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**HISTORY OF ZAYA GEGEENII KHÜREE,
THE MONASTERY OF THE KHALKHA
ZAYA PANDITA**

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INTRODUCTION

The present book describes the history of Zaya gegeenii khüree or Zayaiin khüree,¹ one of the most famous monastic villages or towns (*khüree*) of Mongolia, named after the famous reincarnated saint (*khutagt*, *khuwilgaan*, T. *sprul-sku*), the Khalkha Zaya bandid (S. *jaya*, ‘victory’, *paṇḍita* ‘great scholar’) or Zaya(iin) gegeen (also known as Zaya bandidiin khutagt, Zaya bandida gegeen, Zayaiin khutagt), one of the most eminent Tibetan polymaths of Mongolia, and one of the seven saints acknowledged with a seal (*tamgatai khutagt*) by the Manchu emperors.

According to the Mongolian Buddhist tradition Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (Luwsandambiijantsan, T. Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1635-1723), Lamiin gegeen Luwsandanzanjantsan (T. Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan, 1639-1704) and Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei or Luwsandanzanprinlei (written alternately as Luwsanperenlei and Luwsandanzanperenlei, T. Blo-bzang 'phrin-las or Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las, 1642-1715) were the ‘three butter-lamps’ (*zul*) or ‘the three peaks’ (*orgil*), i.e. the three eminent lamas who did most to spread the teachings of the Tibetan Yellow Stream Buddhism (Gelug, T. *dge-lugs*) in Mongolia in the 17th century. Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei was an eminent polymath and his monastery became one of the most significant and beautiful monastic sites of the Mongol land. As it was the fate of all monasteries of Mongolia, its operation came to a halt in the 1930's due to the monastery destructions. Zaya gegeen's incarnation of that time was executed, similarly to almost all ranked or famous lamas of his time.

The aim of the present book is to reconstruct the history of the monastic town using all available data from various sources such as chronicles, travellers' notes, old photographs, paintings, maps, archival sources, recently published books and articles, and oral history (interviews taken by the authors); to demonstrate the revival of the 1990's; and to present the current activities of the monk communities of the revived temples.

The description of Zayaiin khüree is also a typical example demonstrating what kind of sources have remained related to bigger, wealthier Mongolian monasteries established in the 17-18th centuries by or for reincarnating *khutagts* who possessed subordinated people and areas (*shaw' nar*) as well; how such monastic sites developed during the centuries inhabited not only by Mongolian monks, but also by Chinese and Russian merchants; how the destructions happened in the 1930's, and what have remained from a monastery and its subordinated temples after it; how the remained buildings were used in the

socialist period; how the Buddhist revival went on in the 1990's; how the new monk community was formed after the democratic changes when practicing religion became free; how a present reincarnation is chosen and acknowledged (in this case the incarnation of Zaya geegen); and how the revived temples function now as central temples of the province (in this case Arkhangai aimag); and what can be the goals of monk communities for the future. The value of the present book may be understood better if one considers that there is no similar description on any other rural Mongolian monastery published in English. Therefore, it is hoped that it will be useful also in the general sense: to give an idea of the old Mongolian monastic system, of the operation and ceremonial life of the old Mongolian monasteries, and also of the Mongolian revival and current situation of Mongolian Buddhist temples.

The present book was written by the support of the Mongolia-Monaco Joint Expedition (Mongolian National Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, and the Museum of Prehistoric Anthropology, Monaco, <http://archo-steppe.com>), the Hungarian State Eötvös Scholarship enabling Zsuzsa Majer's three month fieldwork in 2009, János Bolyai Research Scholarship (Bolyai János Kutatási Ösztöndíj) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences supporting the work of Zsuzsa Majer, and the OTKA PD 83465 Post-doctoral Research Fellowship of the Hungarian National Research Fund supporting the work of Krisztina Teleki.

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MONASTIC HISTORY OF THE YELLOW STREAM IN MONGOLIA

According to the tradition, Buddhism spread to Mongolia in three waves: before the period of the Mongolian Empire, during the period of the Mongolian Empire (1206-1368), and after the period of the Mongolian Empire. The third propagation was the most large-scale one when the Mongols adopted Tibetan Buddhism. The Tümed Mongol Altan *khan* (1543-1583) acknowledged the Third Dalai Lama (T. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, 1543-1588) in 1578. The first monastery of Mongolia, Erdene zuu was built in 1586 by Awtai *khan* (1534-1589), and the Mongolian *khans* and monks often visited Tibetan monasteries furthering their education there. Soon, Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723) was acknowledged as the reincarnation of the Tibetan historian, Tāranātha (T. Kun-dga' snying-po, 1575-1634/5), and was nominated as the First Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagt (T. rje-btsun dam-pa) by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and the Fourth Dalai Lama (1570-1662). This is the title bore by the head of the Mongolian Buddhist Church since then. As the Manchu emperors supported the spreading of the Yellow Stream from the 17th century on, numerous monasteries came to exist in the territory of the Mongols. The area of the Khalkhas were divided to four provinces (*aimag*) and the *aimags* were divided to smaller banners (*khoshuu*) led by nobles with different ranks (*wan, gūn, beil, beis*, etc.). The territory inhabited by the Mongols was than much bigger than today, including today's Inner Mongolia, Buryatia, and the Kalmük areas. In all these areas Tibetan Buddhism was widespread, too.

From Öndör gegeen Zanabazar on, his reincarnations, the Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagts were the most highly honoured religious figures of the country for almost three centuries. They resided in Urga (Örgöö) or Ikh khüree or Daa khüree, which was renamed as Ulaanbaatar in 1924. The 8th incarnation, Agwaanluwsanchoiijinyimadanzanwanchug (T. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma bstan-'dzin dbang-phyug, 1870-1924), bearing the title *Bogd khaan* was the key figure of the Mongolian sovereignty in 1911, and his theocratic reign (1911-1921) was the Golden Age of the Buddhist Church. That time the country had more than a hundred reincarnated lamas (*khutagt khuwilgaan*) with their previous incarnations traced back to Tibet and India, and about 1100 monastic sites including about 700 big monastic camps (*khüree*) and monasteries (*khiid*) as well as smaller temple complexes, shrines, and yurt temples. It is said that almost one-third of the male population was monk that time. As the Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagts (except of the First and the Second) were born in Tibet, the Dalai Lamas

and the Panchen Lamas nominated eminent Tibetan masters (*yonzon*, T. *yongs-dzin* and *gachin*, T. *mkhan chen*) to train and accompany them in Mongolia. Moreover, Tibetan geshe masters (*gewsh*, T. *dge-bshes*) gave initiations and teachings in rural monasteries, and Mongolian monks visited Tibetan monasteries, too. In 1904-1905 the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (T. Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho, 1876-1933) escaping from the British forces arrived at Urga, and gave teachings also in the countryside when returning.

The most famous reincarnating saints had subordinated people and areas (*shaw' nar*) which were independent from the banners. The seven saints acknowledged by the Manchu emperor with seal (*tamgatai doloon khutagt*) were highly respected thorough the country.

From 1921 on, the repression of religion started gradually due to the new Soviet ideology, with a bigger wave in 1932, and finally all monasteries were closed and destroyed in 1937-1938. Numerous monks disrobed and lived as herdsmen, whilst the ranked ones, especially the *khutagts*, were captured and executed. Novices were enrolled to school or to the army. Religious life was brought to a total halt in 1937. The few remained temple buildings were used as storages, offices, or for other secular purposes in the socialist period.

At the time of the democratic changes in 1990, old monks gathered and started to revive the monastic tradition and train the new monk recruits. The old monks passed away since then, but their disciples keep the Buddhist tradition, develop practices, and build new temple buildings step by step. As for today, more than ten reincarnations have been acknowledged.

SOURCES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Among the nomadic yurts scattered throughout the country monastic sites (monastic "villages" or "towns", monasteries, and smaller assemblies) had been the settled centres of Buddhist culture and education. Growing out from a temple and some yurts, the *khüree* of the Zaya pandita became an important religious centre in the 18th century, and became famous countrywide. However, written sources related to its history are scarce.

Few foreign researchers passed Zayaiin khüree at the turn of the 19-20th centuries. A significant description is available in a book entitled *Mongolia and the Mongols*, written originally in Russian by A. M. Pozdnev,² who visited Zayaiin khüree in 1892, and took also photos of it. The Finnish linguist, G. J. Ramstedt and his photographer, S. Pälsi visited the city in 1909 and took some photos.³ These descriptions and photos have great value containing laconic views about what a Western intellectual could experience in Zaya gegeenii khüree. Other travellers also crossed the city, such as the Austrian H. Leder in 1906, but no other significant description seems to be available. In 1926, 1927, and 1928 three Russian expeditions were organised by the Mongolian Institute of Scriptures and Manuscripts to visit monasteries in the area of the Khangai and Khentii Mountains, during which S. A. Kondratyev took the photos of Zayaiin khüree.⁴ Thanks to these visitors about 25 photos of the *khüree* are known, the majority of which are available in the State Film Archives and in the Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy. These old photos were used as illustrations of the present book as well as new photos taken by the authors from 2009 till 2013.

Chronicles written in Tibetan do not contain detailed information about Zayaiin khüree, though Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-mtsho⁵ and Zawa lam Damdin⁶ refer to it. Summaries about the life of the First Zaya pandita, Luwsanprinlei also exist.⁷

Regarding Mongolian sources apart from the chronicle Erdeni-yin Erike,⁸ the National Archives of Mongolia preserves a handful of documents. A summary of the activities of Zaya gegeen's incarnations can be found in this collection (A-174, D-1, No. 1.), whilst another one is available in the National Library of Mongolia (No. 692/96.).⁹ The temples and everyday life of the monastery is not described in them at all, and it seems that no data remained about the events of the 1937's destructions in public collections. The local archives in Arkhangai aimag had some special documents on monks of the monastery as their catalogue indicates, but the texts themselves disappeared by now. In Ulaanbaatar, the Archives of the

State Intelligence Agency must include data on the monastery, which has just recently released a publication about its materials,¹⁰ but data on the monasteries of Arkhangai aimag might only be published in the second volume.

An old map of the area of Sain noyon khan aimag, the province Zayaiin khüree belonged to, is available in the National Library (985/96, 912, 517.3, C149). Besides, some new maps of Sain noyon khan aimag are on display in the Museum of Arkhangai province: one presenting forty large monasteries of the area¹¹ including Zayaiin khüree; one presenting the Chinese commercial routes and its stations;¹² one showing the 34 *khoshuu* and *shaw'* areas of Sain noyon khan aimag; and one showing Tsetserleg mandal uuliin aimag. Some paintings present Zayaiin khüree, too.¹³ However, the precise arrangement of the temples within the *khüree* was not recorded.

In the 1970's Rinchen and Maidar listed Zayaiin khüree on their lists.¹⁴ In 2007 the Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries project studied the history of Zaya gegeenii khüree and its revived temples, and a short summary of this survey was published.¹⁵ Moreover, atlases of Arkhangai province were published,¹⁶ which include scattered data on the monastery. As is typical in Mongolia, local people of Arkhangai province, mainly in Tsetserleg started to publish different articles and books, which contain historical data mixed with information from various unreliable sources and memories on the monastery. These can only be used carefully.¹⁷ Using these kinds of Mongolian sources is difficult as many times they copy paragraphs from each other or from other sources without quoting or giving any reference to their sources, so one can run into the same descriptions in different books. The monks of the revived monasteries also have knowledge about the old *khüree*, as they heard details from their old masters passed away since then. Consulting these kinds of present-day sources easily result in confusion. For instance the names of the temples, their foundation data, as well as their arrangement are not clear in several cases. In the 1990's, when the monastic tradition was revived in Mongolia, about ten old monks of Zayaiin khüree participated in the revival who could have shared their memories that time, but at the time of the research in 2009 only one of them, Sengiin Tüdeu (born in 1912) was still alive, who was very young when belonging to the monastery.

Data on the monastery and its buildings and their arrangement based on old photographs are described in architectural books, such as the books of Shepetilnikov, Maidar, Ölzii, Daajaw, etc.¹⁸ Based on these sources, old photos, and the location of the remained foundations we made an attempt to draw and describe the original arrangement of the temples identifying their names and locations as far as it was possible.

Researchers, such as Sh. Bira, L. Khürelbaatar, Sh. Soninbayar, L. Terbish, D. Bürnee, D. Dembereldorj, Ch. Altangerel and others also studied different aspects

of the history and heritage of Zaya pandita and his monastery, and a valuable summary of Luwsanprinlei's life and activity was written by Kh. S. Yanjinsüren, who also provides the full bibliography of Mongolian books related to the study of Luwsanprinlei.¹⁹ A more detailed publication which summarises research results on Luwsanprinlei was published by G. Tsetseglen in 2012.²⁰ For the 360th and 370th anniversaries of Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei's birth conferences were held in 2002 and in 2012, and papers of these conferences were published.²¹ Foreign researchers also study Luwsanprinlei's works and activity, as he was a famous polymath and his books printed in Beijing are available in several foreign collections. Luwsanprinlei's lineage was also studied by several Mongolian researchers.²² The Sixth Mongolian Zaya gegeen incarnation, Jambatseren was one of the most famous Mongolian reincarnations to be executed in the 1930's. Today, his life and fate are also in the focus of interest in Mongolia.

The present book was written as a result of a survey carried out in a two-month fieldwork in Tsetserleg in July and August, 2009 within the framework of the Mongolia-Monaco Joint Expedition, and annotations were made in 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013. The aim was to collect information locally about the old monastic site as well as on the present-day activities of the revived temples to survey the heritage of Zayaiin khüree. S. Tüdeu (born 1912), who was a monk in Deed khüree from his 8-18 year of age, provided valuable and authentic information about the religious life of the old monastic town. He was interviewed in 2009 twice, and later reinterviewed by Krisztina Teleki in 2010, 2011, and 2012. The monk community of the revived Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid Monastery also



Informants S. Jünsh and S. Tüdeu

supported our research. We pay our thanks to S. Tüdeu, all monks of the revived temples as well as local people who helped our work, such as S. Jünsh painter,²³ B. Tserennadmid, the director of the Museum of Arkhangai Province, and all other data providers.

TERRITORIAL SITUATION OF ZAYAIIN KHÜREE

The area of the present-day Arkhangai province was abundant in monasteries before the monastery destructions. Rinchen marks 76 temples on his map No. 28 in Arkhangai province, among which Zaya gegeenii khüree is presented in the area of the present Tsetserleg city (Tsetserleg means ‘Flower Garden’), the centre of Arkhangai province.²⁴ In the past centuries this area had different names.

Due to the agreement made in Dolnuur (today China, Inner Mongolia) in 1791 when the Manchu overlordship lasting until 1911 started, the present area of the Khalkhas of Mongolia was divided into three divisions: Tüsheet khan aimag, Setsen khan aimag, and Zasagt khan aimag. All of the *aimags* consisted of smaller subdivisions, banners (*khoshuu*). Separating 18 banners from Tüsheet khan aimag in 1725, Sain noyon khan aimag was formed as the fourth Khalkha aimag.²⁵ Zaya gegeenii khüree and its subordinated area were situated in the territory of Sain noyon khan aimag. The subordinated area itself was governed first by Chin wan Shamba from 1691-1707, by Khoshoi chin wan efü Tseren zasag (1692-1750), and when the Manchu emperor acknowledged the Second Zaya gegeen by a seal (*tamgatai khutagt*) to govern subordinates in 1737, and a *Shanzodwa* office (or *Shanzaw*, T. *phyag-mdzod-pa*, ‘treasurer, bursar’) was founded in his monastery, the subordinated area became known as the *Shaw’* area of Zaya pandita (*Zaya bandidiin shaw nariin olog*).²⁶

Sain noyon khan *aimag* had eight saints (*khutagt*) acknowledged with seal by the Manchu emperor that meant a great honour and many privileges. Apart from Zaya bandid the other seven saints were: Shiwa shireet (present Arkhangai aimag), Khamba khutagt (present Zawkhan aimag), Mergen noyon khutagt (present Öwörkhongai aimag), Erdene bandid khutagt (present Bayankhongor aimag), Chin süjigt nomon khan khutagt (present Arkhangai aimag), Naran khutagt (Bayankhongor aimag), and Narowanchin khutagt (present Gow’-Altai aimag). After the Manchu period ended in 1911, the Bogd khaan (1870-1924) came to power. During his theocratic reign (1911-1921), in 1918 Sain noyon khan aimag consisted of 31 divisions: 24 banners and eight *shaw’* areas, which were subordinated to the above saints.²⁷ One of them was the area called *Zaya bandid khutagtiin shaw’*, the subordinates or subordinated area of Zaya gegeen.

