In the evening a special thanksgiving offering, *Choijsu danrag*, is made in honour of *Choijsu*.

There is another annual ceremony, which is held only in those Mongolian monasteries where there are at least four lamas with *gelen* vows, such as *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, *Gandan* and *Betiüw* monastery in Ulaanbaatar. It is the *Khailen* (Tib. *khas-len*) or *Yar khailen* (Tib. *dbyar khas-len*), the special oath-taking retreat period in which the lamas with *gelen* or *getsel* vows take part, lasting for 45 days in every summer from the 15th of the last summer month. During this period they confirm their vows, confess their possible mistakes and amend their negative actions. The 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 (Tib. *dbyar-gnas*) in India for the wet summer months. The original cause was to spend the rainy period in a retreat but with the additional aim of avoiding accidentally killing any insects. Originally, it lasted for three months during the summer, when lamas remained confined to their monasteries for religious meditation and contemplation.

The other annual ceremonies that take place in here are also held in most other revived Mongolian monasteries. The ritual year starts with the ceremonial events of the Lunar New Year, *Tsagaan sar* in Mongolian. The farewell to the old year starts on the 26th of the last winter month with the consecration (*Adislaga*, Tib. *byin-rlabs*) of the new ritual offering cakes (*balin* or *dorom*, Tib. *gtor-ma*, Skr. *bali*). During the ceremony cymbals are played 108 times, a feature introduced by Öndör Gegeen. On the following three days of the old year (the 27th to 29th), three *Sakhius* ceremonies called the 'Old ceremonies' (*Khuuchin nomiin khural*) are held to honour the wrathful deities. In *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, on the first day *Gombo*, on the second *Lkham* and on the third *Choijsu* is the central deity of the ceremony from among the wrathful ones. The chanting in these *Sakhius* ceremonies differ from the other *Sakhius* ceremonies of the year in that the *Arwan khangal* text is recited in a slower and more melodious way (*ikh yan(gaar)*, Tib. *dbyangs chen*, '(with) great melody/tune'). On the evening of the third day, when *Choijsu* is the central deity, the ritual burning of the triangular based pyramidal shaped the sacred wooden construction and sacred cake (*Sor zalakh*, Tib. *zor 'phen*) is performed, with the aim of averting and clearing away all troubles and misfortunes. This is followed by a special thanksgiving offering to *Choijsu*, the *Choijsu danrag* (Tib. *chos-rgyal gtang-rag*).

On the New Lunar Year's Eve (*Bitüün*) a special *Sakhius* ceremony is held in honour of *Baldan Lkham*. It is the *Tsedor lkham* or *Jiliin dorom* (Tib. *tshes-gtor lha-mo*, 'the yearly ceremonial cake offering to *Baldan Lkham*') ceremony, which starts at 11.00pm and lasts until the morning of the New Year's day. The ceremony is special among the *Sakhius* ceremonies in that, on this occasion, only the parts relevant to *Lkham* are recited from the *Arwan khangal*. The reason of this ceremony being held on this day is that, according to the legends, *Lkham* arrives in Mongolia in this day as she travels around the world riding on her mule. A special thanksgiving offering, called *Tsedor danrag* or *Jiliin dorom* (Tib. *tshes-gtor gtang-rag*, 'yearly thanksgiving offering') is performed to her during the dawn hours. The ceremony ends with the traditional paying homage to or ceremonial greeting of the lamas (*zolgokh*). The first fifteen days of the Lunar New Year are one of the so called 'great festival days of the Buddha' (*Burkhan bagshiin ikh düitsen ödrüüd*), used to commemorate Buddha's defeat of the six masters, holders of heretical doctrines (*tersüüd*, Tib. *log-par lta-ba*), which he succeeded by mysterious methods of manifesting miracles. This period is called 'great

festival days of Buddha's miracle showing' (*Burkhan bagshiin (tersüüdiig nomkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan üzüülsen ikh düitsen ödrüüd*, Tib. *cho-'phrul chen-po'i dus-chen* or *Choinpürel jon aa*, Tib. *chos-'phrul bco-lnga*, 'Fifteen miracles'). On these fifteen great festival days of Buddha ceremonies called *Oroin yerööl* (Tib. *smon-lam*, 'evening prayers'), *Ikh yerööl* (Tib. *smon-lam chen-po*, 'great prayers') or *Choinpürel molom yerööl* (Tib. *chos-'phrul smon-lam*, 'prayers of miracle showing') are held every afternoon. Different texts, like the 32 eulogies (*Magtaal*) and the six prayers (*Zurgaen yerööl*, Tib. *smon-lam drug*), are recited at these ceremonies in a very melodious way. The 14th of the first spring month is also the Great day of Öndör Gegeen (*Öndör gegeenii ikh düitsen ödör*), when the ceremony called *Dawkhar yerööl*, 'double prayer', which commemorates his death, is held. On this day the prayer is recited by the main chanting master (*ikh unza*), whilst on the other days of the fifteen-day-long *Yerööl* ceremonies, he and the second chanting master (*baga unza*) along with the chanters (*golch*) take turn to recite the prayers.