After the revolution, when the *aimags* were renamed in 1923 the given area of Sain noyon khan aimag became called Tsetserleg Mandal uuliin aimag.²⁸ In 1925 Rashaant uuliin khoshuu and Erdenebulgan uuliin khoshuu were founded.²⁹ In

1927 Tsetserleg goliin khoshuu and Erdenebulgan uuliin khoshuu were united.³⁰ In 1931 Erdenemandal sum was separated as a separate *khoshuu*, and became called Erdenebulgan uuliin khoshuu.³¹

In the socialist period, in 1931 Arkhangai aimag came into existence (from Tsetserleg Mandal uuliin aimag) and the *khoshuu* and *shaw'* systems were eliminated. Arkhangai aimag had 35 sub-provinces (*sum*) that time. The first Province Assembly was held in April 1934,³² when the internal organization of the *aimag* was confirmed. Tsetserleg khot (city) came into existence in 1961, and Erdenebulgan sum and Tsetserleg khot became the province centre in 1994.³³ Today, Arkhangai aimag consists of 19 sub-provinces: Erdenebulgan sum, Battsengel sum, Bulgan sum, Jargalant sum, Ikh Tamir sum, Ögiinuur sum, Ölziit sum, Öndör-Ulaan sum, Tariat sum, Tövshrüülekh sum, Khairkhan sum, Khangai sum, Khashaat sum, Khotont sum, Tsakhir sum, Tsetserleg sum, Tsenkher sum, Chuluut sum, and Erdenemandal sum. The centre of the *aimag* is Tsetserleg khot, at the site where Zaya gegeenii khüree was situated until the 1930's. The old *shaw'* area of Zaya gegeen today belongs to the following sub-provinces: Erdenemandal sum, a huge part of Battsengel sum, the North-Eastern part of Bulgan sum, the Northern part of Tsenkher sum, the Western edge of Ögiinuur sum, Khotont sum, and the Northern part of Tövshrüülekh sum.³⁴



Arkhangai province, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Mongolia_Arkhangai_sum_map.png](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mongolia_Arkhangai_sum_map.png)

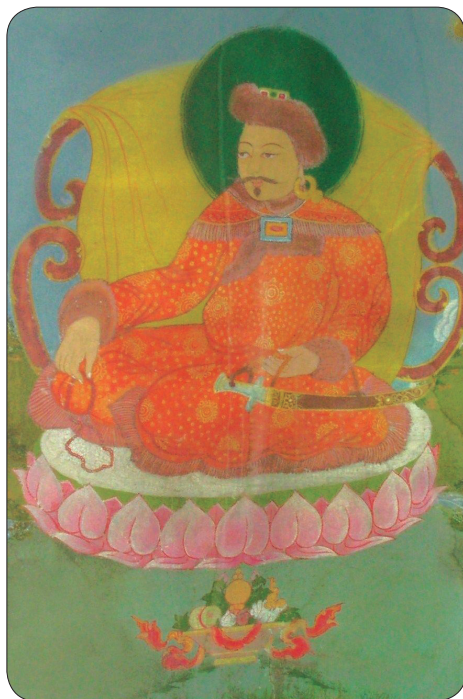
INCARNATIONS OF ZAYA PANDITA AND THE FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ZAYAIIN KHÜREE

Similarly to other saints, Zaya bandid's first incarnation is said to have lived in the time of Śākyamuni Buddha (BC. 560-480).³⁵ He is said to have generated the thought of enlightenment in his heart and to have offered golden sand to Śākyamuni Buddha. He was reborn four times in India, three times in Tibet, and seven times in Mongolia.³⁶

Tümenkhen Sain Noyon Khan Khöndlön Tsökhür

According to a certain view (for example the archival source and several books referring to this source),³⁷ the Ninth incarnation or the First Mongolian incarnation of Zaya gegeen was Sain noyon Khöndlön Tsökhür (1558-1640). He was the son of Onokh üizen noyon, a noble who was a descendant of the 29th grade of Chinggis khan, and was among the first Mongolians who opened the way to Tibet. He was responsible for the religious affairs of the seven Khalkha banners (existed before the new *aimag* system before 1691) and he went to Tibet on a pilgrimage. He worshipped the Third Dalai Lama (Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, 1543-1588) and the (4th) Panchen Lama there, and as he helped them in the rivalry between the Red Stream and the Yellow Stream, he was given by them the title and silver seal "Gaslangui nomiin khaan Khöndlön tsökhür", and also received a yellow sedan chair (*juuz*) from the Manchu emperor.³⁸ According to another source Tümenkhen noyon (Khöndlön Tsökhür) was a younger brother of Awtai Sain khan (1554-1589), and they visited the Third Dalai Lama together in 1577 in Khökhkhot when Khöndlön Tsökhür was 19 years old.³⁹ They founded Erdene zuu in 1586 in Mongolia. After the death of Awtai Sain khan Tümenkhen noyon supported the spread of the Yellow Stream against the old Red Stream in Mongolia, and therefore was given the title "Zaya bandid" by the Dalai Lama, and a silver seal by the Panchen Lama.⁴⁰

Related to the origin of Zayaiin khüree different views exist. It seems that Tümenkhen sain noyon (i.e. Khöndlön Tsökhür) founded the first temple in the south hillside of Bulgan uul ('Sable Mountain', situated at the present Tsetserleg city) in a place called Chonotiin khöndii ('Wolves' Basin') in 1586.⁴¹ Danzan monk, who was the second son of Tümenkhen sain noyon founded a temple or a monastery in 1631 at the same place.⁴² Famous architects and artists of the time such as Dandarjam'yan, Borchawga, and Jigder participated in the temple constructions from 1631-1640.⁴³



*Sain noyon khan Khöndlön Tsökhür. Photo taken in Gandangejeelin /
Khalkhiin Zaya geegenii Gūshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar.*

Zaya Bandid Luwsanprinlei, the First Gegeen

As Khöndlön Tsökhür was a lay person, and did not bore the title Zaya geegen, S. Luwsanprinlei (T. Blo-bzang 'phrin-las, 1642-1715) is considered as the First gegeen incarnation.⁴⁴ He was born in 1642 (water horse year of the 11th cycle) in the present-day Mukhar khujirt area, in Tsetserleg sum, Arkhangai aimag, as the second son of father Suntar or Suntor and mother Orkhidai.⁴⁵ There is another version of his origin, saying that he was born in the yurt of Tsesjaw Khöndlön who was the son of Tümenkhen sain noyon.⁴⁶ According to Ochirjantsan, Suntor [his father] was a descendant of Tsesjaw Khöndlön *uwsh* [a lay person who took religious vows] who was the son of Tümenkhen sain noyon.⁴⁷ Anyway, concerning his origin, via the Sain noyon khans Luwsanprinlei was regarded to be the member of the *altan urag*, 'golden clan' of Chinggis khan, that means, a descendant of Chinggis khan.⁴⁸

Luwsanprinlei was a talented child. He got ordination at the age of three from Lodoijamts *khutagt* (T. Blo-gros rgya-mtsho) who came from Tibet.⁴⁹ He started to study Buddhism from his age of five, and learnt Mongolian and Tibetan writing, poetry, painting, and sculpture as well.

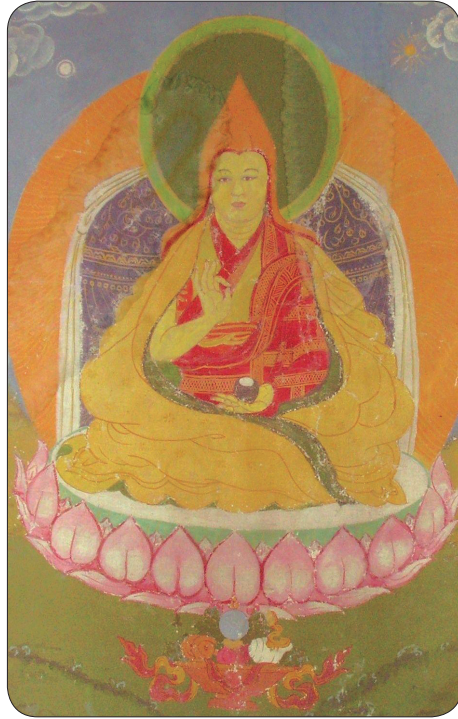
After the first temple which was founded by Tümenkhen sain noyon in Chonotiin khöndii in 1586, and the monastery founded by Danzan toin, his second son in 1631 at the same place, in 1652 when Luwsanprinlei was 10 years old or a year later⁵⁰ his father and Danzan toin together founded *Sandui dugan* (T. *gsang-'dus 'du-khang*, S. Guhyasamāja Temple) in honour of Luwsanprinlei in the foreground of Bulgan uul, which was the first real temple in the present Tsetserleg city.

In 1653, at the age of 11, Luwsanprinlei first met Öndör geegen Zanabazar [who was 18 years old that time] near Erdene zuu at a meeting of the Khalkha *khoshuus*, and the master-disciple relationship between them was founded that time. Öndör geegen gave him the *noyon khutagt* title ('noble saint').⁵¹ It is also said that later he acknowledged Luwsanprinlei being the reincarnation (*khoit dūr*) of Tümenkhen sain noyon Khöndlön Tsökhür (this proves the other system, when Khöndlön Tsökhür is counted as the first Mongolian reincarnation).⁵²

When Luwsanprinlei was 14 years old, Makha bandid(aa) *maaramba* (T. *sman-rams-pa*) who was a doctor monk became his teacher.⁵³ He also studied from Agwaanluwsanbalsanbo *khutagt*, Luwsanprinleijamts (T. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang dpal bzang-po, Blo-bzang 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho).⁵⁴

At his age of 18, in 1660 Luwsanprinlei went to Tibet, where he studied till 1679, for 19 years.⁵⁵ He got his novice (*getsel*, T. *dge-tshul*) ordination from the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682).⁵⁶ He studied mainly in Sera and Tashilhunpo monasteries.⁵⁷ In 1678 his teachers were the Fifth Dalai Lama, Agwaandanzan (T. Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin) and Linkhondonrow (T. ?).⁵⁸ He went to Tashilhunpo Monastery and met the Panchen Lama, and studied from Luwsanchoirog (T. Blo-bzang chos grogs?).⁵⁹

The Fifth Dalai Lama gave him the title Zaya bandid (*Zaya paóđita*, in Mongolian translation *Yalguusan bandida*) in 1678, and he became a '*khutagt* with seal'.⁶⁰ He was rewarded a written certificate on yellow silk (*zarligiin shar örgömjöl*).⁶¹ He was instructed to spread Buddhism in the North. When he returned to his homeland, he sat on the throne in the monastery, and received a subordinated area. The archival source claims that when Luwsanprinlei arrived home to the Mongol land in 1679, via Beijing,⁶² at the age 37, he was acknowledged and enthroned by the local nobles belonging to the Sain noyon family as a reincarnation of Tümenkhen sain noyon, in the monastery situated in the foreground of Bulgan uul.⁶³



*Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei. Photo taken in Gandangejeelin /
Khalkhiin Zaya gegeenii Gūshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar.*

The Chronicle Erdeni-yin Erike mentions that Luwsanprinlei [the source has Zaya pandit Luwsanrawjai as his name] composed many works and built Bilangnaqu keyid [it should refer to Bulganii khiid], which had four *datsans*, yurts and buildings.⁶⁴

From 1679 on, Luwsanprinlei did much for spreading Buddhism in Mongolia and to “transplant Tibet to the soil of Khalkha”.⁶⁵ He initiated the rules (*deg jayag*, T. *sgrigs bya-yig*), art, and economy of the *khüree*. He built *Günreg* (T. *kun-rig(s) rnam-par snang-mdzad*, S. Sarvavidyā Vairocana, a form of Vairocana Buddha), *Demchig* (T. *bde-mchog*, S. Cakrasamvara), and other temples in 1679, in the foreground of Bulgan uul.⁶⁶ By 1679 the monastery had five temples and 200 monks; and the temporary services (*tsagiin khural*) became permanent.⁶⁷ Since Luwsanprinlei’s time the monks in the monastery followed the rules of Tashilhunpo monastery fused with Mongolian specialities.⁶⁸ These rules, called *Zayaiin deg* (T. *sgrigs*) influenced several Mongolian monasteries, which followed *Zayaiin deg* in their chanting.

Luwsanprinlei made efforts to put an end to the wars of the Oirad Galdan boshigt (1644-1697) and Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar.⁶⁹ Galdan boshigt was the last

of the great Oirad khans who fought against the Khalkhas. He tried to resist the Manchus to maintain independence for the western Mongols in the 17th century. His army was finally defeated in 1696 by the Manchus. (The eastern Mongols have been already Manchu subjects since the congress at Dolnuur held in 1691.). As Luwsanprinlei helped to defeat Galdan boshigt in the battle against the Manchus in 1688, the Manchu Emperor, Kang-xi (Enkh amgalan, 1663-1722) decorated Luwsanprinlei as a *khutagt* with seal (*tamgatai khutagt*) and entitled him as *Zaya bandid khutagt*. He was invited to the assembly of the Khalkha khans and princes in 1691 to Dolnuur,⁷⁰ thus together with Öndör gegeen Zanabazar he met the Manchu emperor and they discussed religious, political, and social issues.⁷¹

On his own costs he renewed and renamed an existing temple or newly founded a temple, *Buyaniig delgerüülegch süm*, which became the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dуган*, T. *tshogs chen 'du-khang*).⁷² It was also called *Gandangejailin* or *Gandangejeelin* or *Tögs bayasgalant buyaniig delgerüülegch* (T. *dga'-ldan dge-rgyas gling*, 'monastery spreading blissful virtue').⁷³ Confirmed by the Manchu emperor Zayaiin khüree was named as *Tögs bayasgalant Buyaniig delgerüülegch* (T. *dga'-ldan dge-rgyas gling*, 'monastery spreading blissful virtue') in 1696 after its main assembly hall.⁷⁴

Also in 1696 Luwsanprinlei founded his own *lawran* (T. *bla-brang*, 'palace') or residence there, the *Güden süm* (T. *sku-rten*, 'body support', body representation: images, statuettes, sacred objects).⁷⁵ In its eastern temple *Yadam* (T. *yi-dam*, tutelary deity) and *Sonomdoo*, and its central temple *Chodog* were worshipped, and *Jasaa khural* ('Ritual of periodic duty, turn of duty', any ritual when the texts requested by individuals are recited by monks performing this duty in turns) was held.⁷⁶ He established a library in the second floor of the building, which contained numerous sutras written in Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese.

Öndör gegeen Zanabazar gave 10 *lan* gold (1 *lan* = 37,3 gram), 50 *lan* silver, 10 pieces of sable fur, 18 horses perfect for riding, 30 steeds, subordinated people (*albat tūshleg*), and pillows, a monk shawl (*orkhimj*) to Luwsanprinlei. In 1710 Luwsanprinlei got a sedan-chair with canvas (*büreestei juuz tereg*) from the Manchu emperor.⁷⁷

In 1699 Luwsanprinlei founded a temple called *Buyaniig iltgegch süm* ('Merit preaching temple') at near Khökhkhot. Monks from Inner-Mongolian banners went there to hold ceremonies.⁷⁸

Luwsanprinlei was the master of several monks such as Darwa bandid nomch khutagt Sodowjamts, Shiwa shireet Luwsan, Giisen Yegüzer, Arilsan Yegüzer, Chandmaan' *lam*, Arilsan *toin*, Egshig setsen *gelen*, Gerel *gelen*, Dagwa *gelen*, Dorjdan *gelen*, Minjüür erkх *tsorj*, Khökhkhothiin *rawjamba*, Chojjaw diyaanchiin

khuwilgaan, mergen Gajidba, Khaiwanchoijii, Tunamal erdene lam, and Erkh biligt Nanso.⁷⁹

Luwsanprinlei passed away in 1715. His relics were kept in the stupa erected to the south-west of the Palace (Lawrin) of Zayaiin khüree.⁸⁰ He was an eminent scholar and polymath, and his works were studied by many researchers. He composed and translated numerous texts in different genres.⁸¹ At the age of 17, in 1659 he wrote the famous *Bogdiin zalbiral* ('prayer to the Bogd'), and during his stay in Tibet he wrote many works. One of his most famous works is the Encyclopaedia of Religious Studies became known as *Zayaiin Sanyeg* (T. *gsan yig*). It consists of four volumes and was printed in Beijing. He wrote Tsongkhapa's biography in Tibetan and Mongolian, the biography of Buddha, works regarding the Prajñāpāramitā, prayers, biographies of the First Lamiin gegeen (1639-1704), and the Tüsheet khan, who went to Tibet in 1675 for pilgrimage, and other biographies, several letters, prayers, and incense offerings of local deities of several Mongolian mountains, such as Otgontenger, Shargaljuut, Khangai, and Tsast tsagaan uul. He was a great scholar of philosophy, medicine, and astrology, painted paintings, and knew 80 types of the movings of the *Tsam* (T. '*cham(s)*') religious dance.⁸²

The life and activity of Luwsanprinlei and his reincarnations were well known in Mongolia, and Zayaiin khüree with its special rules, temples, and ceremonies was a famous centre of Mongolian Buddhism. Pozdneev mentions that Luwsanprinlei was counted as one of the three most eminent *gegeens* of the Khalkhas: the Bogd Jewtsündamba with White yurt, the Zaya gegeen with Yellow Yurt, and Lamiin gegeen with Black yurt.⁸³ Some *khutagts* wrote prayers to the members of the Zaya gegeen lineage, such as the Third Lamiin gegeen, Tseweenjawchog (T. *tshe dbang skyabs mchog*, 1793-1846), who wrote the Tibetan prayers entitled Pearl Rosary and Lion's Roar.⁸⁴ Moreover, many smaller monasteries, even far from Zayaiin khüree and his *shaw'* areas followed the rules Luwsanprinlei introduced (*Zayaiin deg*, T. *sgrig*). Zuutiin khiid (present Dundgow' aimag, Adaatsag sum) was founded by Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei in 1705 at Mönkhtoin uul, and it followed *Zayaiin deg*.⁸⁵ Shine shaw' (Dundgow' aimag, Adaatsag sum) was founded on a place called Erdene owoo first following *Zayaiin deg*.⁸⁶ Shumuultain khüree followed *Zayaiin deg* (Zawkhan aimag, Tosontsengel sum).⁸⁷ Zasgiin shüteenii khiid (Ömnögow' aimag, Manlai sum) was renewed in 1734, and *Zayaiin deg* was introduced there.⁸⁸ Asaatiin khüree had close relations with Zayaiin khüree, and it followed *Zayaiin deg*.⁸⁹ Namnangiin khüree (Bulgan aimag, Khishig-Öndör sum) was separated from Zayaiin khüree, thus followed its rules. The Second Zaya gegeen was acknowledged from this *khüree*.⁹⁰ The yurt

temple of Shuwuutain jas (Dundgow' aimag, Khuld sum), settled down in 1887 in a place called Shuwuutiin us. Zaya gegeen named it as *Gandandashlin* (T. *dga'-ldan bkra-shis gling*) in 1900.⁹¹

Luwsannyandaggelegnamjil, the Second Gegeen

The 10th incarnation, being the second Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsannyandag or Luwsannyandaggelegnamjil or Luwsangelegnamjil (T. Blo-bzang nyams-rtogs? dge-legs rnam-rgyal, 1717-1765)⁹² was a son of Ganjuurjaw⁹³ or Banjuur,⁹⁴ who was a *meeren/meiren* officer of the noble Tserenpil *wan's khoshuu* in Tüsheet khan aimag. Luwsangelegnamjil was entroned in 1723.⁹⁵ He went to Tibet in 1733, where after studying for six years, the Seventh Dalai Lama (Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho, 1708-1757) and the Fifth Panchen Lama (Blo-bzang ye-shes, 1663-1737) entitled him as *Shashniig todorkhoilogch erdene* ('Jewel that clarifies the holy Teaching').⁹⁶ He was presented by the Buddhist symbols of the Seven Royal Possessions (*doloon erdene*, T. *rgyal srid sna bdun*) and the Eight Auspicious Signs (*naiman takhil*, T. *bkra-shis rtags brgyad*).⁹⁷ The Seventh Dalai Lama ordered him to construct a philosophical monastic school (*Choir datsan*, T. *chos-grwa grwa-tshang*) in Zayaiin khüree in 1733. In 1735⁹⁸ or 1737⁹⁹ he received the *khutagt* seal or 'the seal entitling one to administer subordinated ones' (*shaw' zakhirakh tamga*) on the order of the Manchu emperor, Qianlong (Tenger tetgesen, 1735-1796) and was given subordinated people and subordinated area (*shaw*). He was the first Zaya gegeen who received *shaw*' subordinated areas from the Manchu emperor, and a Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs (*Shanzodwiin yaam*) was founded that time in Zayaiin khüree. From this time on his subordinates were called *Zaya bandida khutagtiin shaw*', and belonged under the supervision of the Tsetserlegiin chuulgan ('Assembly in Tsetserleg') of Sain noyon khan aimag, which was an annual political assembly of the *aimag's khoshuu* delegations.¹⁰⁰ Apart from the *Choir datsan* initiated in 1733, he founded a Tantric monastic school (*Agwa datsan*, T. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang, sngags-grwa*) in 1746 based on the rules of the Tibetan Tashilhunpo monastery.¹⁰¹ However, Pozdneev claims that *Agwa datsan* was the oldest temple building of the *khüree*.¹⁰² He also founded Avalokiteśvara Temple (*Janraisegiin süm*, T. *spyan-ras gzigs*) in 1738 (it is maybe the same as *Jaarai*), and *Chomzomiin süm* (T. ?), and *Khanchin süm* (T. ?) in 1739.¹⁰³



*Luwsannyandaggelegnamjil. Photo taken in Gandangejeelin /
Khalkhiin Zaya gegeenii Gūshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar.*

Luwsanjigmeddorj, the Third Gegeen

The 11th incarnation, being the third Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsanjigmeddorj (T. Blo-bzang 'jigs-med rdo-rje, 1766/1767-1803),¹⁰⁴ born as Dondowdorj¹⁰⁵ or Tüdwedorj,¹⁰⁶ was the son of Chin wan Chingünjaw or Tsengünjaw¹⁰⁷ *janjin* in Sain noyon khan aimag. He was chosen as the new reincarnation in 1770.¹⁰⁸ His grandfather was Tseren efü prince. In 1802 the Manchu emperor gifted him a sedan chair (*süikh tereg*) with yellow covering. He received the right to have the wooden hedge called *shörgön khashaa* which was a privilege of *khutagts*.¹⁰⁹ He composed several books but did not construct any temples (though according to Ölzii, *Zankhan süm* (T. *gtsang-khang*, 'sanctuary') was built in 1793¹¹⁰). According to Laagan he moved the *khüree* to the hillside of Bulgan uul and the number of subordinated people grew during his time.¹¹¹ However, supposedly the *khüree* had already been situated here since the time of Luwsanprinlei. The *Züün Semchin* and the *Baruun Semchin* (Eastern and Western buildings or dormitories of the Palace) were built in 1802.¹¹² On the 8th of the first autumn month in 1803 he passed away while he was doing meditation surrounded by his pupils.