The next festival day is the *Düinkhor* (Tib. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kalachakra) anniversary (*Düijid nyamba/nyanba/nyam* ceremony, Tib. *dus-rgyud bsnyen-pa*), held on the 15th day of the last month of spring. It commemorates the day when Buddha first preached about the Kalachakra system ('the wheel/cycle of time', *Tsagiin khüird* or *Düinkhor*, Tib. *dus-kyi 'khor-lo*) of Buddhism. It is also called 'the festival day of Buddha's first preaching of the Kalachakra tantra' (*Burkhan bagsh tsagiin khürdnii ündesiig nomloson ikh düitsen ödör*). This ceremony is held only in *Gandan* and *Züin Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery. The next festival commemorates three events of Buddha's life at the same day, on the 15th or full moon of the first summer month, which is the day when Buddha was born, the day when he enlightened (nirvana) or became a Buddha and the day when he died, that is, the day of his *parinirvana* (*Burkhan bagsh mendelsen khiigeed ilt tuulsan Burkhanii khutgiig olson, nirwaan düüriig üzüülsen ikh düitsen ödör*, Tib. *mngon-par byang-chub-pa'i dus-chen*). This is one of the four great festival days of Buddha (*Burkhan bagshiin ikh düitsen ödrüüd*). A special ceremony called *Tüwiin chogo* (Tib. *thub-pa*, a name of Shakyamuni Buddha) or *Burkhan bagshiin chogo* (both terms meaning 'ceremony in honour of Buddha') is held on these occasions. On the 4th of the last summer month another *Tüwiin chogo/Burkhan bagshiin chogo* ceremony is held to commemorate the day when Buddha first preached the Dharma or, in other words, when he first turned the wheel of the Dharma. This is often referred to as 'the festival of his first turning of the wheel of Dharma' (*nomiin khüird ergüilekh/ (Burkhan bagsh) nomiin khüird ergüülen düitsen* or *Choinkhor (düitsen)*, Tib. *chos-'khor bskor-ba/ chos-'khor dus-chen*). In this monastery the 3rd of the first summer month is the day of holding the Maitreya circumambulation (*Maidar ergekh*), and there is another Maitreya festival, on the 6th of the last summer month with the same *Jambiin chogo* ceremony held but without the circumambulation. The *Lkhawawiin düitsen* (*Burkhan bagsh tengeriin ornoos buuj irsen ödör*, Tib. *lha-las babs-pa'i dus-chen*, 'the festival of descending from the gods') festival is held on the 22nd of the last autumn month. It is also one of the Buddha festivals. It is the day when Buddha descended from the god realms, from among the gods, where he had spent 90 days teaching and performing the *Khailen* (Tib. *chas-len*, 'oath-taking') retreat. A *Tüwiin chogo/Burkhan bagshiin chogo* ceremony is performed to commemorate this important event. The next feast is the anniversary of Tsongkhapa's death on the 25th of the first winter month. It is called 'the great day of Zonkhow' (*Zonkhowiin düitsen*, Tib. *tsong-kha-pa'i dus-chen*). As the day commemorates his death, it is also called 'The day he passed away' (*Zonkhowiin taalal bolson/tögssön ödör*) or 'The day he was born and passed away' (*Zonkhowiin mendelsen mön taalal bolson/tögssön ödör*). It is also often referred to as *zuliin 25-n*, that is, 'the 25th day of butter lamps', as the tradition is to light hundreds and thousands of lights in honour of Tsongkhapa. There is a *Bogd (Zonkhow) lamiin chogo* ceremony ('ceremony in honour of Tsongkhapa') held during the day and in the evening butter lamps

are lit outside and the *Migzem* (Tib. *dmigs-brtse-ma*), prayer to Tsongkhapa, is recited many times. The yearly *Khajid* (Tib. *mkha'-spyod*, Skr. dakini) ceremony is held on the 25th of the last winter month. A *Khajidiin chogo* ceremony is held this day, similarly to the 25th or 10th days of any other month. The speciality of this day lies in the fact that in other Mongolian monasteries, even in Gandan monastery of Ulaanbaatar, the *Khajid* ceremony is held only once a year, that is, on the great day of *Khajid* ceremony.