Luwsanjigmeddorj. Photo taken in Gandangejeelin / Khalkhiin Zaya gegeenii Gūshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar.

Luwsanjigmednamjil, the Fourth Gegeen

The 12th incarnation, or the Fourth Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsanjigmednamjil (Blo-bzang 'jigs-med rnam-rgyal, 1804-1866¹¹³/1867),¹¹⁴ born as Minla,¹¹⁵ was the son of Damran or Damiran,¹¹⁶ a prince (*taij*) of Sampildorj wan's *khoshuu*¹¹⁷ in Sain noyon khan aimag. He was acknowledged as the reincarnation of Zaya gegeen in 1808, and had Tibetan and Mongolian teachers.¹¹⁸ He studied in Tibet. He founded *Düinkhoriin süm* in 1829.¹¹⁹

In 1829 he got a sedan chair (*juuz tereg*) with orange covering from the Manchu emperor. In 1830 when the army was in need he helped with 130 camels, thus received three roll silk.¹²⁰

In 1833 he founded *Ölzii badruulagch süm* ('Bliss prospering temple'), that is, the Dood khüree part of Zayaiin khüree in a place or hill called Norowlin (T. nor-bu gling-ka), which was situated about 5 kilometres east of Deed khüree.¹²¹ The archival document claims that he founded this temple on his own costs in a place called Norowlin, which belonged to his *shaw'* area.¹²² As the monks prayed there for the bliss of the Manchu emperor, Tügeemel Elbegt emperor (Xianfeng, 1850-1861) gave the name *Ölziig badruulagch süm* to this temple in 1850. *Manba*

datsan (T. *smān-pa grwa-tshang*) was founded here in 1844 as well as *Myangan burkhanii süm* ('Temple of one-thousand Buddhas (of the good kalpa)'), *Nünnain süm* ('Temple of fasting ritual', T. *smyung gnas*) in 1852, and *Lkham sakhiusnii süm* ('Temple of *Lkham*', T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, S. Śrīdevī) in 1852-53. [It means that these temples were situated in Dood khüree].¹²³

In 1862 the *gegeen* founded *Bükh yeröolt süm* ('Temple with all benedictions') at Norowlin,¹²⁴ and also *Bulgan uuliin takhilgiin süm* ('Temple of worship of Bulgan uul') in 1859¹²⁵ or 1889.¹²⁶ *Bükh yeröolt süm* had permanent ceremonies and about 600 monks, the most of which lived in Deed khüree, but there is no information on where this temple was located exactly.¹²⁷

Pozdneev claims that during the period of this *gegeen* the *khüree* consisted of two parts: the old one was known as Deed khüree ('Upper khüree'), and the new one was known as Dood khüree ('Lower khüree'). These names referring to their geographic situation.¹²⁸

Luwsanchoijiwanchüg, the Fifth Gegeen

The 13th incarnation, or the fifth Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsanchoijiwanchig/Luwsanchoijiwanchüg (Blo-bzang chos-kyi dbang-phyug, 1867/1868-1904)¹²⁹ was born in Tüsheet *gün's khoshuu* or in Ganjuurjaw *gün's khoshuu*¹³⁰ in Sain noyon khan aimag (today Battsengel sum) as son of Wanchinbazar¹³¹ or Wanchigbazar¹³² prince (*taij*). He was given the name Gombojaw upon his birth.¹³³ At his age of five or six, in 1872 he was acknowledged as the reincarnation, receiving the *shaw'* seal.¹³⁴ He sat on the throne, and got the name Luwsanchoijiwanchüg.¹³⁵ He paid great attention to the matters of the subordinated areas, thus the regular registration of herds and flocks started. When he passed away in 1904 almost all the saints and ranked monks of Sain noyonii aimag gathered for his commemoration ceremony.

According to Pozdneev's description this incarnation's name was Luwsannamjal [correctly: Luwsanchoijiwanchüg], and was 27 years old at the time of Pozdneev's visit in 1892.¹³⁶ He claims that the *gegeen* was ambitious, and went to Beijing twice to receive his distinguishing rights from the Manchu emperor, as once mistakenly he was refused in 1885, but finally accepted in 1889.¹³⁷ He built his palace in Dood khüree in Chinese style, which resulted in a huge debt. The *gegeen* often went for hunting and led a purely secular life. A source claims that Dood khüree started to be built in 1889,¹³⁸ but this should refer to the building of the palace, and not the already existing temples themselves. Another source claims that the *Serüün Lawran* ('Summer palace') was built in 1901,¹³⁹ but as Pozdneev mentions it was built after his second trip to Beijing in 1889, and it was ready for

his visit in 1892.¹⁴⁰

The temples of Zayaiin khüree were renovated in 1887,¹⁴¹ and *Choiijingiin süm* (T. *chos-skyong*, S. Dharmapāla, protector deity of the Buddhist teaching) was founded in 1889 having debt from Buyandalai *püüs*.¹⁴² Pozdneev claims that in 1892 Zayaiin khüree had eight *aimag* with *aimag* temples: six in Deed khüree and two in Dood khüree. The two *khüree* were situated about five kilometres distance from each other. In Deed khüree there were 6 *aimags* and 26 temples, dwellings of monks and other small buildings. In Dood khüree there were 2 *aimags* and monk dwellings.¹⁴³

Luwsantüwdenchoijinyam or Jambatseren, the Sixth Gegeen

The 14th incarnation, or the Sixth Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsantüwdenchoijinyam (Blo-bzang thub-brtan chos-kyi nyi-ma, 1905-1932?) was born as Jambatseren (T. Byams-pa tshe ring) in Teel, 40 kilometres east of the *khüree*, as son of Luu gün of the subordinated area of Zaya gegeen and Lkhamjaw mother.¹⁴⁴ According to Ochirjantsan, he was born in the family of Sodnomdorj, who was a *zaisan* of the subordinated area of Zaya gegeen.¹⁴⁵ This *gegeen* was chosen from the area of the present Bayan-Ulaan sum, which belonged to *Jaarai datsan*.¹⁴⁶ First, Jambatseren and Kharaamejid were chosen from many children. When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama arrived in 1906 he finally acknowledged Jambatseren, the son of Togochiin Lkhamjaw, acknowledged him, sat him on the throne, and gave the monastic name Luwsantüwdenchoijinyam to him.¹⁴⁷ Another source claims that Jambatseren was acknowledged and enthroned in 1908.¹⁴⁸ Jambatseren studied from Gelegdorj *yonzon* and *Darwa bandid* Choijür Dondow.¹⁴⁹ He visited his master, *Darwa bandid* who resided at Darwa bandidiin khiid monastery (present Khöwsgöl aimag, Rashaant sum) every year.¹⁵⁰

Jambatseren rebuilt the present *Lawran* or *Semchin süm*: in 1908-1909 the third storeys of the Eastern and Western *Semchins* were pulled down, and other temples or buildings were made of their wooden material. Thus, in 1909-1910 the *Semchins* were renovated and got their present forms.¹⁵¹ Jambatseren founded *Niser burkhanii süm* at Bulgan uul.¹⁵² The white fence of the *Lawran* was painted in yellow in 1905 in honour of the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Mongolia.¹⁵³ On the gate of the *Lawran* the inscription '*Bayasgalant tögöldör бүкhnii todorkhoi ordon*' ('Immaculate Palace of all Bliss') was carved on a board, and on the gate of the *khüree* '*Khotol chuulganii yesön khüsel tsuglarsan ord*' ('Palace where all wishes gather') was carved in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian scripts. Jambatseren had the floor of the *Galdan zuu* temple paved and gilded the relic vessel (*sharil*) of Luwsanprinlei.¹⁵⁴ In 1914 Jambatseren initiated everyday chanting in Deed khüree and Dood khüree. That time Zayaiin khüree had five monastic schools (*datsan*),

23 temples (*süm*), and 41 treasuries or financial offices (*san* and *jas*), about 2500 monks, and a religious school for 600 students. During the reign of the Bogd khaan (1911-1921) Jambatseren was acknowledged with different ranks and privileges in 1914, 1915, and 1918.¹⁵⁵

In February 1930, the 8th resolution of the Government sentenced Jambatseren to death being accused of deceiving the people, and helping Ungern von Sternberg in transport and delivery.¹⁵⁶ Yadamsüren claims that in 1928 he was captured and taken to Ulaanbaatar by the Ministry of Interior (*Dotood Yawdaliin Yaam*). He was kept there for six months, and was not sentenced, but discharged.¹⁵⁷ The value of his secularized herds, palace, treasures, silk, silken scarves, and robes were evaluated at 23600 tögrög. He returned home, but in April 1930 he was taken away again and finally sentenced: after a seven days council, the jury sentenced him to death.¹⁵⁸ There is no evidence about Jambatseren's fate, and it is known that his mother waited for his return in her whole life. Jambatseren was rehabilitated in 1991.



Luwsantüwdenchoijinyam (Jambatseren). Photo taken in Gandangejeelin / Khalkhiin Zaya gegeenii Gūshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar.

Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed, the Present Incarnation

The 15th incarnation, or the seventh Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed *gegeenten* (T. Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin phul-'byung 'jigs-med) was born on 18 January, 1972¹⁵⁹ as Sambuugiin Bayart in a nomadic family in Bayan-Uul sum.¹⁶⁰ His father, Sambuu is from Bulgan sum, and his mother Tserenlkham is from Erdenemandal sum of Arkhangai aimag. His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama (T. Bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho, born 1935) chose him from among 1,600 children of the age of 16-24 by drawing a map dividing Arkhangai aimag into 16 pieces, and indicating the birthplace on it. He recognized him as the 15th reincarnation of Zaya bandid. He was acknowledged on 22 or 23¹⁶¹ July in 1999 by the Dalai Lama, who sent a letter to D. Choijamts, abbot of Gandan Monastery confirming that S. Bayart is the reincarnation of Zaya gegeen. In the last summer month in 1999 he was sat on seven pillows (*olbog*) as a great acknowledgement in the monastery of Tsetserleg. He was sent to study to the Sera Jey monastic school (Ser je / Sera je, T. se-ra /ser byes) of Sera monastery, South India, Bylakuppe (Mysore district, Karnataka state) from 1999 to 2004 where he got full ordination (*gelen*, T. *dge-slong*).¹⁶² The Mongolian master of the *gegeenten* is Ts. Otgonbayar *gawj*, who is also the *daa* lam of Düinkhor datsan (T. dus-'khor grwa-tshang, S. Kālacakra monastic school) at Gandan monastery. For more details on him see the chapter on Gandangejeelin / Khalkhiin Zaya gegeenii Güshig Datsan in Ulaanbaatar.



*The current incarnation,
Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed. Photo taken in
Gandangejeelin / Khalkhiin Zaya gegeenii
Güshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar.*

THE MONASTERY, ITS PARTS AND POPULATION

Zayaiin khüree was a centre among the 60 monasteries of Sain noyon khan aimag. Its Golden Age as in the case of almost all monasteries was the end of the Manchu period, and especially the reign of the Bogd khaan (1911-1921). Scattered data is available in Tibetan chronicles referring to the state of the *khüree* in the Manchu period. According to Dharmatāla, Gandanchoimbellin monastery (T. *dga'-ldan chos-'phel gling*. This name is unknown for Zayaiin khüree.) of Zaya bandid had three monastic schools and the number of monks exceed 1000. The study of dialectic had particular excellence.¹⁶³ According to the Golden Annals by Zawa lam Damdin, this monastery consisted of Deed khüree and Dood khüree ('upper' and 'lower' parts also referred to as old and new parts), had a philosophical monastic school as well as other monastic schools, and a community of 1000 monks. Its philosophical monastic school followed the views of the Serjee handbook (T. *Sera byes*).¹⁶⁴ According to Pozdneev, at his visit in 1892, Zayaiin khüree had 1000 resident monks, but for big ceremonies 4000 monks gathered.¹⁶⁵

Kh. Baasanjargal, the abbot of the revived Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid claims that Zayaiin khüree had about 1500 monks. Some photos of the Film Archives also have subscriptions saying that Zayaiin khüree had 1500 monks, 22 temples, 12 stupas, and 24 financial units (*jas*, T. *spyi-sa*). Pozdneev claims that in 1892 Zayaiin khüree had eight *aimag* with temples: six in Deed khüree and two in Dood khüree. In Deed khüree there were 6 *aimags* and 26 temples, dwellings of monks and other small buildings, and in Dood khüree there were 2 *aimags* and monks' dwellings.¹⁶⁶ Another source says¹⁶⁷ that in 1914 Deed khüree and Dood khüree together had 23¹⁶⁸-30¹⁶⁹ temples (*süm*), 41 financial units (*san* and *jas*),¹⁷⁰ 2500¹⁷¹-3000¹⁷² monks, 5 monastic schools (*datsan*), and a religious school for about 600 people.¹⁷³ According to Kh. Baasanjargal, the abbot of the present-day Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid, until the 1930's eight *datsans* belonged to the monastic complex, namely *Güshig datsan*, *Günreg datsan*, *Agwa datsan*, *Choir datsan*, *Demchig datsan*, *Düinkhor datsan*, *Tseweelin*, and *Jaarai datsan*. In fact it is well known that the *khüree* had eight *datsans*, but it is difficult to determine which were these eight, as the word *datsan* (T. *grwa-tshang*) lost its exact meaning being a kind of monastic school or college, but were used also for bigger or important wealthy temples. Monks of all the eight *datsans* gathered in the main assembly hall. *Mamba datsan* belonged to Dood khüree, where doctor monks were trained.¹⁷⁴ According to S. Tüdeu, there were eight big

temples (*süm*) in the *khüree*, all of them with everyday chanting, and the 9th one was the main assembly hall. All the eight temples had four or five types of livestock (sheep, goat, cattle/yak, horse, camel), and their own heads and staff. The temples were destroyed in the 1930's. According to oral narrations the temples were closed first in 1932, and destroyed in 1937.

According to the abbot Kh. Baasanjargal, the *khüree* had two reincarnating lamas, who both lived in Deed *khüree*: *Zaya gegeen* and *Sanduin khuwilgaan*. The residences of the two reincarnating lamas have remained up to today: *Zaya gegeen* lived in his palace or *Lawran* consisting of the *Güden* temple and the two *Semchin* temples that are used now as the museum of Arkhangai province, and *Sanduin khuwilgaan* lived and held his ceremonies in the present-day temple building of the revived Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid Monastery, which was called *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* that time. Apart from these temples, the main assembly hall remained in ruins, and the *Galdan zuu* was rebuilt in 1994. Only foundations of other temples are visible today behind the museum (Palace), as these and the area where monks used to live are built-in. The arrangement of the former temples is not known today: as we will see there is contradictory information regarding the exact location of most of the temples as well as their history. The parts and temples of Deed *khüree* and Dood *khüree* are described below one by one as well as the temples situated once at the *shaw'* area of the *Zaya gegeen*.



Ruins of Deed khüree from the North

DEED KHÜREE

Rinchen marks Deed khüree (GPS: N 47°28.503', E 101°27.049') on his map of the Arkhangai monasteries as No. 213, with the name *Zaya gegeenii khüree* (Deed khüree, *Buyaniig delgerüülegch*) and gives *Tsetserleg khot* as place name.¹⁷⁵ Today the site belongs to the 3rd *bag* of Erdenebulgan sum. The *khüree* is known by different names, such as *Zayaiin khüree*, *Zaya(iin) gegeenii khüree*, *Khalkhiin Zaya bandidiin khüree*, *Zayaiin deed khüree*, *Gandangejeelin*, and *Tögs bayasgalant buyaniig delgerüülegch*. Deed khüree had 6 monastic schools, and there were 6 *aimags* and 26 temples (*dugan*), dwellings of monks and other small buildings.¹⁷⁶

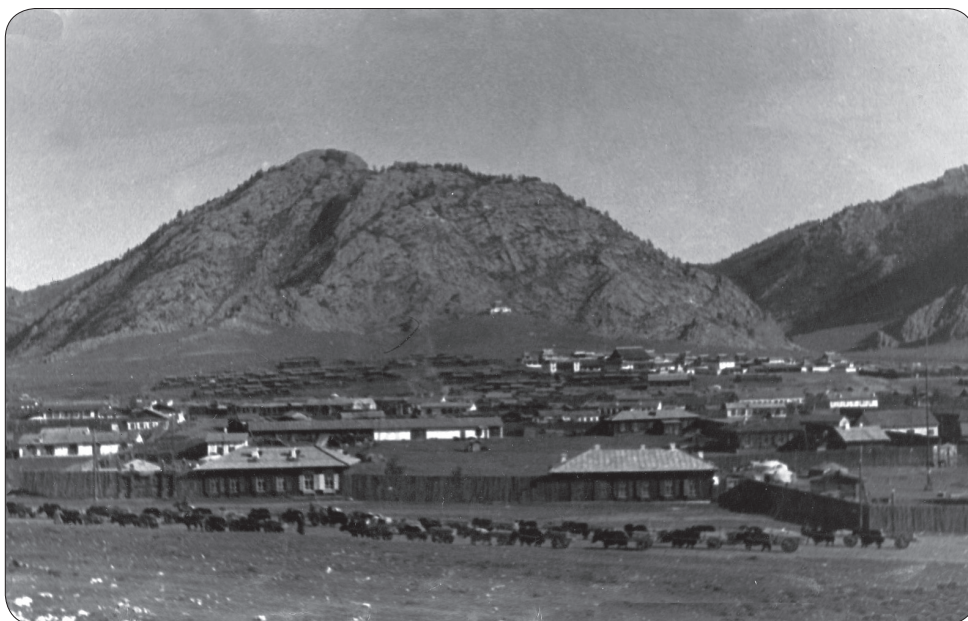
Pozdneev claims that though about 26 temples belonged to Deed khüree, and except from the *Tsogchin*, *Lawran*, *Agwa*, *Güshig*, *Günreg*, *Demchig*, *Sandui*, and *Jaarai* temples [the later six should be the six *datsans* of Deed khüree], the others were all in a bad state of repair in 1892.¹⁷⁷ *Choir datsan* definitely belonged to the *khüree*, though it is not mentioned separately by him. The majority of the temples were renovated in 1887, thus their golden roofs were shining at the time of Pozdneev's visit. He claims that Deed khüree was very clean, and on its four sides there were *jaltsan* banners of victory (*T. rgyal-mtshan*) and prayer wheels.¹⁷⁸



*Deed khüree from the North. Photo by S. A. Kondratyev in the 1920's.
Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013, p. 120.*

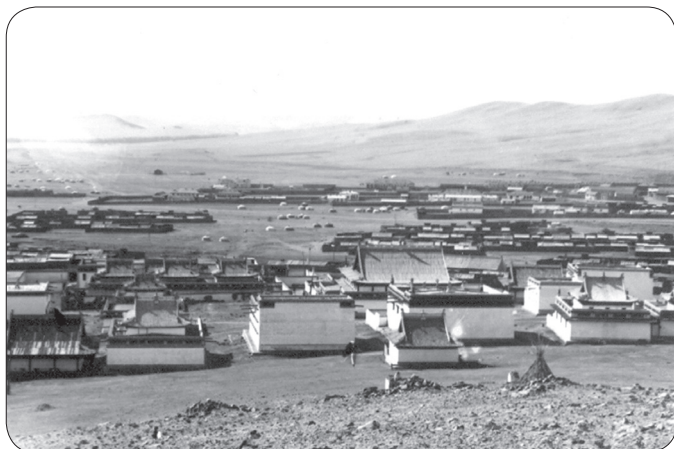
According to S. Tüdeu in the 1930's Deed khüree had six *datsans* and other temples: *Agwa*, *Günreg*, *Demchig*, *Güshig*, *Jaarai*, *Sandui*, *Zurkhai*, *Jüd*, *Choir*, and *Düinkhor*. Each had about 100 monks, and about 1000 monks belonged to the whole *khüree*.