There are also various monthly ceremonies as well. Among these, *Manaliin donchid* (Tib. *sman-bla'i stong-mchod*) is held in honour of the Medicine Buddha on the 8th of every month. The next great day of the month is the 10th, when, and similarly on the 25th, the *Khajidiin chogo* (Tib. *mkha'-spyod cho-ga*), 'the ceremony of the dakinis' is performed. The Guhyasamaja tantra (*Sanduin jüd*, Tib. *gsang-'dus rgyud*) ceremony is held on the 15th of the lunar month. The most significant of the great monthly ceremonies is the *Sakhius* on the 29th of the month, held in honour of the wrathful deities. In every third month a *Danrag* (Tib. *gtang-rag*) thanksgiving offering is performed at the *Sakhius* ceremonies when *Lkham* is the main deity of the ceremony. In the first months of the spring, summer and autumn seasons it is *Gombo*, in the second months it is *Choiजू*. In the winter season *Gombo* is the main deity in the first month, *Lkham* in the second (but without a *Danrag* offering), and in the last winter month there are three *Sakhius* ceremonies (described above at the 'Old ceremonies'). The last special monthly ceremony, held on the 30th of the lunar month, is the *Naidan chogo* (Tib. *gnas-brtan cho-ga*). During this ceremony, the sixteen arhats, that is, the sixteen disciples of the Buddha who vowed to preserve the Dharma until the coming of *Maidar* are worshipped. The weekly ceremonies are the *Oroin yerööl* (Tib. *smon-lam*, usually at every Saturday), performed with the aim of promoting better rebirth for the deceased ones, and also gathering virtues by this way. The *Lkhogtoi günreg* (Tib. *kun-rig-gi lho-sgo*, possibly at every Sunday) is performed in order to help the deceased ones to better rebirth, to help them to the realm of Buddha through the south gate of his palace. During the *Ganjuur* ceremony (possibly on Thursdays), extracts or selected passages are read from every part of the 108 volumes of *Ganjuur* (Tib. *bka'-'gyur*). The ceremonies held once in every month are the *Tsewegmediin chogo* (Tib. *tshe-dpag-med-kyi cho-ga*) worshipping *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmid*, the Buddha of Boundless life, once in a month, possibly on a Wednesday; and *Awidiin chogo* (Tib. *'od-dpag-med-kyi cho-ga*), once in a month, possibly on another Wednesday. This ceremony is aimed at clearing away every sins and praying for the deceased ones' taking rebirth in the paradise of *Awid* (Tib. *'od-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitabha) Buddha. Besides, the *Düggüü* book (Tib. *drug-bcu*), with the special sacrificial cake offering, is performed to *Choiजू* four times a month, on the 9th, 19th, 25th and 29th of the lunar month. In *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, the *Maaniin chogo* (Tib. *ma-n.i'i cho-ga*) ceremony is held only once in every season, dedicated to *Janraiseg*, with his magic formula recited many times.

In 1990 it was largely the surviving lamas, who were young novices before the purges, who were the driving force in the revival. Since then, some of the old lamas that joined *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery after the revival have passed away, but, at the time of the survey, some of them were fortunately still contributing to the rituals and educating the younger generation. The researchers were able to meet and interview them, namely L. Chimedrawdan, the *tsorj* (born 1911 in the year of pig, had been a lama in *Düüregch wangiin khüree*, present Khöwsgöl aimag, Tsetserleg sum); N. Dashtseren (born 1921, had been a lama of Bogdiin Khüree, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*, lived in *Choinkhorlin aimag*, and also gathered at *Jagarmolomiin khural*); Ts. Dashdorj, *daa chowombo*, 'offering master', (born 1908, *Khutagt lamiin khiid*, present Dundgow' aimag, Saikhan owoo sum); Ch. Rinchinsüren (born 1914 in the year of tiger, (*Nayan*) *Duutiin Khüree/ Sain itgemjit/ Gandandechlin*, present Zawkhan aimag, Tsagaankhairkhan sum); P. Luwsandanzan (born 1921, had been a lama of Bogdiin Khüree, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* and lived in *Erkhem toinii*

aimag); Ya. Günaajaw (nowadays gathers at *Janchüwish dashlkhündüwlin khiid* (New Temples 11) born 1917 in the year of snake, *Khörkhörögiin khiid/ Khökhörö* or *Khürkhre goliin khiid*, present Gow'-Altai aimag, Chandman' sum); and Lkhamsüren (born 1920, *Tsagaan tolgoi jas*, present Töv aimag, Lun sum). All the above were, prior to the purges, lamas in different monasteries and assemblies in different territories of Mongolia. All were interviewed about the temples they belonged to in their youth and the religious life in them. This material is to be published later as is out of the scope of the present survey. Some other old lamas, including L. Chimidrawdan, the *tsorj* lama of the monastery (had been a lama of *Tesiin Khüree*, present Khöwsgöl aimag, Tsetserleg sum), could not be interviewed due to health problems resulting in their absence from the ceremonies.

NOT in Rinchen 943 - Norowlin

Norowlinkhai, Erdenii khiid

Tibetan name: *nor-bu gling-kha*

Written Mongolian name: *Norbulingka*

English name: Norbulingka, Jewel Island

Elevation 1281m

N 47° 53.776'

E 106° 54.542'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew; Sh. Soninbayar lama (Gandan monastery)

Sources: Forbáth, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: none

History

Although not marked on Rinchen map the fenced-off complex of *Norbulingka* (Tib. *nor-bu gling-kha*) 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.

Current situation

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.

NOT in Rinchen 944 - Lowon Jalbiin süm

Lusiin jalbaa khaanii takhiliin süm, Luwsanjalbiin süm, Lümbümgaraw, Rashaanii khural, Lusiin süm

Tibetan name: slob-dpon rgyal-ba, klu-'bum dkar-po

English name: Temple of the Naga Spirits, Temple of the King of the Naga Spirits, Assembly of the holy water spring

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: none

GPS was taken at the hot water spring

Elevation 1336m

N 47°57.768'

E 106°55.925'

History

Although not marked on Rinchen map, a drawing by an unknown painter in Ulaanbaatar City Museum shows the yurt and building of *Lowon Jalbiin süm* situated on the left bank of Selbe river between *Dambadarjaa* monastery (Rinchen 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: *Luwsanjambiin süm* or *Lusiin jamba khaanii takhiliin süm* (Pürew, *Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 90.), *Lusiin süm*, *Luwsanjalbiin süm* (Tib. *Blo-bzang rgyal-po*) (Pürew, *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 67.). However, it seems that *jamba* is mistaken for *jalba* (Tib. *rgyal-po*, 'king'), which refers to the king of the nagas 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, *Rashaanii khural* 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 (*lus*, Tib. *klu*, Skr. *naga*) of springs and other holy waters were worshipped, like *Züün salaanii khural* (Rinchen 940) and *Baruun salaanii khural* (NOT in Rinchen 946), therefore *Lusiin süm* can be considered as a general term for this type of shrine, not as the name of this individual temple. Apart from those marked on Rinchen's map, there must have been many others around the city. According to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 90.), there is a place about 2 km south of *Dambadarjaa*, called *Rashaanii khöl*, having many springs. The most important of these springs is called the 'Spring of Dambadarjaa' (*Dambadarjaagin rashaan*). Pürew asserts (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 90.) that the naga king of *Rashaanii khöl* was worshipped here from the beginning of the 18th century.

According to Dashtseren lama, there was a shrine here, called *Rashaanii khural*. It was called *Lümbümgaraw* (Tib. *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 Dashtseren lama lamas did not reside there permanently.

Pürew (*Mongol 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 TBC hospital for curative purposes. Later the building was reconstructed (post 1990) and surrounded by an iron fence.

Other data about this temple could not be found.

Current situation

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 Dambadarjaa 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).

NOT in Rinchen 945 - Odon süm

English name: Temple of stars

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated immediately to the south of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

Data provider: Dr. O. Pürew

Source: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

Although most of the written sources mention just seven temples situated in Maimaachen, according to Pürew (*Mongol töriin golomt*, p. 102.), there were seven other ones, among them *Odon süm*. It was situated to the south of the Tara temple (*Dar Ekhiin süm*, Rinchen 931) within the same fenced enclosure, also inside the Chinese town's wall. Maybe it was an astrological shrine.

No other data was found.

Current situation

There are no known 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 946 - Baruun salaanii khural

English name: Assembly in Baruun salaa

GPS was taken in Tolgoitiin baruun salaa area, north-west of Ulaanbaatar, near a present-day temple unrelated to this old one (the exact site is unknown, so the GPS reading marks only the area)

Elevation 1378 m

N. 47°58.190'

E. 106°48.491'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Source: Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Photos: none

History

According to O. Pürew, apart from *Züün salaanii khural* (Rinchen 940), there was another temple in Tolgoit (a mountain and its area to the north-west of Ulaanbaatar). The two side valleys of the mountain in the north-west of Ulaanbaatar are called Züün salaa and Baruun salaa (right and left branches of the road/valley). 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 *jewtsündamba khutagt*'s wife, used to go there to drink the fresh water. According to O. Pürew (*Mongoliin 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*).

According to O. Pürew, there were small temples or shrines outside the city, and in the countryside as well, beside holy water springs, lakes, rivers etc, where temporary assemblies would worship the water spirits (*lus*, Tib. *klu*). *Baruun salaanii khural* was one such temple. Others were for example *Züün salaanii khural* (Rinchen 940) and *Lowon Jalbiin süm* (NOT in Rinchen 944). Apart from the ones marked on Rinchen's map, there must have been many others around the city as well, which were not registered on the map.

According to Pürew (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 71), this temple was closed in 1930-31.

Current situation

The exact place could not be identified. It is presumed that there are no remains. (Today, there is a small temple in the area of Baruun salaa, *Dashchaglin* monastery, which was founded in 2004, but it has no connection with the old shrine.)