Comparing the different sources, we can list the temples of Deed khüree as follows: *Tsogchin*, the main assembly hall; the six *datsans* namely *Awga/Agwa datsan*, *Güshig datsan*, *Günreg datsan*, *Jaarai datsan*, *Demchig datsan*, *Sandui datsan*; *Jüd datsan* (?), *Choir datsan*, *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*, *Düinkhoriin süm*, *Zurkhai*, *Lawran* (with the *Güden* temple and the two *Semchins*), *Galdan zuu*, *Mörgöliin dörwöljin* building, *Bulganii dugan/süm*, *Yamandagiin süm*, *Norowsambuugiin süm*, *Shagdariin dugan*, *Sharaw* temple, *Khamchingiin* or *Khanchin süm*, *Choijin süm*, *Yadamiin süm*, *Dar' ekhiin süm*, *Ölzii dugan*, *Serjiibizanii dugan*, *Tseweglengiin/Tseweelin dugan*, *Zankhan süm*, *Janraiseg* [this might be the temple known as *Jaarai datsan*]. However, some of them might have been situated not in Deed, but in Dood khüree, as the sources give no exact account of them. Some of the above listed temples may be identical with another one of the list, being only name variants of the same temple.

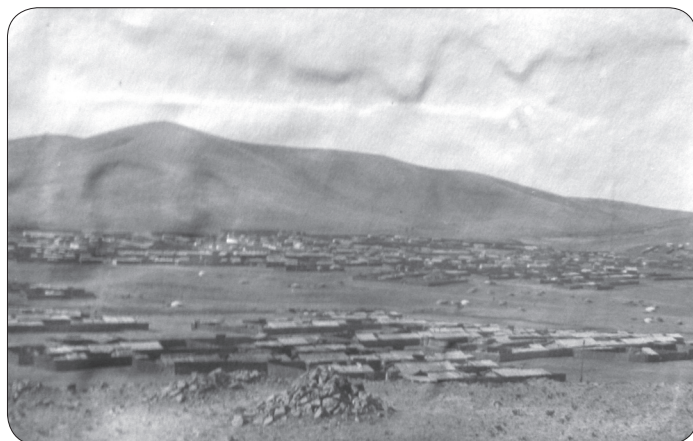


General view of Deed khüree. Date and photographer unknown.

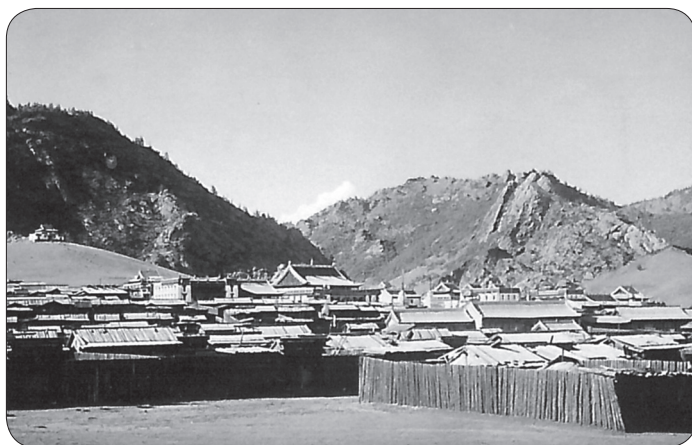
Film Archives K-23721



General view from the North. Date and photographer unknown. Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy. Big album No. 6. Photo No. 229.



General view from the North. Date and photographer unknown. Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy. Big album No. 6. Photo No. 229.



General view from the South-West. Photo by S. A. Kondratiyev in the 1920's. Klyagina-Kondratiyeva 2013, p. 177.

Arrangement and Architecture of the Temples

Regarding the arrangement of the temples and their exact locations data available in sources is rather contradictory. What we most relied on is the arrangement of the remained buildings (*Tsogchin*, *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*, and the *Lawran* with the *Güden* temple and the two *Semchins*), the *Galdan zuu* temple rebuilt on its original site, and the still clearly visible foundations of six temple buildings on the north of *Tsogchin* and *Lawran* in a line and another somewhat smaller temple in front of them at the north-east of *Lawran*. Of the remnants and visible foundations we made a sketch at the site, measuring the sizes in steps. This is what clearly shows the arrangement of most of the main temples, and what could be compared with the available old photos. Most of the individual temples can be identified in the photos showing the central part of the *khüree* from different directions, and thus their location can be determined. The location and arrangement of 20-22 temple buildings could be identified in this way, though there were an additional several temple buildings visible on the old photos, but not clearly enough to place them on our sketch of the arrangement. In addition, the names of those temples marked on our sketch are not always sure. Several of the old photos show the central part of the *khüree*, while others show individual temples with their names given in photo captions. Concerning written sources and data from interviews, Ölzii¹⁷⁹ gives the most probable description of the arrangement of the temples, based on mainly the description by Pozdneev,¹⁸⁰ and also S. Tüdeu accounted it from his memory. However, these and the other available descriptions are sometimes contradictory.

According to Pozdneev's description, six of the eight *aimags* with their own temples (*süm*) of Zayaiin khüree were situated in Deed khüree.¹⁸¹ The architecture of the main temples was strictly Tibetan style, and the temples had two or three storeys. Regarding the oldest temples, *Ngakbo datsan* [i.e. *Agwa datsan*] was built first, and was built in pure Tibetan style, followed by *Güshig datsan*, and finally *Günreg datsan* both of which were built in mixed Tibeto-Chinese style. Next to these three oldest *datsans* two new ones have been built honoring *Demchig* [same as *Demchig taijiin khoyor süm*, the two temples of *Demchig taij*]. The principal temple of the *khüree* was the *Tsogchin*, surrounded by a special enclosure and notable for its size, although it was of wood. On the left side of the *Tsogchin* the *Sandui süm* was built in Tibetan style [this is *Sandui datsan*]. On the right side of the *Tsogchin* the *Lawran* was situated [consisting of the *Güden* and the two *Semchins*], which was also surrounded by such a wooden enclosure as the *Tsogchin*. On the right side of the *Lawran* a large Tibetan temple called *Jaarai süm* was located [in fact there were several temples to the east of the *Lawran*, and

one of these must have been *Jaarai*, rather to its north-east, but its exact location is unclear. Tüdew claims that *Jaarai* was located next to *Günreg*, but perhaps it stood to its south-east, somewhere to the east or north-east of *Lawran*]. Pozdneev adds that nearly a total 26 temples were situated in Deed khüree, but the ones not mentioned above were rather poor and insignificant buildings, which one could hardly distinguish from the ordinary structures that served as dwellings for monks. He claims that in 1887 many of the temples were renovated, thus their gilded ornaments glistened brightly in 1892. Outside, in the four corners of Deed khüree *jaltsans* (T. *rgyal-mtshan*, victory banner) and prayer wheels were situated. In the north part of the khüree, *Bulganii süm* [or *Bulganii dugan*] stood dedicated to the "dragon", local spirit of Bulgan uul. Entirely separated from the monastery, at the foot of Bulgan uul, the *Said wangiin* or *Setsen wangiin dugan* [same as *Galdan zuu*] was situated, in which an offering preparer read *jasaa* ('Ritual of periodic duty', when texts requested by individuals are recited by monks performing this duty in turns).

According to Ölzi,¹⁸² the *Lawran* was situated in the middle of Deed khüree. The *Tsogchin* stood on its west. There was an entrance temple in front of the *Tsogchin*. In front of the *Tsogchin*, a *büreenii shat* platform for calling monks to ceremonies was situated, and to the southeast of *Tsogchin* a prayer wheel stood. *Yamandagiin süm* stood southwest of the *Tsogchin*. West of the *Tsogchin* the *Sandui datsan* was situated. *Damdin khuwilgaanii baishin* [this must be mistaken for *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* or might refer to the name of the *khuwilgaan*] stood on the southwest of the *Tsogchin*. To the north of *Sandui datsan* stood *Norowsambuugiin süm* with the enclosure of the two temples of *Demchig taij* to its north. In front of this enclosure a *büreenii shat* was situated, and to the west of the enclosure there was a kitchen (*manz tsaw*, T. *mang-ja tsha-ba*). To the North of *Lawran* *Bulganii dugan*, *Agwa*, and *Güshig datsans* were situated [in fact *Bulganii dugan* stood to the north of *Güshig datsan*]. North of them there were three stupas, though on photos eight stupas are presented. To their northwest *Galdan zuu* temple was located at the hillside of Bulgan uul. At the East of *Lawran* the *Günreg datsan* was situated [in fact this was to the north-east of *Lawran*] and *Shagdariin dugan* as well [perhaps it stood to the east of *Günreg* – the name of the temple once standing there is unclear]. South of them *Sharaw* temple, and on its south *Khamchigiin süm* were located. Northeast (of the *Lawran*) stood the *Choijin süm*, *Yadamiin süm*, and *Dar' ekhiin süm* [These were rather situated to the east of *Lawran*, in one line with it, as old pictures show three temples there. Based on an old photo, which has the caption *Khamchigiin süm* for these three temples, *Choijin süm*, *Yadamiin süm*, and *Dar' ekhiin süm* may be identical with

Khamchig or *Khamchingiin süm*, which consisted of three temples. However, *Ölzii* lists these separately.]. There was a prayer wheel on their southeast. There were other temples such as *Ölzii dugan*, *Düinkhor dugan*, *Serjiibizanii dugan*, and *Tseweglengiin (Tseweelin) dugan*, and *Jüd datsan*. [The site of these is not given by *Ölzii*, and we have no data on their locations from any other source.]

According to S. Tüdeu in the 1920-1930's the main assembly hall or *Tsogchin* was situated northwest of the Palace, where Zaya gegeen lived [it is the *Lawran*]. *Demchig datsan* was situated northwest of the main assembly hall [two temples stood there within one courtyard, also called the two temples of *Demchig taij*, 'Demchig prince']. The *Choir* was situated behind the *Tsogchin*, next to *Demchig datsan*. East of the *Choir* temple [What Tüdeu claims as *Choir* was rather the *Agwa datsan*. The photos taken by S. A. Kondratiyev of the temple situated behind the *Tsogchin* were subscribed as *Jüd*, but the *Jüd datsan* of Zayaiin khüree was known as *Agwa*.] *Güshig datsan* was situated behind the *Lawran*. East of *Güshig datsan*, *Günreg datsan* was located. *Jüd* was situated east of *Günreg* [here according to *Ölzii Shagdariin dugan* stood], and *Jaarai* was also located near *Günreg* [it is most possible that it stood somewhere to the east or north-east of *Lawran*]. *Dar'ekh* was situated in the east [*Ölzii* mentions three temples here, *Choijin süm*, *Yadamiin süm*, and *Dar'ekhiin süm*; these may also be identical with *Khamchingiin süm*]. Stupas were situated south of *Galdan zuu* [*Ölzii* mentions here three stupas, and old pictures show eight]. Apart from *Galdan zuu*, another *Zuu* temple was situated on the foot of the hill, south of *Galdan zuu* [this may be the same as *Bulganiin dugan*]. It was situated north of the *Choir* [however, the real location of *Choir* is unclear, this relates to the temple building being *Agwa datsan* or *Jüd datsan* according to other sources]. In the *khüree* there were about ten stone lions: two in front of the main assembly hall, and two in front of each *datsans*. [The remained two lions are situated now in front of the gate of the steps leading at *Galdan zuu*].

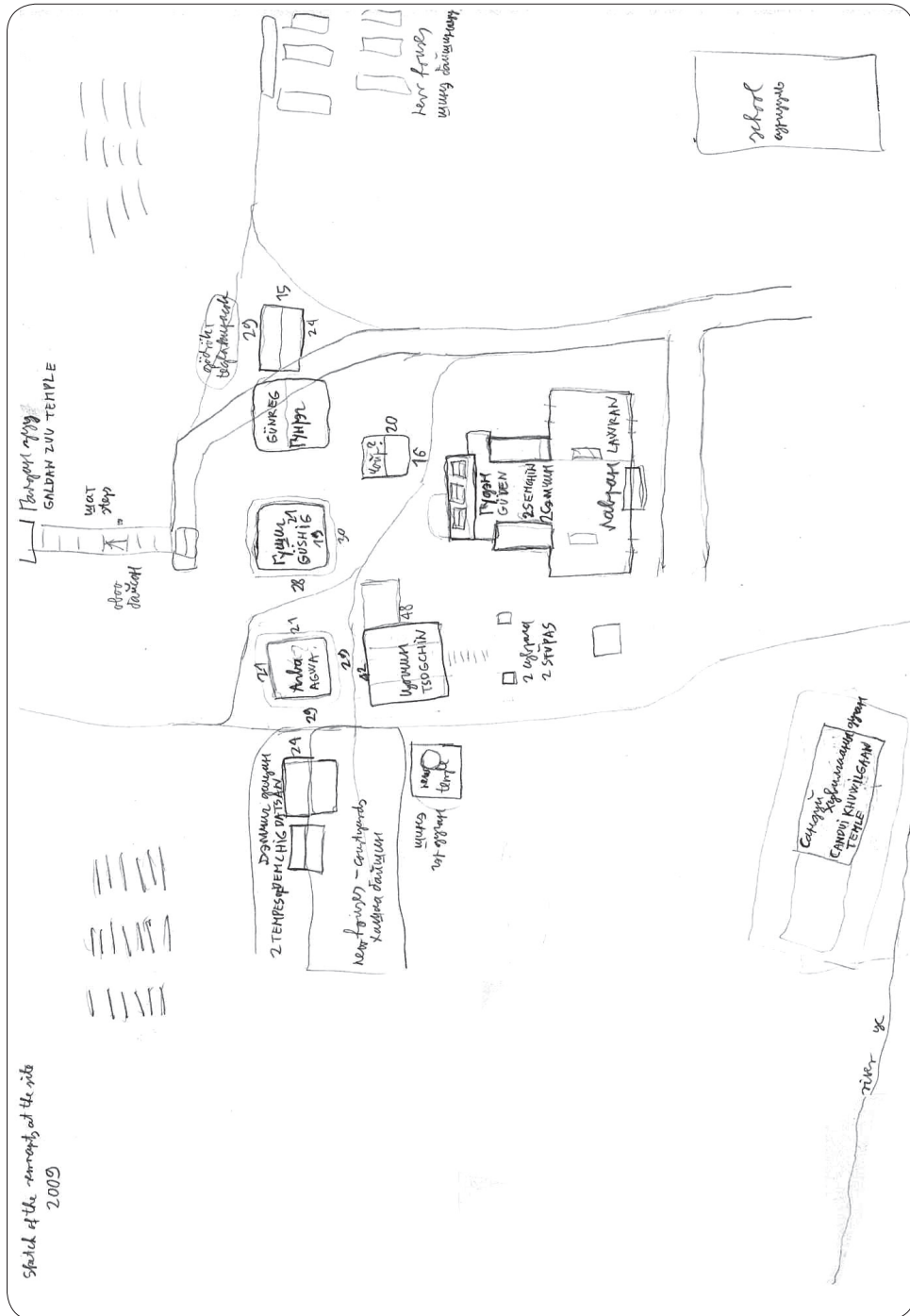
According to Daajaw,¹⁸³ Zayaiin khüree had a special arrangement compared with other Mongolian monasteries, as the *Güden (Lawran)* of the *gegeen* was situated in the middle in its own courtyard, including the stupas containing the relics of the Zaya incarnations, and with a square with the wooden fence called *shörgön khashaa* (or *khais* fence) on its south. The *Tsogchin* temple was built on the west of the *Güden* [the usual monastery arrangement has the *Tsogchin* in the middle]. Four *datsans* were situated in a row behind the main assembly hall. Daajaw only mentions *Jar* [possibly for *Jaarai*] and *Günreg* of the four [in fact it is not clear which four *datsans* stood in one line, but most probably *Demchig*, *Agwa*, *Güshig*, and *Günreg*], but on his sketch places these two at the back of each other, not in one line. *Galdan zuu* stood in the north of the complex in the foreground

of Bulgan uul. Daajaw adds that similar arrangements of monastic cities can be observed in monasteries in Khöwsgöl, Zawkhan, and Arkhangai aimag.