NOT in Rinchen 947 - Yonzon khambiin süm

Yonzon lamiin shariliin gazar

Tibetan name: *yongs-'dzin mkhan-po*

English name: Temple of Yonzon khamba, Relics temple of Yonzon lam/khamba

GPS was taken at the east of *Choijin lamiin süm*

Elevation 1287m

N 47° 54.875'

W 106° 55.154'

Sources: Photo in the Film Archive (K-23983), Photo of the mummy of Yonzon khamba in the Film Archive (K-23964), Painting by Jügder (1913), Photos of József Geleta published by Forbáth (p. 8., 168.)

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen bütetsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999.

Bawden, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997

Forbáth, L., *A megújhodott Mongólia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest, 1934

Pozdneyev, A. M., *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank, D., Bloomington, Indiana University 1971

Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: Film Archive (K23964, K23983), Shepetilnikov (93), Geleta/Forbáth (168, 2 pictures, outer look and interior with the altar, 8 (golden mummy of the 8th bogd))

History

Yonzon (Tib. *yongs-'dzin*) is a title borne by the tutors of the Dalai lamas and the *jewtsündamba khutagts*.

Luwsankhaimchog (Tib. *blo-bzang mkhas mchog*) was a Tibetan lama who came to Mongolia as the *jawtüi lam* (Tib. *byabs-khrus-kyi bla-ma*, lama who performs purifying rituals) of the *jewtsündamba khutagt* in 1915. He later became, what was, the last of the *yonzon khambas*, the tutor to the 8th *jewtsündamba*, and, from 1920, the main abbot (*khamba nomon khan*) of the whole Ikh Khüree. (He was the last to fulfil this position, too.) He bore the latter position from then until his execution in 1937.

However, this temple was probably built for his predecessor.

In the Film Archive 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 khambiin 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 Forbáth’s book. *Yonzon khamba*’s temple was situated in a fenced-off building to the east of *Choijin lamiin süm* (Rinchen 915). Pürew confirms this (*Mongol 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*, Tib. *gnyer-ba*) of this temple. According to him, the shrine contained relics (*sharil*) of Baldanchoimbel (Tib. *dpal-ldan chos-'phel*), the previous *yonzon khamba* (before Luwsankhaimchog, the last one), who had been the Tibetan teacher for the young 8th *jewtsündamba*. Baldanchoimbel *yonzon* bore the title *khamba nomon khan* from 1865-1899 when he died aged 70. His body was dried, mummified and being preserved in this special temple where it was honoured by the 8th *jewtsündamba*. There is a photo of the mummified *yonzon khamba*, in sitting position on his throne, behind glass screens, in the Film Archive (K-23964). The mummified body of the 8th *jewtsündamba* 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 *lkhaaramba* or Agwaandorjiew (Tib. *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, the Chinese Nationalist army of Kuomintang (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.

Current situation

There are no remains of the temple of *Yonzon khamba*. The relics of the *yonzon*

khamba Baldanchoimbel are kept in *Choijin lamiin süm* at present.

NOT in Rinchen 948 - Erleg nomun khaanii süm- 2

Erleg khaani khoid süm

English name: Erlig nomun khaan temple 2, The roar temple of Erlig nomun khan or the Lord of Death

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the east of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Elevation 1293 m

N. 47 54.375'

E. 106 59.955'

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Dүгөрсүрен, Л., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin түүкhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999

Idshinnorow, Sh., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Pürew, O., *Mongol төрийн golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Painting by Jүгдөр (1913)

Photos: none

History

One of the Chinese temples of Maimaachen was *Erlegiin süm* or *Erleg nomun khaanii süm*, the 'Temple of the Lord of Death'. According to O. Pürew, two temples bearing the name of *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* stood here, one inside (Rinchen 929) and one outside the fence, on the north-west, near the Chinese cemetery. According to Pürew (*Mongol төрийн golomt*, p. 104.), this large temple was 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 Jүгдөр'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 (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 өдөр*) and a Chinese style theatre play was performed. It is not clear in which temple it took place in Maimaachen.

No further data was found about this temple.

Current situation

There are no 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 949 - Manj ambanii khurliin dugan

English name: The assembly temple of the Manchu amban

GPS was taken at School No. 21.

Elevation 1286m

N 47° 54.881'

E 106° 55.936

Data provider: Dr O. Pürew

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Pürew, O., *Mongoliin uls töriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994

Photos: none

History

The area of the South-Eastern quarter (Züün ömnöd khoroo) had many districts, such as the residences of the Manchu and Mongol *amban* ('governor', since 1786), and Tsewangiin khoroo, Setsen khaniin khoroo. An archive and a prison were also situated nearby. The district where the Manchu and Mongol governors had their residences was called Amban khaniin 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 (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 khurliin 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.

No further details of this temple could be found.

Current situation

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.)

NOT in Rinchen 950 - Jagarmolomiin khural (Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural)

Tibetan name: rgya-gar smon-lam, bde-chen chos-dbyings thabs-shes zung-'brel gling, gcod

English name: Assembly of Jagarmolom, Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin Zod Tanric assembly

GPS was taken in front of the Second Maternity Centre (*2r törökh gazar*)

Elevation 1295m

N 47°54.836'

E 106°54.140'

Data providers: Dashtseren lama of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery (Born 1921); B. Ariunbold, head of Puntsoglin monastery; G. Buyandelger, chanting master of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery

Sources: Sükhbaatar, O. (transl.), *Majiglawdonmaagiin namtar*. Ulaanbaatar, 2004

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Photos: none

Our main data provider for this *Zod* temple is Dashtseren lama from Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery. In the old times, he was a lama of the old Züün Khüree (*Dash*) Choinkhorlin aimag and Idgaachoizinlin datsan, but often participated in the ceremonies in this assembly.

According to him, this temple was situated in one fenced area along with *Tantonjalbiin khural* (Rinchen 919). In both these temples lamas and female lamas (*khandmaa*, Tib. *mkha'*-*'gro-ma*, female sky-goer, dakini) held ceremonies together. All of

them were *Zod* tantric masters and performed *Lüijin*, the ‘body offering’ ritual.

The two temples were situated in the South-West quarter, *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*, one of the areas where laymen lived, on the south between Züün Khüree and Gandan on the north of the Middle River. According to Pürew’s book (*Mongoliin uls töriin töw*, p. 45.), the quarter called Badarchnii dow (‘the hill of the itinerant lamas’), where the dwellings of the poorest people were, was situated near the present (Baruun) Dörwön zam road junction, as part of the Baruun ömnöd khoroo. It was at the present site of the Second Maternity Centre (*2r törökh gazar*) according to Dashtseren lama’s communication. On the north-west of it there was a bridge over the Selbe River, called ‘The bridge of the *Zodoch* lamas’ (*Zodoch nariin güür*). *Tantonjalbiin dugan* was situated on the west of this bridge. A fenced off temple can be seen in Jügder’s painting, consisting of two courtyards and two buildings in them. Maybe these are *Tantonjalbiin khural* and *Jagarmolomiin khural*.

The *Jagarmolom* (Tib. *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 our informant’s master. According to O. Sükhbaatar (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* (itinerant lama), 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 *Lawran* in Tibet. This tantric system became widespread in Mongolia and is known as the tantric lineage of Jagarmolom (*Jagarmolomiin jüü*) and also as *Lawran jüü*, 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* (Tib. *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 dakinis (*Khand tseejüü*).

According to G. Buyandelger, *Narkhajid* dakini (Tib. *na-ro mkha’-spyod*, Skr. Sarvabuddhadakini) was also worshipped in this temple. A sand mandala (*Khajidiin jankhar dültsen*, Tib. *mkha’-spyod-kyi dkyil-’khor rdul-tshon*) was prepared in her honour. A ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava (*Lowongiin tseejüü*) 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 dakinis (*Khand chogo*), ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava (*Lowon chogo*), ceremony in honour of *Narkhajid* dakini (*Khajidiin chogo*), ceremony of *Tanton* (*Tanton chogo*).

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 (also a lama in Züün Khüree *Dashchoilin* monastery who died in 2005), who, like Dashtseren, once belonged to Züün Khüree, but often participated in the ceremonies of *Dechinchoilintawshisümbrellin* 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 *Dechinchoielintawshisümbrellin* temple.

Current situation

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 törökh gazar*).

NOT in Rinchen 951 - Dagwa zodchiin khural

Dagwa zochiin süm

English name: Assembly/Temple of Dagwa tantric master (Zodoch)

Seoul Street, near Natsagdorj library

1289 m, N 47°54.854', E 106°54.563'

Next to Lenin klub

1297m, N 47°54.984', E 106°55.108'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, (born 1921)

Source: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

Rinchen's map does not mark this assembly separately but it contains a reference to it in the *Yutawiin khural* (Rinchen 920) entry. In this it says that *Dagwa zodchiin khural* was situated within the same fenced enclosure as *Yutawiin khural*. They were located in the south-west quarter (*Baruun 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*, Rinchen 916) and *Dar' ekhiin khural* (Rinchen 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* (Rinchen 915).

According to Pürew (*Mongol 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* (Tib. *gcod*) tantric rituals.

No other data was found about this assembly.

Current situation

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.

NOT in Rinchen 952 - Dorjzodwiin khural

Tibetan name: rdo-rje gcod-pa

English name: Dorjzodow Assembly, Dorjzodwa Assembly, Vajracchedika Assembly

GPS was not taken as the exact location is unknown

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Source: Mairdar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*, Ulaanbaatar, 1970

Photos: none

History

According to Dashtseren lama, this assembly was one of the numerous small assemblies situated in the South-west quarter, or *Baruun ömnöd khoroo* of the city, one of the districts where laymen lived. It was situated near *Dar' ekhiin khural* (Rinchen 917).

It was a Gelukpa (Yellow Sect) temple. The assembly got its name after a religious text, the Diamond-cutter Sutra, (*Dorjzodow*, Tib. *rdo-rje gcod-pa*, Skr. Vajracchedika).