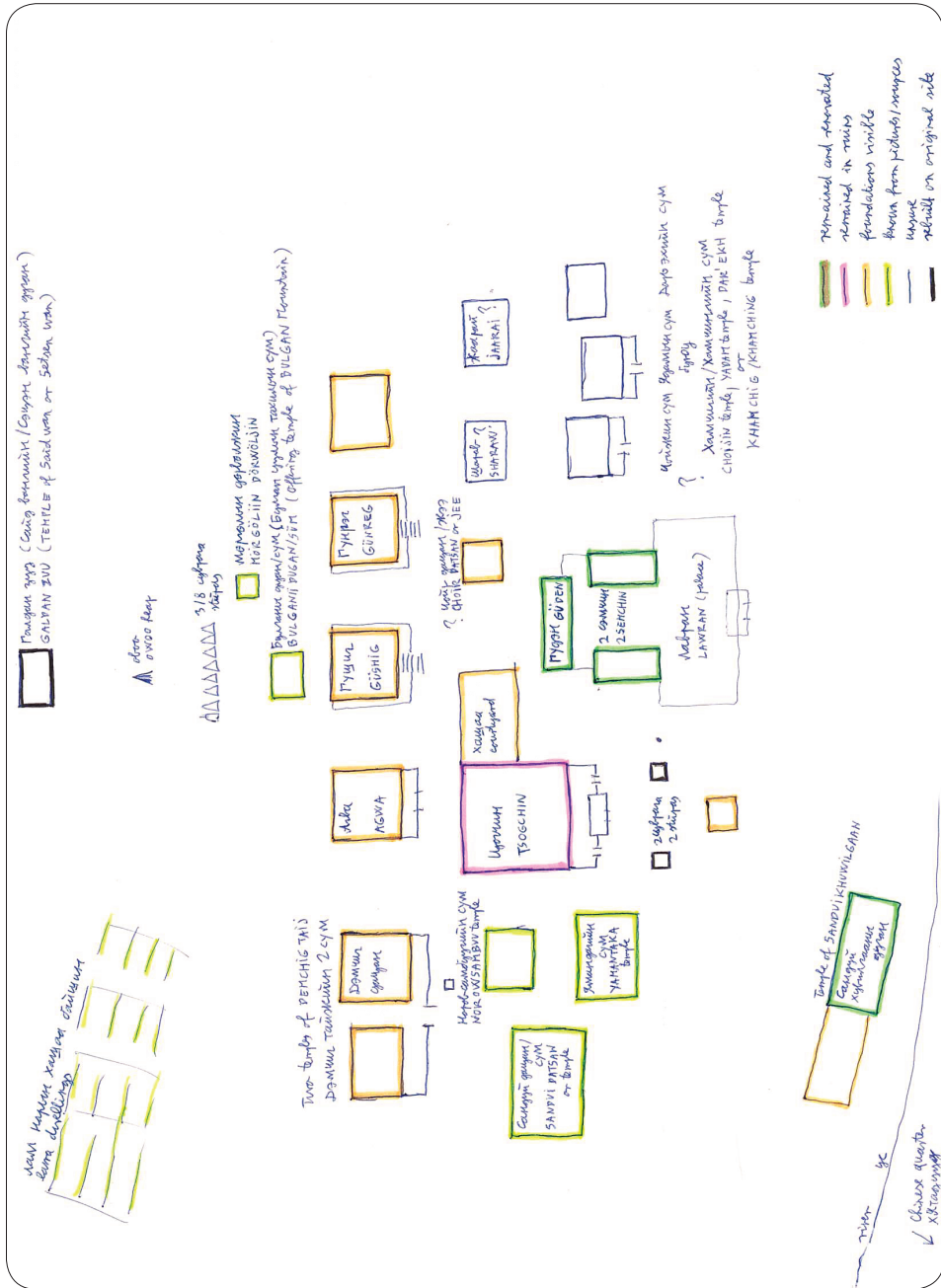
Considering the remained temples and visible foundations it is sure that the *Tsogchin* is still standing in ruins, the *Lawran* with its three temples (*Güden* and two *Semchins*) are now used as a museum, and *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* is now used as a temple again by Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid. Apart from them, there are three bigger foundations visible today, with a relatively smaller one on their east (on the eastern part of the eastern of them a concrete road was built few years ago), and also two smaller ones on their west (these two partly built on by courtyards). These six temples stood in a line at the back of *Tsogchin* and *Lawran*. There is another smaller foundation at the back of *Lawran* in front of them. Also a foundation is visible to the west of the remained *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*. Regarding the question of what temples might the still visible foundations have been we have the following assumptions: *Güshig* and *Günreg* was two of the bigger ones of the six foundations in one line (*Güshig* being the middle one, and *Günreg* being the one through the site of which the concrete road to the steps was built some years ago), and *Agwa* stood on their west. These were the three biggest foundations. The two foundations on their west in the same line were the two temples of *Demchig taij* or *Demchig datsan*. The sixth foundation in the same line on the east might have been *Shagdariin dugan* (according to Ölzii) or *Jüd datsan* according to Tüdeu). The smaller foundation in front of *Güshig* and *Günreg*, at the back of the *Lawran*, to the east of the *Tsogchin* might have been the *Choir datsan* [possibly also called as *Jee*] or *Sharaw* temple (according to Ölzii).

Based on the above accounts, the foundations visible at present, old photos and other available sources, we can state that the more or less precise location of the following temples is known for today: at the centre stood the *Lawran* with its three temples (*Güden* and the two *Semchins*). The buildings of the palace were situated in a walled-off courtyard, the south part of which was wider and had the main entrance on the south. *Tsogchin* stood to its north-west. It had a small walled-off courtyard, with a gate temple on its south entrance gate, and two smaller gates in the south. In earlier times the *Tsogchin* had a courtyard on its east, too, the brick wall of which had prayer wheels around from inside. This courtyard was at the back of the *Lawran*, but later was demolished as photos show. There were two stupas in front of the *Tsogchin* on the two sides, with two poles by them. There was a small shrine with a prayer wheel to the south of them. At the back of *Tsogchin* and *Lawran* four big temples were situated. These were the following from west to east: *Agwa datsan* [though Tüdeu mentions *Choir datsan* instead], *Güshig datsan*, and *Günreg datsan*, while the fourth one of them on the east was *Shagdariin dugan*

(according to Ölzii or maybe *Jüd datsan* according to Tüdeu). The smaller *Bulganii dugan* stood to the north of these, at the back of *Güshig*, and *Mörgöliin dörwöljin*, a small square shaped building at its north or north-east. There were stupas (eight according to old photos) and an *owoo* to their north, and *Galdan zuu* temple stood at the very north, on the hillside, where it was rebuilt after the democratic changes. Another temple stood in one line with *Tsogchin* on its east, at the back of the *Lawran*. This was presumably either *Sharaw* temple (according to Ölzii) or *Choir datsan (Jee)*. In one line with it to its east stood another temple, or two temples [this part is not clearly visible in any picture, and also there are no visible foundations]. The western one of these was either *Sharaw* temple or *Jaarai datsan* [Pozdneev mentions *Jaarai* here] also mentioned in several sources as *Jee datsan* [or *Jee datsan* might be identical with *Choir*]. In front of these two temples, to the east of the *Lawran* stood three temples, presumably *Choiijin süm*, *Dar' ekhiin süm*, and *Yadamiin süm* (according to Ölzii), but according to the caption of an old photo these three temples were called together *Khamchingiin süm / Khanchin süm* (T. unknown). To the west of *Tsogchin* there were the following temples: *Demchig datsan* and another temple, called together the two temples of *Demchig taij* stood in the same courtyard on the north-west, next to *Agwa datsan* (or *Choir* according to Tüdeu). There was a prayer wheel in front of the main entrance of this courtyard, to its south-east. In front of the *Demchig* temples, to the west of *Tsogchin* stood a temple, possibly *Norowsambuugiin süm*, and in front of it another temple, presumably *Yamandagiin süm* (both according to Ölzii). The relatively bigger temple, the Tibetan style *Sandui datsan* stood to their west. *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* was situated on the south-west of the *Tsogchin*, and this faced to the south-west, while the other buildings of the monastery faced to the south (except of the two *Semchins*). There was another building built together with this *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*, on its west, but this have not remained, only the eastern, bigger temple. A small river, *Dund gol* known today as *Baast*, flowed and still flows in front of it. The location of other temples of Deed khüree, such as *Jüd datsan*; *Düinkhoriin süm*, *Zurkhai*, *Ölzii dugan*, *Serjiibizanii dugan*, *Tseweglengiin/ Tseweelin dugan*, *Zankhan süm*, and *Janraiseg* [this might be the temple known as *Jaarai datsan*] is unknown, and cannot be guessed even from the old photos. Some of them even might have been situated not in Deed, but in Dood khüree, on the temples of which no exact information remained.

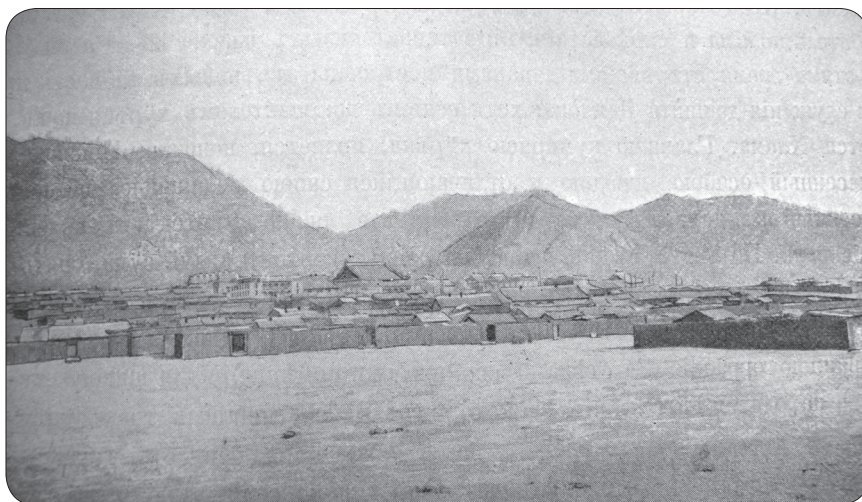


Sketch of the remnants at the site (2009)



Supposed arrangement of the buildings

Old photos show that many of the temples, especially the *datsans* had a wooden fence in front of them, for instance *Güshig datsan* and *Günreg datsan*. Others were enclosed by a wall: the *Lawran*, the *Tsogchin*, the two temples of *Demchig taij*, *Agwa datsan*, and two of the three temples on the south-east, such as *Choijin süm* and *Dar' ekhiin süm*. However, Pozdneev described that *Lawran* and *Tsogchin* were surrounded by a wooden enclosure at the time of his visit, thus the brick walls may have been built after 1892. Some temples had poles in front, too. A *shörgön khashaa* or *khais* fence in front of the palace indicated that it was a *khüree* of a *gegeen*. Monks lived in the monk quarters based on which of the eight *datsans* they belonged to, but their quarters were not named as *aimags* according to S. Tüdeu. Litter, livestock were also named according to *datsans* (e.g. *Demchigiin khog*, 'litter of Demchig temple', *Choiriin mal*, 'livestock of the Choir temple'), and the *datsans* were in close connection with their rural areas and temples. The monks venerated *owoos* by *datsans*. Though the *datsans* had *jas* financial units (T. *spyi-sa*, e.g. *Düinkhoriin jas*, 'treasury of *Düinkhor* temple), they were possibly not situated in separate buildings or yurts next to the temples as there is no information about them in sources and as they are not visible on photos.



*General view of Deed khüree. Photo by A. M. Pozdneev in 1892.
Pozdneev 1896, p. 415., 53.*

According to S. Tüdeu all *datsans* had their own tasks in the life of the *khüree*. For instance *Jee* and *Jaarai* were responsible for the weather and the environmental issues, whilst *Zurkhai datsan* was responsible for rain, wells, and other waters. Other *datsans* (maybe *Jüd* or *Agwa*) were responsible for the well-

being, and the progeny of the livestock. All the seven *datsans* had their own *jas* financial units, e.g. *Demchig*, *Güshig*, *Jee*, and *Jaarai*. The *jas* financial units had their own buildings (*baishin*). Each *datsan* had their own kitchen where tea and food of the monks were prepared. Monks ate mostly rice and vegetarian food, dairy products, and drank kumiss, and milk. They did not eat meat at all.

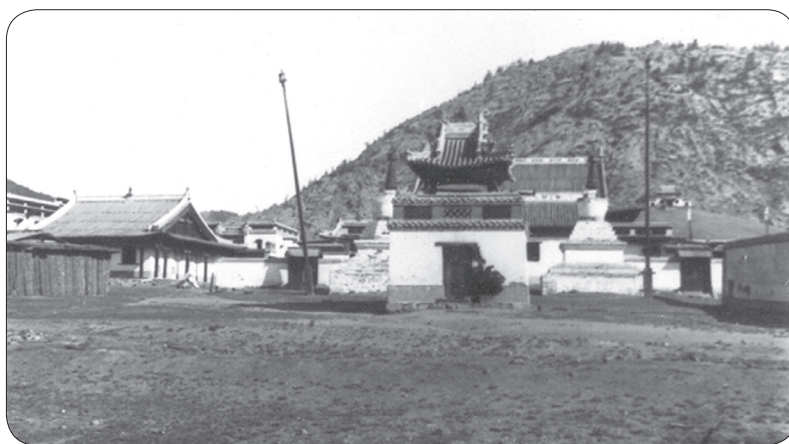
As the old photos show the temples of the *khüree* were built in different styles: Tibetan, Tibetan-Mongolian, and Tibetan-Chinese.¹⁸⁴ Different building materials were used, like wood, stone, bricks (*khökh toosgo* or *toipüü*, Chinese blue brick), and tiles.¹⁸⁵ However, Zayaiin khüree was unique in Mongolia as most of its huge temple buildings were built in Tibetan style. The one, two or three-storied temple buildings were situated in the centre of Deed khüree, their majority having individual courtyards. All sources claim that until the 18th century the temples were built by Mongolians [there was a Chinese kiln nearby].¹⁸⁶ In the renovations architects like Dandarjamiyaan, Borchogba, and Jigdel participated, who lived during the period of 1696-1765.¹⁸⁷ In the 18th and 19th centuries Tögs, Sonom, Luwsansharaw, and Buyant were famous architects. A big renovation took place in 1887 by Mongolian architects again,¹⁸⁸ and the main assembly hall was renovated in 1909-1910's as well as the *Semchins*. It is stated that Zayaiin khüree was built following the model of Tashilhunpo Monastery. Many of the names of the temples were special, for example *Güshig*, unknown in other *khürees*. Only bigger *khürees* had *Güden* relics temples, for instance Sain noyon khanii khüree (Öwörkhantai aimag, Uyanga süm), and Manzshir khiid (Töv aimag, Zuunmod).

Main Assembly Hall (Tsogchin Dugan)

The main assembly hall (T. *tshogs chen*, N 47°28'50,3" E 101°27'04,9" elevation 1709 m) was founded by Luwsanprinlei in the foreground of Bulgan uul.¹⁸⁹ Confirmed by the Manchu emperor Zaya gegeenii khüree was named after the main assembly hall as *Tögs bayasgalant Buyaniig delgerüülegch* (T. *dga'-ldan dge-rgyas gling* 'monastery spreading blissful virtue') in 1696.¹⁹⁰ According to Pozdneev, the main protector of the *khüree*, thus its main assembly hall, was *Lkham* (T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, S. Śrīdevī). The main assembly hall was fenced-off by a wooden fence in 1892.¹⁹¹ S. Tüdeu claims that in the 1920-1930's the main assembly hall was fenced off, more precisely it had a wooden hedge (*shörgön khashaa*), and the *büreenii shat* (or *büree üleekh shat*) platform calling the monks for ceremonies was situated nearby. He claims that there were three stupas in front of the main assembly hall and two poles (*mod*) in the two sides of the temple building as well as presentations of the four *Mahārājās* (*Makhranz*, T. *rgyal chen*, S. Mahārājā, 'great king', guards of the four directions).¹⁹² S. Tüdeu adds that the

main assembly hall was the oldest temple of the *khüree*, and a standing statuette of Maitreya, the future Buddha was preserved inside. Monks of all *datsans* and temples of the *khüree* gathered there for ceremonies. Daily chanting was performed there, as well as annual ceremonies (see details in chapter ‘Specialities of the Ceremonial System’): *Lkham* was worshipped at the Lunar New Year Eve, *Zul* (‘butter lamp’) ceremony was held here from the 20-25th of the first winter month, *Khangal* ceremony in honour of the Dharma Protectors was held from the 5-15th of the middle winter month, and *Düinkhor* ceremony in honour of Kālacakra was held from the 22-30th of the last winter month. S. Tüdeu claims that *Khailen* (*Yar khailen*, T. (*dbyar*) *khas-len*) summer retreat was held here with the participation of about 50 monks. *Nügnee* fasting (*Nügnei/Nünnai*, T. *smyung gnas*) was held as well. During the Lunar New Year ceremonies *Sor* (T. *zor*) was offered to annihilate and avoid illness and suffering. It was burnt to the south of *Sanduin dugan*, south of Dund gol. Moreover, non-stop ceremonies (*tasrakhgüi khural*) were held in the *Tsogchin* to avoid sickness, suffering, and drought: about 1000 monks gathered in the main assembly hall for the night. When S. Tüdeu was young, *Wanzanjaw zurkhaich* of the *khüree* predicted if there will be drought or *zud* that year or not.

Old photos depict that the main assembly hall had a fence with a gate temple and two other gates. In front of the main assembly hall two stupas and two poles were located as well as a small shrine on their south (GPS: N 47°28’48,7” E 101°27’06,2” elevation 1707m). This shrine might have been used to blow the conch shell calling monks for ceremonies. Though a photo by S. A. Kondratyev show a separate platform (*büreenii shat*) for this purpose its unsure whether this photograph was taken in Zayaiin khüree.¹⁹³



*In front of the Tsogchin temple. Date and photographer unknown.
Film Archives No. K-23734.*

In the eastern courtyard of the main assembly hall, behind the Palace, rows of prayer wheels were located, but as this courtyard is missing from later photos this courtyard might have been demolished later. A *zuliin baishin* ('building for butter-lamp') was situated there, too, where a butter-lamp was lit in the evening.¹⁹⁴



Prayer wheels in the eastern courtyard. Photo by S. A. Kondratiyev in the 1920's. Klyagina-Kondratiyeva 2013, p. 164.

Maidar described the main assembly hall based on photos: it was built of blue bricks (*khökh toosgo, toipüü*), had tiled roof, and had windows with wooden frames on the three sides of the lower part. All around the upper storey of the temple, the so called 'mirrors' (*tol'*) decorated the temple. On the tiled roof there was a *ganjir* top ornament (T. *gan-ji-ra*, S. *gañjira*) as well as two victory flags (*jaltsan*, T. *rgyal-mtshan*). The temple had ten windows on the eastern and western sides, and two on the front side on both sides.

S. Tüdeu claims that *Mörgöliin dörwöljin* was situated east of the *Tsogchin* Temple, and there was a mud statue on that [on old pictures it is visible to the north of the monastery].

In the socialist time the building was used as a club, with a new modern roof placed on it. It also served as a marketplace. With the revival there were plans to restore it and use it as a temple again, but this failed, and now the temple is in a terrible bad state of repair.



The ruined old Tsogchin temple from the Southwest



Foundations of a small building to the South of the Tsogchin temple



Inside the ruins of the Tsogchin

Palace (Lawran)

In 1696, Luwsanprinlei founded the temple called *Güden süm* (T. *sku-rten*, ‘body support’, body representation: images, statuettes, sacred objects).¹⁹⁵ It was his palace, and it was situated in the middle of the *khüree*, southeast of the main assembly hall.¹⁹⁶ This palace (N 47° 28’ 49,4” E 101° 27’ 08,7” elevation 1705m) became known as *Lawran* (T. *bla-brang*, ‘residence’). Later, the palace consisted of three buildings: the original *Güden süm*, the western *Baruun Semchin*, and the eastern *Züün Semchin* (*semchin*, T. *gzims-khang*, ‘bedroom’). The buildings of the palace remained and operate now as the museum of Arkhangai province. The *Güden süm* is situated in the North. This is a building with three roofs. The *Baruun Semchin* is located southwest of the *Güden*, and the *Züün Semchin* is located southeast of the *Güden* building.

As Pozdneev described in 1892, the *Lawran* was enclosed by a wooden fence that time. He adds that the relics of three *khutagts* were preserved in the *Lawran* (*Güden*) which had three roofs.¹⁹⁷ The white fence of the *Lawran* was painted in yellow in 1905 in honour of the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.¹⁹⁸ S. Tüdeu confirmed that the *Lawran* had a yellowish stone fence wall in the 1930’s.