Mairdar also lists this assembly in his book (p. 72.), and claims that it had only one building.

We could not find any other data about this assembly. Neither could our source give any information about its precise location.

Current situation

The exact location is unknown, but it is certain that there are no remains as the area is totally built up.

NOT in Rinchen 953 - Agwa datsan

Awag datsan, Akhu datsan

Tibetan name: sngags-pa grwa-tshang

English name: Agwa/Awag/Akhu monastic school, Tantric monastic school

GPS was taken next to Lenin Club

Elevation 1297m,

N 47°54.984',

E 106°55.108'

Data provider: Dashtseren lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery (Born 1921)

Sources: Dariimaa, G., *Dursagdakhiin buyantai burkhan zuraach*. Ulaanbaatar 2003

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Photos: none

History

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*, Rinchen 915).

Sereeter (p. 78.) claims that as well as the many temples of *Choijin lamiin süm*, a financial unit (*jas*) belonging to *Awag 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 (p. 97.) the foundation of *Awag datsan* (Tib. *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* (Rinchen 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* (Tib. *phyag ...? gdugs dkar*, ‘seven armed (?) Sitatapatra’), an emanation of the goddess with the white umbrella (*Seded* or *Tsagaan shükhert, Düger*) 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 Züün Khüree were invited to participate.

No other data could be gathered about this *datsan*.

Current situation

There are no remains. The GPS was taken on the east of Lenin Club, where it once stood supposedly.

NOT in Rinchen 954 - Sanzain uuliin khiid, Sanzaidorjiin khural

English name: Temple at Sanzain Mountain, Assembly of Sanzaidorj

Source: Mönkhbat, D., *Mongoliin tүүkh soyoliin dursgaliin lawlaga*. Ayalal juulchlaliin mergejiliin ангиin оyuutnuudad zoriulaw. Ulaanbaatar 2004.

Photos: none

History

According to Mönkhbat (p. 41.), there was a small temple that was situated in the mountain called Sanzain uul near the ‘Golden basin’ (Altan tewshiin khöndii) on the Chingeltei Mountain (his source is: Ts. Sükhbaatar, *Mongol ulsiin gazar usnii neriin domog*, Ulaanbaatar, date of publishing is unknown). 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. It is rare that one can find references to any of these small assemblies, so this one is included here as a separate entry as we found reference to it.

Current situation

The presumed site of the old temple was not visited as its exact place is unknown. As it is likely to have been a small wooden temple, it is almost certain that nothing remains of it.

NOT in Rinchen 955 - Choinkhorlin süm

Tibetan name: chos-'khor gling

Mongolian translation of the name: Nomiin khürdiin süm

English name: Choinkhorlin temple

GPS was taken at Dar' ekhiin süm (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the south-west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*, outside the walls of the Chinese Town.

Elevation 1293 m

N 47 54.375'

E 106 59.955'

Sources: Pürew O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tүүkhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Photos: none

History

Choinkhorlin süm was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town (Maimaachen), in the present area of Amgalan. However, Rinchen only records *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (Rinchen 935) and *Choinkhorlin* temple is one of the five he omitted.

According to Pürew's book (pp. 104-105.), the small assembly of *Choinkhorlin* was situated in the south area of baruun khoroo (the western quarter outside the Chinese town).

According to Sereeter (p. 82.), the temples *Dagdanlin* (NOT in Rinchen 958), *Choinkhorlin*, *Dejidlin* (NOT in Rinchen 956) and *Puntsoglin* (NOT in Rinchen 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* believer's 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* (Rinchen 935).

No further data was found on this temple.

Current situation

There are no known 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 956 - Dejidlin süm/ khural

Tibetan name: bde-skyid gling

Mongolian translation of the name: Enkh amgalant süm

English name: Dejidlin temple/ assembly

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the south-west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*, outside the walls of the Chinese Town.

Elevation 1293 m

N 47 54.375'

E 106 59.955'

Sources: Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Photos: none

History

Dejidlin süm was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town (Maimaachen), in the present area of Amgalan. However, Rinchen only records *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (Rinchen 935) and *Dejidlin* temple/ assembly is one of the five he omitted.

According to Pürew (pp. 104-105.), there was a wide road called Gaaliin Road ('Costums 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* (Rinchen 935), also to the south-west of the fence. It operated in a large yurt-shaped temple.

According to Sereeter (p. 82.), the temples *Dagdanlin* (NOT in Rinchen 958), *Choinkhorlin* (NOT in Rinchen 955), *Dejidlin* and *Puntsoglin* (NOT in Rinchen 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* (Rinchen 935).

No further data was found on this temple.

Current situation

There are no known 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 957 - Puntsoglin süm

Tibetan name: phun-tshog gling

Mongolian translation of the name: Khotol chuulalt süm

English name: Puntsoglin temple

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other).

Elevation 1293 m

N 47 54.375'

E 106 59.955'

Sources: Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Photos: none

History

Puntsoglin süm was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town (Maimaachen), in the present area of Amgalan. However, Rinchen only records *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (Rinchen 935) and *Puntsoglin* temple is one of the five he omitted.

This temple is mentioned only in Sereeter's book (p. 82.). According to him,

Puntsoglin or *Khotol chuulalt süm* was also situated outside the Chinese town.

According to Sereeter, the temples *Dagdanlin* (NOT in Rinchen 958), *Choinkhorlin* (NOT in Rinchen 955), *Dejidlin* (NOT in Rinchen 956) and *Puntsoglin* 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* believer's 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* (Rinchen 935).

No further data was found on this temple.

Current situation

There are no known 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 958 - Dagdanlin süm / khural

Dagdlin khural

Tibetan name: rtag brtan gling

Mongolian translation of the name: Bat mönkhiin süm

English name: Dagdanlin temple/ assembly

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This temple was situated to the south of *Dar' ekhiin süm*, outside the wall of the Chinese Town.

Elevation 1293 m

N 47 54.375'

E 106 59.955'

Sources: Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch.* 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999

Pürew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt.* Ulaanbaatar 2004

Photos: none

History

Dagdanlin süm was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town (Maimaachen), in the present area of Amgalan. However, Rinchen only records *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (Rinchen 935) and the *Dagdanlin* temple/ assembly is one of the five he omitted.

According to Pürew's book (pp. 104-105.), *Dagdanlin khural* (*Dagdlin khural*) was situated in the south of the town, on the east side of the protective wall (*yampai*, Chinese *yang pai*). According to him it was a large temple.

According to Sereeter (p. 82.), the temples *Dagdanlin*, *Choinkhorlin* (NOT in Rinchen 955), *Dejidlin* (NOT in Rinchen 956) and *Puntsoglin* (NOT in Rinchen 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* believer's 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* (Rinchen 935).

No further data was found about this assembly.

Current situation

There are no known 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 959 - Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural (Maimaachen)

English name: Assembly of Zōd tantric masters of the Nyingmapa (Red) Sect

GPS was taken at *Dar' ekhiin sūm* (Rinchen 931) and is given here only to mark the area of Amgalan (its temples were situated very near to each other). This assembly was situated to the south-east of *Dar' ekhiin sūm*, outside the wall of the Chinese Town.

Elevation 1293 m

N 47 54.375'

E 106 59.955'

Sources: Pūrew, O., *Mongol töriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*, Ulaanbaatar 1970

Photos: none

History

The Assembly of *Zōd* tantric masters of the Nyingmapa (Red Sect) was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town (Maimaachen), in the present area of Amgalan. However, Rinchen only records *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (Rinchen 935) and the *Zōd* Temple is one of the five he omitted.

Pūrew (pp. 104-105.), similarly to Maidar (p. 72.), mentions this tantric assembly. According to Pūrew's description, there was a wide road called Gaaliin Road ('Costums Road') running from west to east in front of the south entrance to Maimaachen. The Assembly of *Zōd* tantric masters (Tib. *gcod*, ritual for the purpose of cutting through the four Maras and ego-clinging), situated at the east end of this road, belonged to the Nyingmapa or Red Sect. It was founded during the reign of the Bogd khaan. Note that Pūrew refers only to the type of the assembly not the name of the temple, which is unknown. *Dashsamdanlin datsan/ khural* (Rinchen 935) was situated to the east of this *Zōd* assembly.

No further data was found about this assembly.

Current situation

There are no 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 (Rinchen 931) and the remnants of a Chinese store building. In the whole area there are no other temple remnants than that of *Dar' ekh* temple.

NOT in Rinchen 960 - Tsagaan suwragiin khural

Jarankhashariin suwarga

Tibetan name: bya-rung kha-shor

English name: White Stupa assembly, Jarankhashar Stupa assembly, Jaron khashor

GPS was taken on the east of the TV tower

N 47°55.700'

E 106°53.295'

Source: Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*. Ulaanbaatar 1970

Painting by Jügder (1913)

Data provider: Gonchig, main disciplinary master of Dashchoimbel datsan (born 1910)

Photos: Maidar (159), Sereeter (76), Film Archive (K24703), Shepetilnikov (102), Tsültem (159)

History

According to Maidar's book (p. 72.), *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 *Jaranhashar* (Tib. *bya-rung kha-shor*) stupa, which was located to the north-east of Gandan. Both Jügder's painting and the painting of an unknown painter in the Ulaanbaatar City Museum show this. According to Gonchig lama, 3-4 lamas held ceremonies regularly in the treasure-vase hall (*bumb*, Tib. *bum-pa*) of this stupa, and this was called the *Tsagaan suwragiin khural*.

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

No other data was found about this assembly.

Current situation

Tsagaan suwragiin khural was located at the *Jarankhashar* stupa, 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.