Shüteenii gurwan süm (‘The three temples of the images/representations’) is another name of the *Güden süm*.¹⁹⁹ The *Güden süm* has three upper temples with roofs, and has three halls inside: the *Gol Güden* (Main *Güden*), the *Baruun Güden* (Western *Güden*), and the *Züün Güden* (Eastern *Güden*). Relics of four *gegeens* were kept there. In the *Baruun Güden* the relic stupas of Luwsanprinlei, Luwsannyandag, and Luwsanjigmeddorj (i.e. the First, Second, and Third *gegeens*) were located. In the *Züün Güden* the relic stupa of Luwsanjigmednamjil was situated (the Fourth *geegen*).²⁰⁰ The relics of Luwsanchoijiwanchüg (Fifth *geegen*) are not mentioned in sources. *Yadam* (it might refer to *Yansan yadam*) and *Sonomdoo* (?) were worshipped there, whilst in the *Gol Güden*, *Choijoo* (some sources give *Chodog*) was worshipped.²⁰¹ *Jasaa khural* (‘Ritual of periodic duty’) was held in the *Gol Güden*,²⁰² and monks used to sit there in two rows. In the upper floor of the *Güden* the *geegen*’s library was situated, including numerous Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese sutras and books of history, literature, religion, and other topics.²⁰³ A list of manuscripts, blockprints and letters kept in the *Güden* was written in 1861.²⁰⁴

S. Tüdeu confirmed that the *Güden* included the stupas of the relics of Luwsanprinlei and his three reincarnations. The relics of the *gegeens* kept in the *Güden* were buried during the period of the persecutions at Tsogt uul Mountain, East of the *khüree*. They were dugged out in the 1960’s, but as they were without preservation for many years, they damaged.²⁰⁵ Today the relics stupas of Luwsanprinlei and possibly the Second and Third *gegeens* are kept in the museum, in the *Baruun Güden*.



The Güden temple in 2009



The Western Güden with the relics stupas in 2009

The Western and the Eastern *Semchin* were built during the period of the Third *gegeen*, Luvsanjigmeddorj, in 1802.²⁰⁶ At the beginning they were three-storey buildings. Their upper storeys were made of wood, and had tent roofs, whilst the lower two storeys were made of blue brick in Tibetan style. The floors were made of wood, too. As the temple of the Khuuchids (living in Inner-Mongolia; Khuuchid khoshuu was one of the banners of Shiliin gol area, bordering the present Sükhbaatar aimag) burnt down near Gichgene khotol nuur in the *shaw'* area of the *gegeen* (today Arkhangai aimag, Töwshrüülekh sum), the monks arrived at Zayaiin khüree, and made some reconstructions on the third floors of the two *Semchins* in 1908-1909. The wooden material was used to build new temples or other buildings. Thus, there was a big renovation in the *khüree* in 1909-

1910, when the *Semchins* got their present forms.²⁰⁷

Concerning the Eastern or *Züün Semchin*, both floors are spacious. During the Fourth *gegeen*, Luwsangelegnamjil *Düinkhoriin khural* in honour of Kālacakra was held there, but as the *gegeen* moved to the new Dood khüree, this ceremony was interrupted. The building remained empty, and was used as storage to house sedan chairs (*juuz tereg, damnuurga*), and other religious equipment: Zaya *gegeen*'s all religious staff was kept there.²⁰⁸

The upper part of the Western or *Baruun Semchin* had (and has) three smaller rooms. In the middle room the *gegeen*'s two baldachin sandalwood beds were kept once, as well as four sandalwood cupboards, three sandalwood tables, 50 sandalwood chairs, and the bed of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.²⁰⁹



Baruun Semchin (Western Semchin) in 2009



Züün Semchin (Eastern Semchin) in 2009

East of the palace yurts or yurt temples (*ordon ger*) were situated. According to S. Tüdew, in front of the Palace there was a big square for *Tsam* dances and the wooden fence called *shörgön khashaa*.

In the beginning of the Socialist period the furniture of the buildings were confiscated. However, the cook of Jambatseren, D. Dalkhjaw took and preserved the *gegeen's* sandalwood bed, and some part of his cupboard; D. Demberel preserved a sandalwood bed, and a curtain, and Rentsen preserved a sandalwood cupboard.²¹⁰ According to Ölzii's description and the *Bolor tol'* magazine,²¹¹ in the end of the 1930's the *Lawran* became a fire station (*gal komand*), and the *Züün Semchin* functioned as its garage housing two vans, and a car. The upper floor of the *Baruun Semchin* was used as an office (*kontor*), and the lower floor was a garage. In 1941-1942 the *Güden süm* became a factory (*kombinat*), and until the end of the 1950's it functioned as the storage of a food factory (*khünsnii kombinat*), alcohol storage (*arkhinii aguulakh*) and storage of other items of the biocombinat. The three roofs of the *Güden* were demolished in the 1940s. Since 1942, the upper floor of the *Baruun Semchin* was used as offices of the biocombinat, and the lower floor as a shop of dairy products and storage of the milk factory. After 1953 the first floor was used by the Ulaan tug ('Red Flag') milk factory of Bulgan sum.

From the 1960's the *Lawran* became a province museum. The remained buildings (*Güden*, *Züün Semchin*, *Baruun Semchin*) were taken into provincial protection in 1971, and into state protection in 1994.²¹² The *Khülgiin dugan*, the entrance temple was built in 1977-1978. The *Güden* was renovated in 1987-1988. D. Chimedbaldar (born 1925) led the renovations of the *Lawran*. The renovations of the *Züün Semchin* (in 1977-1980), the *Baruun Semchin* (in 1981-1983, and in 1988) were carried out after 1980.²¹³ [*Galdan zuu* was also rebuilt in 1992-1993 in the hillside.] Lately, several renovations were executed by Mongolians, Germans, French, and in the latest years by the Mongolia-Monaco Joint Expedition (Mongolian National Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archeology, and the Museum of Prehistoric Antropology, Monaco) which supported the renovation of the *Züün Semchin* in 2011. The two *Güden* stupas were renovated in 2013 by G. Pürewbat monk artist.



Khülgiin dugan, entrance to the museum



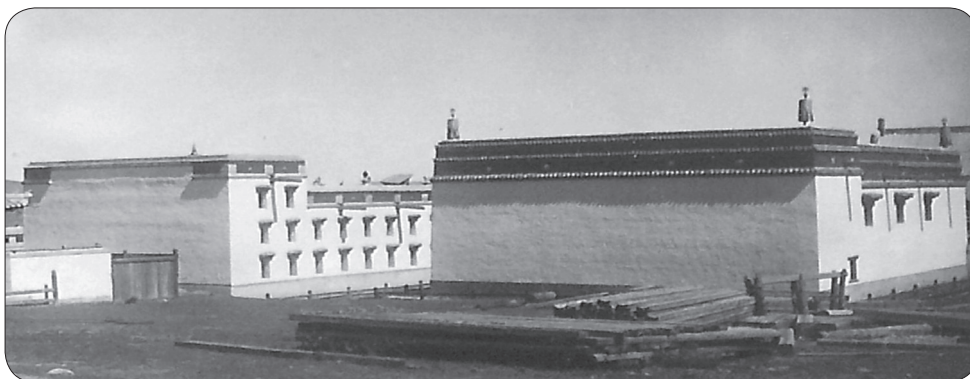
The Züün Semchin in 2011



Museum of Arkhangai Province

Agwa/Awag Datsan

According to Pozdneev the Tantric Temple, *Agwa* or *Awag datsan* (T. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang*) was built in pure Tibetan style, and was the oldest temple in the *khüree*. He claims that *Güshig datsan* and *Günreg datsan* were built after *Agwa datsan*.²¹⁴ According to another source, the Tantric monastic school was founded in 1746 based on the rules of the Tibetan Tashilhunpo monastery.²¹⁵ *Agwa datsan* tantric school is also part of the Tibetan Sera Monastery as well as Tashilhunpo Monastery. The main protector of *Agwa datsan* in *Zayaiin khüree* was *Chojil* (T. *chos-rgyal*, S. Dharmarājā, epithet of Yama) and at the night of the 29th of the last winter month *Chojiliin dügjüü* (T. *chos-rgyal drug-bcu*, 'sixty to *Chojoo*', a kind of sacrificial cake offered to *Chojoo*, the Lord of Death) was performed in honour of him here.²¹⁶ According to Bumsan monk (a monk of the current community who studies in India), in *Agwa datsans* rituals are usually held by 60 monks. His teacher, Luwsan monk, one of the keyfigures of the revival, belonged to *Agwa datsan* in the 1930's where *Sakhuis* and other ceremonies were held. Photos by S. Kondratiyev define that the temple *Jüd datsan* (T. *rgyud grwa-tshang*) was situated once behind the main assembly hall, between the two temples of *Demchig* and *Güshig datsan*. This is the same as *Agwa datsan* as it was the tantric school of the *khüree* names here as *Agwa* instead of *Jüd*. However, S. Tüdeu claims that *Choir datsan* was located behind the main assembly hall, but all other sources confirm that it was a tantric school. The foundation of this building is still clearly visible.



Agwa (Jüd) datsan was situated behind the *Tsogchin* temple with *Güshig datsan* on its east. Photo by S. A. Kondratiyev in the 1920's.
Klyagina-Kondratiyeva 2013, p. 124.



Agwa datsan site

Güshig Datsan

Güshig datsan (T. *sku skyes-kyi grwa-tshang*, *sku skyes*: ‘incarnation, tulku’) was founded at the beginning of the 18th century. Pozdneev claims that *Güshig datsan* was the favourite temple of the Second Zaya gegeen (1717-1765), who placed several Buddha statues there.²¹⁷ He adds, that though there were Mongolian subscriptions above the temple gates in Deed khüree, by 1892 only that of the *Güshig datsan* remained saying ‘*Tusa amuyulang-un oron tarni-yin tib*’ (‘Peaceful place tantric temple’).

Pozdneev adds that this temple was built after *Agwa datsan*, in Tibeto-Chinese style. In the *Güshig datsan Tüwchid* ceremony (ceremony unidentified) was held annually, as well as *Sandui* ceremony for 15 days.²¹⁸

The temple was located east of *Agwa datsan*, west of *Günreg datsan*, and north of the Palace. Its foundation is still clearly visible.

Based on the old photos Maidar and Laagan described the special design of *Güshig datsan*:²¹⁹ the front part of the Tibetan-style white coloured building was two-storey, and the rear part was three-storey. It had flat roof and big trapezoid shaped windows.



*Güshig datsan. Photo by S. A. Kondratiyev in the 1920's.
Klyagina-Kondratiyeva 2013, p. 122.*



Güshig datsan site from the South

Günreg Datsan

Günreg datsan (T. *kun rigs grwa-tshang*) was named after *Günreg Nambarnanzad* (T. *kun-rig(s) rnam-par snang-mdzad*, S. Sarvavidyā Vairocana, a form of Vairocana Buddha). A *Günreg süm* was founded in 1679 by Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei.²²⁰ Pozdneev claims that *Günreg datsan* was built in Tibeto-Chinese style, after the buildings of *Agwa datsan*, and *Güshig datsan*.²²¹ *Günreg datsan* was situated north-east of the Palace, east of *Güshig datsan*. Its foundation is still visible, but through its eastern part a road leading to the new stairs leading to *Galdan zuu* up the hill was built. A somewhat smaller building was situated east of *Günreg datsan*, and

another temple stood in front.

The one-storey building of *Günreg datsan* was not high but it had a high tiled roof. Its walls were built of brick in a slanting way and were whitewashed. It had trapezoid shaped Tibetan style windows. The whole building was nicely decorated by different ornaments, this mainly being a frieze around the building below the roof.

In this temple *Günregiin chogo* (T. *cho-ga*) ceremony used to be held. The countryside temple of this *datsan* is described separately, and once stood in the area of today's Erdenemandal subprovince.



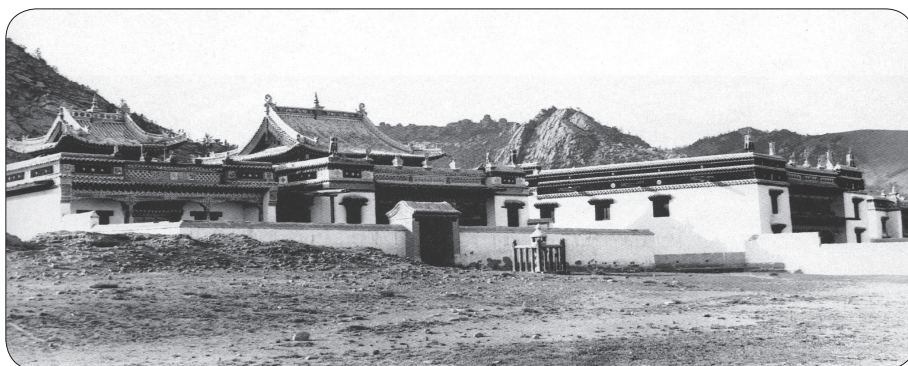
Günreg datsan with a small temple in its east and Galdan zuu in the background. Photo by S. A. Kondratyev in the 1920's. Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013, p. 128.



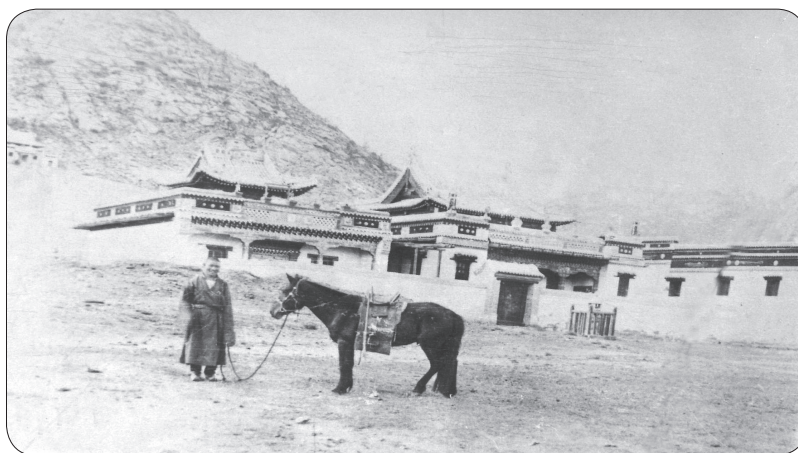
Güshig and Günreg datsan site form the North

Demchig Datsan, Two Temples of Demchig Taij

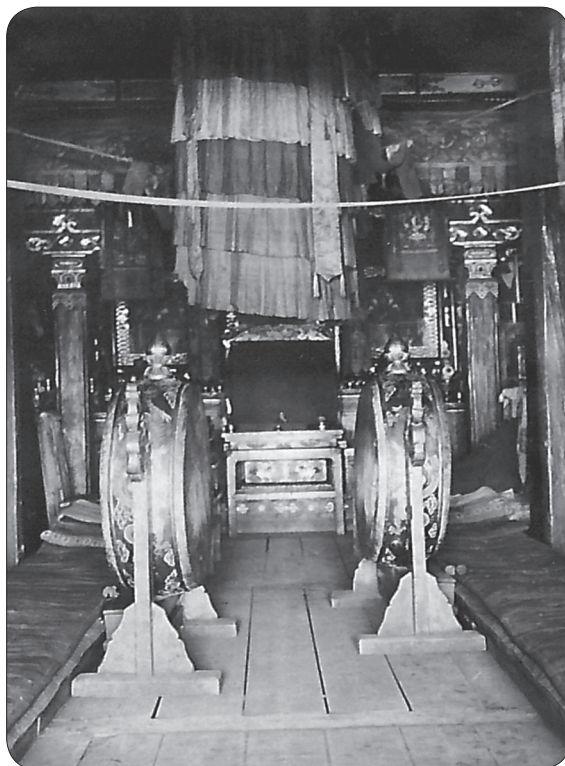
Sources mention *Demchig datsan* (T. *bde-mchog*, S. Cakrasamvara), *Demchig süm* and also the two temples of *Demchig taij* (prince). These must relate to the same two temples once standing next to each other. *Demchig süm* was originally founded in 1679 by Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei.²²² Pozdneev claims, that next to the three oldest temples, namely *Agwa datsan*, *Güshig datsan*, and *Günreg datsan*, two new temples were built in honour of *Demchig*.²²³ Of the two the western one was built later, as it is visible from two old photos taken at different years showing the monastery from the north. The two temples of *Demchig taij* were situated within a courtyard, north of *Norowsambuugiin süm*, northwest of the *Tsogchin* temple and west of *Agwa datsan*.²²⁴



*Two temples of Demchig taij, and Agwa datsan.
Date and photographer unknown. Film Archives No. K-23735.*



*Two temple of Demchig taij. Date and photographer unknown.
Photo kept in the Museum of Arkhangai Province.*



*Interior of Demchig datsan. Photo by S. A. Kondratiyev in the 1920's.
Klyagina-Kondratiyeva 2013, p. 155.*



Demchig datsan site

S. Tüdeu belonged to *Demchig datsan* when he was a child. He says that the temple was located on the northwest side of the main assembly hall, and the west side of the *Choir datsan* [other sources say *Agwa datsan* stood there, not the *Choir*]. The main worshipped deity of *Demchig datsan* was *Shalsh* (T. *zhal bzhi*, the four-faced Mahākāla). According to S. Tüdeu, the temple's protector was *Lkham*, and the *datsan* had about 50 monks in the 1920's. *Demchig khural* was held there regularly and in each season.²²⁵ The foundations of these two temples are still visible, though the southern part of both are inside courtyards of families. The countryside temple of this *datsan* is described separately, and once stood in the area of today's Erdenemandal subprovince.

Jaarai Datsan

According to Pozdneev *Jaarai süm* was situated on the right side of the *Lawran* and was a large Tibetan-style temple.²²⁶ Its exact location is unknown though as no other sources confirm its site, but it is sure that it was one of the several temples to the east of *Lawran*, possibly to the north of *Khamchingiin süm* / *Khanchin süm* or *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

The main object of worship of *Jaarai datsan* was *Janraiseg* (T. *spyān-ras-gzigs*, S. Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of Compassion).²²⁷ This *datsan* had about 200 monks. It had its own *jas*. Its monks came from the present area of Bayan-Ulaan sum, Ögii nuur of Khotont sum, Tsenkher sum, and Töwshrüülekh sum. Its rural *dugan* was situated in the present centre of Töwshrüülekh sum, which had few monks.²²⁸ According to S. Tüdeu in *Jaarai datsan* monks dealt with astrology, drought and livestock protection. It was a three-storey building, built in a terraced form in Tibetan-Chinese mixed style. The windows were trapezoid formed Tibetan-style ones, and there were mirror ornaments (*tol'*) above them. In the top of the roof there was a *ganjir* top ornament and there were also *jaltsan* banners of victory (T. *rgyal-mtshan*). A source claims that Avalokiteśvara Temple (*Janraisegiin süm*, T. *spyān-ras gzigs*) was founded in 1738.²²⁹ It might be the same as *Jaarai datsan*.



Jaarai datsan from the West. Photo by S. A. Kondratiyev in the 1920's. Klyagina-Kondratiyeva 2013, p. 130.



Jaarai datsan. Date and photographer unknown. Photo kept in the Museum of Arkhangai Province.

Sandui Datsan

Sandui datsan (T. *gsang-'dus grwa-tshang*, S. Guhyasamāja) was situated on the west of the main assembly hall. Pozdneev claims that to the left side of the *Tsogchin* was the *Sandui süm*, which was built in Tibetan style.²³⁰ According to Ölzii, it stood west of *Norowsambuugiin süm* and *Yamandagiin süm*.²³¹ Its main object of worship should have been *Sandui*. The temple had a reincarnating monk, Sanduin *khuwilgaan* ('reincarnation of Sandui (datsan)') who had a separate residence, *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*.

Sanduin Khuwilgaanii Dugan

Sandui dugan (T. *gsang-'dus*, S. Guhyasamāja) was the temple which was founded in 1652 or in 1653 by Luwsanprinlei's father and Danzan toin, in the foreground of Bulgan uul (N 47°28'46,2" E 101°27'05,3" elevation 1700m).²³² According to Kh. Baasanjargal abbot, apart from Zaya gegeen, *Sanduin khuwilgaan* was the other reincarnating monk of the *khüree*, the reincarnation of *Sandui datsan*. He had a residence and a temple to perform services. According to S. Tüdeu, Sanduin khuwilgaan was a Mongolian monk, about 40-50 years old in the 1930's. He was captured in 1937-38. His temple, *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* had survived the destructions and was used as a museum of religion during socialism. In 1990, the present monastery, Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid started its operation in this building. It is said that this temple was the oldest building of the *khüree*. A foundation of another temple building once conjoining this temple is still visible on the west of the remained building. As old photos show these two temples faced south-west, while all the other temples of the *khüree* faced south. There is no evidence whether this temple is the same as the *Sandui dugan* founded originally in 1652/1653 or not. According to Daajaw the ornament of *Sanduin khuwilgaanii süm* is said to have been created by Dambiin *maaramba* to symbolise the 21 *otog* (clan) of Dalai wan.²³³ The temple building's roof is decorated by vajras, and its facade is ornamented by skulls and other motifs. The present monk community do a lot for the renovation of their temple (see details in chapter "Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid (Gandangejeelin)").



The temple building in 2010



012 Repainted temple roof



Interior of the temple



Cellar



Vajra roof



A pillar

Bulganii Dugan / Bulgan Uuliin Takhilgiin Süm

Luwsanjigmednamjil, the Fourth *gegeen* (1804-1866/1867) founded the “Temple of worship of Bulgan uul’ (*Bulganii takhilgiin süm*) in 1859²³⁴ or 1889.²³⁵ It was also called as *Bulganii dugan* or *Bulganii süm*. It was situated on the foot of Bulgan uul, north of Deed khüree, at the back of *Güshig datsan*. Pozdneev claims that north of the monastery, on the hillside there was the *Bulgan süm*, dedicated to the “dragon” of the hill. Two or three times a year monks worshipped there, on the veneration of the *owoo*, worship of fire, and other.²³⁶ He adds that Bulgan uul was venerated by the monks of the monastery. S. Tüdeu claims that this temple which was situated on the hillside, south of *Galdan zuu* contained a sitting *Zuu* Buddha statue. He also named this temple as the ‘other *Zuu* temple’. Old photos show a small temple which was situated behind *Güshig datsan*.

Galdan Zuu (or Tsetsen Wangiin Dugan / Said Wangiin Dugan)

Pozdneev claims that the temple (*dugan*) of Said wan or Tsetsen wan was situated on the foot of Bulgan uul (GPS: N 47°29’01,7” E 101°26’58,5” elevation 1757m), where a *takhilch* offering preparer monk read *jasaa* and made offerings every day. This temple was built in honour of the Second Zaya *gegeen* (1717-1765), who was a descendant of Tsetsen wan.²³⁷ This temple was situated on the foreground of Bulgan uul, North of Deed khüree. The old chapel housed the statue of *Zuu*, the young form of Çäkyamuni Buddha, which was given by Galdan boshigt in the 17th century. Jambatseren, the Sixth *gegeen* had the floor of the *Galdan zuu* temple paved for the visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.²³⁸ According to S. Tüdeu monk, the statue of *Galdan zuu* was 70-80 centimetres tall, and the monks of the former Said wangiin khüree (present Ikh-Tamir sum, Arkhangai aimag) came here and performed offerings twice a year. According to the monks of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid this temple was on the border of the area of Zaya

gegeen and Said wan. Regarding the old *Zuu* statue Bumsan monk have heard from his master that it was as tall as a man.

Galdan zuu was demolished in 1946, and its wooden material was taken away and reused. D. Chimedbazar claims that it was rebuilt in 1992-1993, and he participated in its rebuilding. This temple was completed in 1994 at its original site. In 2008 a concrete stair was built leading to the temple and a new, Korean-style Buddha statue was built in front of it (unfortunately the road leading to the starting arch of the stair was built through on the site of one of the main temples, *Günreg*, and of another temple on its east). In 2011 the statues of *Zuu* (*burkhan*) and his two disciples were created by G. Pürewbat monk artist of Gandan monastery, in accordance with the original *Zuu* statue. Today, this temple is subordinated to Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid and has a guardian monk.



*Galdan zuu temple. Date and photographer unknown.
Photo kept in the Museum of Arkhangai Province.*

Other Temples

Choir Datsan

The philosophical monastic school (T. *chos-grwa grwa-tshang*) was founded during the period of the Second *gegeen*, Luwsangelegnamjil / Luwsannyandagelegnamjil (1717-1765), upon the order of the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1733.²³⁹ The philosophical monastic school followed the views of the *Serjee* (T. *Se-rva byes*) handbook.²⁴⁰ *Ikh Choir* ('Great Choir') ceremony lasting for 30 days and *Baga Choir* ('Small Choir') ceremony lasting for 15 days were held here annually.²⁴¹ Usually in monastic schools that follow the views of *Serjee* handbook, the main tutelary deity is *Yansan yadam* (or Damdin Yansan, T. yang-gsang yi-dam/ rta-mgrin yang-gsang,

S. Hayagrīva), so it is supposed that he was the main tutelary deity of this *Choir datsan*, too. According to S. Tüdew's account in the philosophical monastic school a gilded object of worship was housed which was as tall as a man. He claims that the *Choir* had 20-40 monks, or at most 100, as all the other *datsans* of the *khüree*. *Gawjiin damjaa* (T. *dka' bcu'i dam-bca'*, 'ten hardships') and *Domiiin damjaa* (T. *sdom-pa'i dam-bca'*) philosophical exams were taken there. He mentioned famous *gawj* monks who belonged to the *khüree* in the 1930's: Awirmed *gawj*, Gorziin Rintendorj (?) *umzad* (T. *dbu-mdzad*, chanting master), and three monks from Erdenemandal sum, Balganjaw/Badamjaw *gawj*, Dowdonnyam *gawj*, and Urtaa *gawj*. The monks of the *Choir datsan* used to worship Bayanberkh uul in the East. According to Tüdew, *Choir datsan* was situated behind the main assembly hall, east of *Demchig datsan* and west of *Güshig datsan*. However, the photo descriptions, Pozdneev and also Ölzii say that it was *Agwa datsan* that was situated behind the main assembly hall. The location of *Choir* temple is unknown therefore. *Jee datsan* is mentioned sometimes in sources, which might refer to *Choir datsan*, as *Jee* may be the short form of *Sera Jee* monastic school of Sera monastery, the handbook of which was followed in the *Choir* of Zayaaiin khüree.

Tseweelin / Tseweglingiin Süm

Tseweelin or *Tseweglin* (T. *tshé dpag gling?*) might have been a temple of *Tsewegmed* (or *Tsegmed*, *Ayuush*, T. *tshé dpag-med*, S. Amitāyus), the Buddha of Boundless Life, with him as the main object of worship. Data on its history, exact site, and ceremonies are not available.

Yamandagiin Süm

The Yāmāntaka temple (T. *gshin-rje-gshed*, S. Yāmāntaka)²⁴² was situated southwest of the main assembly hall, east of *Sandui datsan*.²⁴³ Yāmāntaka should have been its main object of worship. Data on the history, exact site, and ceremonies of the temple are not available. Yāmāntaka is better known in Mongolia under the name *Jigjid* (T. *'jigs byed*, S. Bhairava).

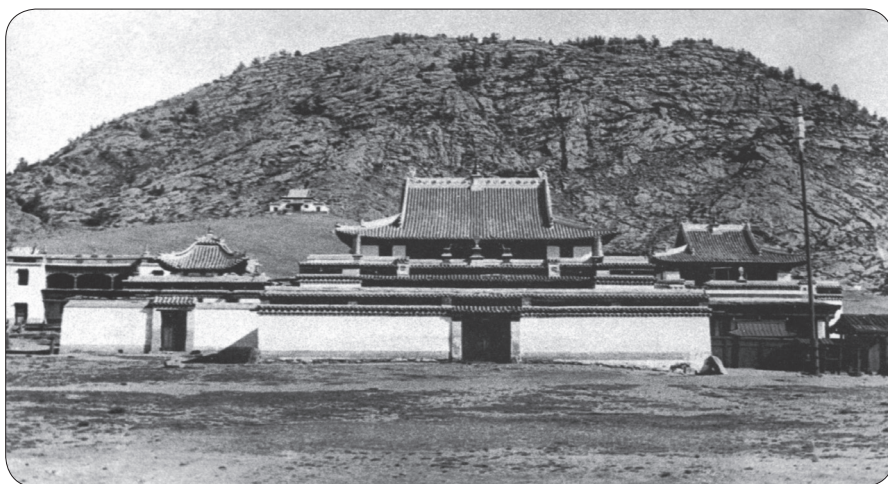
Norowsambuugiin Süm

Norowsambu (T. *nor-bu bzang-po*) is an epithet of Jambala, the god of wealth. Jambala might have been the main object of worship in this temple. Data on its history and ceremonies are not available. This temple building was situated north of *Yamandagiin süm*, west or north-west of the *Tsogchin* temple, in front of the two temples of *Demchig taij*.²⁴⁴ On its presumed site the new monastery, Ölzii badruulagch khiid was built.

Khamchin(giin) Süm, Dar' Ekhiin Dugan, Choijin Süm, and Yadamiin Süm

According to S. Tüdew, *Dar' ekh* temple (T. *sgrol-ma*, S. Tārā) was situated somewhere around the main assembly hall. However, an old photo shows that it was situated to the east or north-east of the Palace. Tārā should have been its main object of worship. Its countryside temple was situated in Erdenemandal subprovince.

Sources and also old pictures claim that to the east of the *Lawran* three temples stood, presumably *Choijin süm* (T. *chos-skyong*, S. Dharmapāla), *Dar' ekhiin süm*, and *Yadamiin süm* (T. *yi-dam*, 'tutelary deity'),²⁴⁵ but according to an old picture and its caption these three temples were called together *Khamchingiin süm*. It might be the same as *Khanchin süm* (T. ?) which was founded in 1739.²⁴⁶ *Choijin(giin) süm* was founded in 1889 having debt from Buyandalai püüs.²⁴⁷ Data on the history and ceremonies of these temples are not available.



Dar' ekh temple / *Khamchingiin süm*. Date and photographer unknown.
Photo kept in the Museum of Arkhangai Province.

Zurkhai Datsan

Data on the location of this temple is contradictory, even it is unsure if it stood in Deed or Dood khüree. According to S. Tüdew, *Zurkhai datsan* stood in Deed khüree, as well as a temple of Padmasambhava (Lowon Badamjunai). Yadamsüren claims that *Zurkhai datsan* was part of Dood khüree and Padmasambhava was worshipped in Dood khüree.²⁴⁸ He adds that *maaramba* and *zeerembe* ranks could have been taken in Dood khüree. The profile of *Zurkhai datsans* was astrology and astronomy.

Shagdariin Dugan / Ochirwaaniin Süm

According to Ölzii,²⁴⁹ *Shagdariin dugan* (T. *phyag rdor*, S. Vajrapāṇi) was the most eastern one of the big temples: *Demchig*, *Agwa*, *Güshig*, and *Günreg*, situated at the back of *Tsogchin* and *Lawran* in one line. It stood east of *Günreg datsan*. (However, Tüdeu said that *Jüd datsan* might have been somewhere here, and he did not mention *Shagdar*). No other source mentions this temple, and data on its history, exact site, and ceremonies are not available. For Vajrapāṇi the name *Ochirwaan*’ is frequently used, but the name *Shagdar* is rather rare.



Part of Günreg datsan, the temple situated east of it, and Tsogt uul hill in the background. Date and photographer unknown. Film Archives No. K-23714.

Sharaw

According to Ölzii, Sharaw (T. *shes-rab*, S. *prajñā*, ‘knowledge’) temple (it is not determined whether *süm* or *dugan*) stood south of *Günreg datsan* and *Shagdariin dugan*.²⁵⁰ This means it stood in one line with *Tsogchin* on its east, at the north or north-east of the *Lawran*. No other source mentions it, and data on its history, exact site, and ceremonies are not available.

Niser Burkhanii Süm

The Sixth *gegeen*, Jambatseren founded the Temple of Niser (*Niser burkhanii süm*, the exact meaning and origin of the word Niser is unknown) at Bulgan uul.²⁵¹ It was erected for the local spirit of the mountain. The exact site of this chapel is unknown.

Düinkhor Datsan

It is not known if the Kālacakra temple (*Düinkhoriin süm/dugan*, T. *dus-'khor*) temple stood in Deed or Dood khüree. It was founded by Luwsanjigmednamjil, the Fourth gegeen (1804-1866/1867) in 1829.²⁵² Data on its exact site and ceremonies is not available. Usually in *Düinkhor datsans* the Kālacakra system is studied, introduced in Tibet by Atīśa in the 11th century. Ceremonies, ritual dances are held and mandalas are prepared in accordance with this system.

Owoos, Rock Paintings, Stupas, Prayer Wheels

On the rocks of Bulgan uul paintings of Tsongkhapa with his two disciples, Khaidüw Je (T. Mkhas-grub rje, 1385-1438) and Gyaltsaw Je (Jaltsaw je, T. Rgyal-tshab rje, 1364-1432), Tārā and Buddha were painted. Eight of these rock paintings remained up to today. They, especially Tsongkhapa, are venerated by monks and men. According to S. Tüdeu the image of Tsongkhapa painted on the rocks is not very old, but was painted during the [end of the] Manchu period, and was surrounded by a white brim. Pozdneev also mentions these rock paintings.²⁵³ The images were repainted in 2013 for the initiation of S. Bayantsagaan, head of Lamrim datsan in Ulaanbaatar.



The rock painting of Tsongkhapa

Old photos show that an *owoo* was located North of the *khüree*, at the halfway to *Galdan zuu*, and a square-shaped formation, a small building which may have been called *Mörgöliin dörwöljin* ('square shaped object for prostration'), was situated on the hillside as well. As an old photos shows, a kneeling figure made of clay was on

top of it. According to S. Tüdeu, there were about 80 sculptures inside it.



*Mörgöliin dörwöljin. Date and photographer unknown.
Film Archives, No. K-23736*



*Mörgöliin dörwöljin. Date and photographer unknown. Photo Archives of the
National Academy of Sciences. Big album No. 5., Photo No. 278.*

The monks of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid venerate Bulgan uul annually, as it was also the tradition of the monks of Zayaiin khüree. Today the *owoo* is situated behind *Galdan zuu*, on the way leading up to the rock paintings. Numerous *khadag* silken ceremonial scarves (T. *kha-btags*), and *dartsag* prayer flags (T. *dar lcog*), and other offerings decorate it. The incense offering of Bulgan uul written during the period of the Third gegeen, Luwsanjigmeddorj (1766/1767-1803) is part of the everyday chanting of the monks, but a thick sutra of the veneration of Bulgan uul also exists.

There were two stupas in front of the main assembly hall, and three or eight stupas stood once at the foot of Bulgan uul, as a photo taken in 1909 by S. Pälši shows and as S. Tüdeu accounts.

Pozdneev claims that the *khüree* was very clean, and at its four sides there were *jaltsan* banners of victory (T. *rgyal-mtshan*) and prayer wheels.²⁵⁴ A prayer wheel was situated in front of the main assembly hall and rows of prayer wheels were located in the eastern courtyard of the main assembly hall. There was a circumambulation road (*goroo*, T. *skor*) around Deed khüree, as usual.



Owoo at Bulgan uul

Ministry and Prison

S. Tüdeu claims that the livestock of the monastery was herded in various different pastures. Herds and flocks belonged to all temples or their *jas* units, and all of them had own shepherds in the countryside: *Demchig datsan* had a shepherd, *Tsogchin* temple had a shepherd, etc. The livestock was called after the name of the given temple it belonged to, such as *Shüngiin mal* (*Shün*, T. *gzhung* ‘scripture’, this school was situated in Dood khüree), *Choiriin mal* (‘Livestock of the *Choir datsan*), etc.

As the *shaw'* area of Zaya gegeen was formed in 1737 when the Second gegeen Luwsangelegnamjil received a seal and authority to have his own subordinated area and people,²⁵⁵ a *Tamgiin gazar* ('place of seal', place of administration) or *Shawiin yaam* or *Shanzawiin/Shanzodwiin yaam*, the Ministry of subordinated area directed by the *Shanzodwa* (T. *phyag-mdzod-pa*, 'treasurer, bursar') was formed to govern the non-religious, but administrative, financial and other issues of the *khüree* and the *shaw'* area. The seal to govern the *shaw'* area was kept in this *Shanzodwiin yaam*, and it was also the local court during the Manchu period. S. Tüdeu claims that the *Shawiin yaam* was situated behind *Sandui dugan* (possibly *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*). It had a huge courtyard. Here monks and laypeople worked until 1937-1938 governed by the *Shanzaw*. According to the census in 1914, about 55 people belonged to the *Shanzodwiin yaam*: the *gegeen* himself, the *Shanzodwa*, the *zaisan* officer, the *maaramba* doctor, and other attendants of the *gegeen* such as the *soiwon* assistant (T. *gsol dpon*), the *soyog* assistant (T. *gsol-g-yog*), the gate-keeper (*khaalgach*), the stableman (*khölögch*), the heater (*galch*), the cook (*manzach*), and about twenty other attendants.²⁵⁶ The last *Shanzaw* lived there until 1925-1926.

The *Tamgiin gazar* or the *Shawiin yaam* was responsible for various tasks.²⁵⁷ The most important one was to handle the incomes and expenses of Zayaiin khüree and its *shaw'* area. Meanwhile, the *gegeen* had his own treasury (*san*). There were different types of incomes of the treasuries or financial units (*jas*). Pozdneev claims that the wealth of *gegeen* or *khutagt* monasteries, the great number of monks, and the frequent visits of devotees attracted Chinese merchants to these monasteries. For the right to trade at a monastery the *khutagt* treasuries exact a contribution from the Chinese. For instance in Erdene zuu monastery (today Öwörkhongai aimag, Kharkhorin khot) this contribution was 20 silver *lan* per year from each Chinese shop, at Baruun khüree (today Öwörkhongai aimag, Kharkhorin sum) it was 12 *lan*, and at Zayaiin khüree it was 25 *lan*.²⁵⁸ At Pozdneev's visit in 1892, about 30 Chinese stores were situated in Zayaiin khüree, but their main activity was not commerce but usury. The *Shanzodwa* of that time had great debts to Bayanjargal usurer who resided in Beijing.²⁵⁹

In the Manchu period the transport of Mongolia was based on the *örtöö* ('relay station') system. The stations were situated about 30 kms from each other. Pozdneev claims that their maintenance was the liability of the four Khalkha *aimags* even in the area of each others.²⁶⁰ Sometimes the *aimags* hired local people to run the operation of a far *örtöö*, and the monasteries of wealthy *khutagts* could maintain *örtöös* as well. The payment for maintenance of these stations was fixed according to the number of departures and the distance of one station

from another. Pozdneev claims that on the road called *Baga örtöonii zam*, which connected Ikh Khüree and Uliastai, the duties of cart drivers at “Shubukhtu” (its exact name and location unknown) and Zuunmod stations (situated once in the southwest part of Arkhangai aimag) were performed by the subordinated people (*shaw’ nar*) of Zaya gegeen which was another sort of income.²⁶¹ Moreover, in many cases camel caravans were also run by wealthy monasteries, and the subordinated people of Zaya gegeen sent a caravan every season to Ikh khüree, or to Uliastai, Khyagt, Khökhkhot, and other cities.²⁶²

Pozdneev claims, that there was a prison at the *Tamgiin gazar* as the *Shanzaw* had jurisdictional duties as well.²⁶³ He met the governor of the jurisdiction of Zaya gegeen on his way from Khowd to Uliastai, who had been ordered to Khowd to receive and bring home certain vagrants belonging to the *shaw’* area of Zaya gegeen.²⁶⁴

Undoubtedly, the biggest income of Zayaiin khüree originated from the *shaw’* people. The families living in the *shaw’* area paid tax to the monastery: about 1000 families (*örkh*) which means about 5000 people belonged to this area,²⁶⁵ 25% of which was monk.²⁶⁶ The *shaw’* area consisted of eight clans (*otog*), and monks of the *shaw’* area were divided to eight *datsans* or *aimags*.²⁶⁷ Generally, people who lived in the *shaw’* area of the *khutagts* were exempted from military service and taxation to local nobles, but they had to herd the *gegeen’s* herds and flocks, and deliver *airag*, milk, butter, meat, fuel for fire, and other goods to the monastery. The main *shaw’* area of Zaya gegeen was the area of the three Tamir Rivers, and the areas of Khangai Mountain range. It covered the area of today’s Erdenemandal sum, a huge part of Battsengel sum, the North-Eastern part of Bulgan sum, the Northern part of Tsenkher sum, the Western edge of Ögiinuur sum, Khotont sum, and the Northern part of Tövshrüülekh sum.²⁶⁸ Each *otog* was led by a *zaisan* chief officer, who were members of the *Tamgiin gazar*, and two officers (*tüshmel*).²⁶⁹

In 1918 1723 families (*örkh*) belonged to the area of Zaya gegeen, among them 4461 men (among them 1993 monks, 2143 subordinates, and 325 other people), and 4025 women, thus all together 8486 people.²⁷⁰ Another source says that during the reign of the Bogd khaan (1911-1921) Zaya gegeen had 1723 *örkh*, 9143 people (2143 *sum albat* subordinates, 2500 *shaw’* subordinates, 2500 monks, 2000 other people).²⁷¹ In 1924 *Zayaiin shaw’* consisted of 2400 families (*örkh*), i.e. 16169 people, living in 16 sub-provinces (*sum*). In December 1924 at the congregation of the representatives from the *shaw’* areas (*shawiin tölölögchidiin khural*) 80 representatives elected Gүj lam Batsuur as *Shanzaw* minister.

There were no agricultural fields in the *shaw’* area, and flour was taken from the area of the River Selenge or from Khökhkhot.²⁷² In 1914 38625 livestock

belonged to Zaya gegeen's personal treasury (*san*), and the financial units (*jas*) of the temples had a total 25000 livestock. The *shaw*' area had 70323 livestock in 1918.²⁷³

Printing House

S. Tüdeu claims that several monks copied books at home, but there was a printing house building in the northeast part of Deed khüree. A clerk (*bicheech lam*) worked there. It was considered as a meritorious job. In printing houses (*barkhan*, T. *par-khang*) monks used to carve blocks and printed books by them. There is no evidence whether blocks were carved and books were printed in Zayaiin khüree in this way, but some blocks have remained and are exhibited in the province museum today.

Monks' Residential Quarters

Monks lived in fenced-off courtyards east (northeast) and west (northwest) of the centre occupied by the Palace and the temples. S. Tüdeu claims that in a yurt usually two monks lived: a master (*bagsh*) and his disciple (*shaw*). Old photos show small wooden buildings rather than yurts within their enclosures.

Usually, monks of a monastery were divided into *aimag* living quarters. Monks coming from the same rural area used to live in the same quarters. In Zayaiin khüree monks were arranged by the eight *datsans*, but the name "*aimag*" was not in frequent use. Today the site of the old quarters can still be made out on the north-west on the slopes, shown by slight elevations on the ground, while courtyards of families are situated west of the ruined main assembly hall. Foundations of temples are visible in their courtyards, and from time to time cups and other small religious items appear from the ground washed out by rain.

Pozdneev claims that the *khüree* was very clean. According to S. Tüdeu litter was thrown to three places: to the East, to the West of *Jamganii gol*, which litter deposit was called *Demchigiin khog* ('litter of *Demchig datsan*'), and to the South side of *Dund gol*, southeast of the *khüree*, which was called *Sanduin khog* ('litter of *Sandui*'). S. Tüdeu claims that no toilet was built that time: one could go to the toilet within the courtyards or on the litter.

Cemetery

Khaan uul, situated in the Northwest of Deed khüree, was the "cemetery" of the *khüree* according to Pozdneev.²⁷⁴ Corpses were put out there as was usual in Mongolia that time: they were wrapped in old sheepskin, tied with ropes and thrown at the foot of the mountain. After half an hour the corpse became the

booty of dogs and birds of prey, and for the next day only its white bones were left. According to Pozdneev, the cemetery of Zayaiin khüree was one of the dirtiest places in Mongolia. S. Tüdew confirmed that corpses of Deed khüree were placed to the west behind *Gants mod* (*Gants modnii rashaan*, a spring by which an only tree is standing, N 47°28'57,2" E 101°25'25,6), in the direction of *Maan't khad* (a rock with the OM MANI PADME HUM mantra, N 47°28'54.9" E 101°26'01,1" elevation 1777m) on a place called *Khanangiin enger*.



The place once used as cemetery of Deed khüree

Lay Quarters

Usually lay population did not reside in the monastic areas, but surrounding the monasteries, and poor families and beggars also could live nearby, mainly around the big monastic sites.

According to the monastic rules, monks were forbidden to make any relationship with women. Those monks who were interested in women or had wives could not live in the monastery, but lived in the countryside. They still came for bigger ceremonies or events.

Believers often visited the monasteries for pilgrimage and worship, or visiting their sons, brothers or other relatives who belonged there, and gave donations (brick tea, dairy products, livestock, silk, juniper, flour, wheat, etc.).

Chinese Quarter with Geser Süm

Near Zayaiin khüree a Chinese quarter was situated. Mongolian monasteries were built of bricks and mud, wood or stone. In the case of buildings made of brick there used to be one or several kilns (*baayuu*) nearby where blue (gray) or red coloured bricks were burnt. As mostly Chinese operated these kilns, and Chinese workers took part in monastery constructions, carving, and decoration of the temples, and also because of commercial purposes, there were small Chinese settlements next to several bigger monasteries. Chinese merchants also had Chinese stores by monasteries (*püüs*, Chinese *pu zi*) in permanent places where animal products (wool, leather, etc.) were bought from Mongolians and foreign products (silk, flour, etc.) were sold for them.

It is claimed that Chinese at Zayaiin khüree lived in some kilometres distance from the current *aimag* centre (GPS: N 47°28'46,6" E 101°27'10,5" elevation 1761m). They produced bricks, and worked on temple buildings as well. In 1840 a Chinese hospital opened here supported by the Fourth gegeen, Luwsanjigmednamjil. Not only Chinese, but Tibetans especially from Amdo province also lived in the *khüree*.²⁷⁵

Pozdneev claims that in 1892 there were about 30 Chinese stores, the main activity of which was not commerce but usury. As many people belonging to Zayaiin khüree and its *shaw'* area had debts to many Chinese, the main business of the stores was not trade but the collection of these debts and their interest. The majority of Chinese arrived here from Beijing, and there was a shop of a Chinese from Khökhkhot, and eighth from Ikh khüree.

At Pozdneev's visit in 1892 there were six important shops where one could find merchandise of Mongolian production. The seventh one of the shop of Bayanjargal.²⁷⁶

According to S. Tüdeu, in the 1920's the Chinese *baayuu* or kiln called Zayaiin baayuu or Ulaan baayuu ('red kiln'), and the Chinese quarter were situated in the west, in the area near the present 2nd Primary School, southwest of *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*. Near Zayaiin khüree Arsgai Bat *püüs* and Tsookhor Khaisandai *püüs* stores are marked on a map displayed at the present museum of Arkhangai aimag. A Chinese merchant, Jan-Kho-Jin is also mentioned.²⁷⁷

S. Tüdeu claims that Chinese did not give loans [anymore] to Mongolians in the 1920's-1930's, and the behaviour and customs of Mongols and Chinese were different. As Chinese men did not take their wives to Mongolia, they had Mongolian wives, and a lot of half-breed was born.

Rinchen marks Geser Temple on his map No. 44., entitled Temples of Other Cultures, as No. 4: Geser Temple of Zayaiin khüree.²⁷⁸ According to S. Tüdew *Geseriin süm* (T. *ge-sar*, Ch. *Guan di/Guan yu*) was situated near the present 2nd Primary School in the Chinese quarter. Horses were decorated by silken scarves and offered to the deities in their honour (*zütlekh, seterlekh*). Statues of heroes (*baatar*) stood inside of *Geser süm*. *Geser süm* was a grey square-shaped temple, a bit different from Mongolian temples. Apart from *Geser süm* there weren't any other temples in the Chinese quarter. There was a big gate with roof. The Chinese had houses different from that of the Mongolians. Several of these survived till today and are still used by families in the south-west part of the city.



The site of Ulaan baayuu



An old Chinese house remained from the Chinese quarter

Geser temple got its name after Guan di, a Taoist god of war who is also respected by Chinese Buddhists. 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. Some temples were founded for his worship with the name *Geser süm* in Mongolia where Chinese lived. According to Rinchen's map No. 44 there were temples dedicated to the honour of Geser in the bigger settlements throughout Mongolia, such as Khowd, Uliastai, Tsetserleg, Khyagt, and in the present Choibalsan. Geser süm was also part of Khand chin wangiin khüree (today Bulgan aimag, Bulgan sum), and Yalguusan khutagtiin khüree (today Zawkhan aimag, Ider sum).

Russian Inhabitants

Though Pozdneev did not meet Russians in 1892 in Zayaiin khüree, not only Chinese, but later Russians were also present near the *khüree*. For example Russian merchants Yura and *öndör* Ivan ('tall Ivan') had three stores. There was also a factory called "*Noost bulan*" ('wool corner') led by Russians situated about 10 kilometres from the *khüree* to the south-west at the bank of the River Tamir. Here wool was washed and cleaned, with about 60 Mongolians hired seasonally in summer and autumn. The cleaned wool was then exported to Russia.²⁷⁹ In the 1920's a teacher called Jekow lived at Zayaiin khüree, and in 1926 three Russian doctors came and worked there permanently in the hospital opened in 1925.²⁸⁰ S. N. Nemoi (1895-1932) was one of the doctors working here. His statue still stands in the city as well as the statue of Kiryakovskij Viktor Stanislavovič (1899-1932).



The monument of the Russian Nemoi doctor

DOOD KHÜREE

Rinchen marks this site on his map of the Arkhangai monasteries as No. 214, with the name *Zayaiin dood khüree* (Ölziig badruulagch, Norowlin, Dood khüree) and gives *Ur'd Tamir gol* (Southern Tamir River) as place name.²⁸¹ Today this area belongs to the 5th *bag* of Erdenebulgan sum. (GPS taken at the remained foundations: N 47° 27' 55.6" E 101° 31' 19.7" elevation 1683m)

Luwsanjigmednamjil, the Fourth *gegeen* (1804-1866/1867) founded *Ölzii badruulagch süm* ('Bliss prospering temple'), that is, the Dood khüree part of *Zayaiin khüree*, from his own money in 1833 on a hill about 5 kilometres east of Deed khüree. The monastery's name *Ölzii badruulagch süm* was given by the Manchu Emperor Tügeemel Elbegt (Xianfeng, 1850-1861) at the request of Luwsanjigmednamjil. Some sources say that it was founded in the foreground of Norowlin uul (Norowlin Mountain), which belonged to the *shaw'* area of the *gegeen*,²⁸² whilst other sources claim that *Norowlin* (T. *nor-bu gling-ka*, 'treasure island') was the name of the hill Dood khüree was founded on, or it was the name of the monastery itself.²⁸³ Luwsanjigmednamjil founded *Manba datsan* (T. *smampa grwa-tshang*) here in 1844 as well as *Myangan burkhanii süm* ('Temple of one-thousand Buddhas (of the good kalpa)'), *Nünnain süm* ('Temple of fasting ritual', T. *smyung gnas*) in 1852, and *Lkham sakhiusnii süm* ('Temple of *Lkham*', T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, S. Śrīdevi) in 1852/53.²⁸⁴

According to Pozdneev,²⁸⁵ the Fifth incarnation, Luwsanchoijiwanchüg, in whose time he visited the *khüree* in 1892 built his palace in Dood khüree in Chinese style, which resulted in a huge debt. However, another source claims that the palace called *Serüün lawran* ('Summer palace') was built in Dood khüree in 1901.²⁸⁶ Daajaw gives 1889 as the date when the building started.²⁸⁷ Pozdneev claims that Dood khüree consisted of five temples in 1892.²⁸⁸ As they were newly founded, were very beautiful: the palace of the *gegeen* was situated in the very centre of the monastery and with its adjoining structures occupied the whole eastern part of the monastery. In front of the monastery, or rather in front of the palace of the *gegeen*, there was a broad parade ground within a wooden enclosure. A gate led from it into the enclosure of the *gegeen*'s palace and the chief temple. The palace was a regular Chinese building, and its furnishings were purely Chinese.

Ölzii also claims that Dood khüree had about five temples with the Palace in the middle. The palace and the main temples were surrounded by a fence, which had three gates. Dwellings and yurts were situated in the East.²⁸⁹

All the relevant sources agree that there were two *datsans* and two *aimags* with monk dwellings belonging to Dood khüree.²⁹⁰ Dood khüree had 238 monks, and 6 *jas* units before the destructions as Choros says.²⁹¹

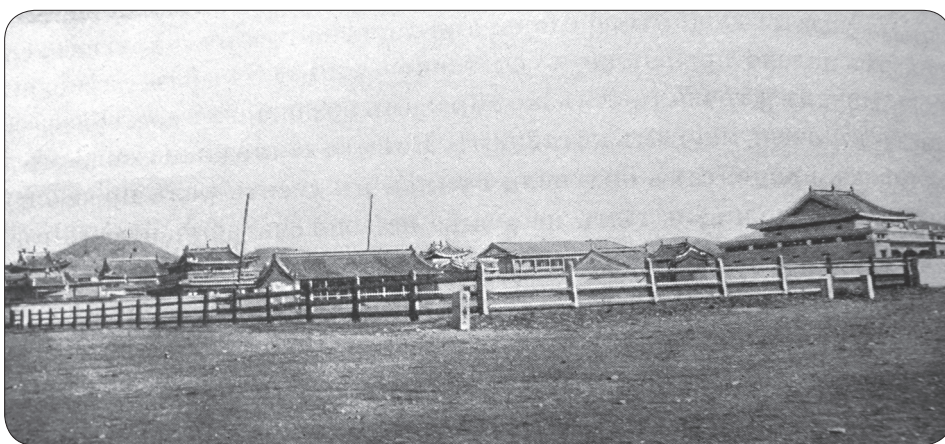
Other sources confirm that Dood khüree had about 250 monks when its operation stopped in 1938.

According to S. Tüdeu, five temples and the *Mamba datsan* were situated in Dood khüree. In the middle the building of the Palace (*Lawran*) was situated, and there were four stupas. *Manba datsan* was situated next to the *Lawran*. Behind the Palace, temples and stupas stood, and there were 8-9 prayer wheels as well.

Dood khüree did not have a *Tsogchin* temple, only a “temple for preparation” called *Shün* or *Süngüi* (T. *gzhung* ‘scripture’, or maybe *gzhung-lugs*, scriptural tradition’. *Shün* temple had its own livestock called *Shüngiin mal*. *Mamba datsan* was definitely situated there, but from his account it is not known what was the other *datsan* of Dood khüree (maybe the *Shün* temple itself).

The monks had their living courtyards surrounding Dood khüree. Yadamsüren claims that *Zurkhai datsan* (T. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*, astrological monastic school) was also part of Dood khüree and Padmasambhava was worshipped there.²⁹² Other sources do not confirm this statement.

He adds that *maaramba* (T. *sman-rams-pa*) and *zeerembe* (T. *rtsis-rims-pa*) exams could have been taken in Dood khüree, which is also unsure.



Dood khüree. Photo by A. M. Pozdneev in 1892. Pozdneev 1896, p. 420. 53.



Remnants of Dood khüree inside the fence



Remnants of Dood khüree temples outside the fence



Remnants of Dood khüree temples

Khaan uul was situated to the north of the monastery site. The monks worshipped this mountain, and an *owoo* still stands there. Monks of *Manba datsan* venerated the *owoo* of Artsat uul. Bayanzürkh Mountain is situated near the site, too. *Sairiin owoo* of the present Tsenkher sum was also venerated by monks of the monastery, as well as Tsenkher uul.

Water for the *gegeen* was delivered from *Gegeenii bulag* ('spring of the *gegeen*') or *Zoogiin bulag* ('spring for meal') which was situated northeast of *Naran bulag* spring. Tüdeu adds that on the road connecting Deed khüree and Dood khüree there were five or six stupas near the source of *Naran bulag* (Naran bulag is situated between Deed khüree and Dood khüree, south of the road, N 47°28.04, 8" E 101°30.22, 2" elevation 1687m). Pozdneev accounts that during his visit on the left side of the wagon road connecting Deed khüree and Dood khüree was a source called *Bogdiin bulag* (it must be the same as *Gegeenii bulag*), and a Tibetan-style temple stood there. There were stupas on the way (the same as Tüdeu accounted).²⁹³

In Dood khüree meditative rituals of *Mamba emiin nom* were recited.²⁹⁴ According to Tüdeu, in Dood khüree *Nügnee* fasting (T. *smyung gnas*, S. *upavasatha*, fasting ritual, fasting practice or retreat) was held in *Mamba datsan* or in *Nügnee süm*.

As for the biggest ceremonial events, preparing from the 4th of the last summer month and practicing on the 14th, Maitreya procession (*Maidar ergek*) was held in Dood khüree on the 15th of the last summer month together with a *Tsam* ritual dance (T. '*chams*') with the following *Tsam* dance characters: two skeletons (*khokhimo*, T. *dur-khrod-kyi bdag-po*, S. Citipati), 16 butterflies (*erweekhii*), the Yellow Old Man (*Shar öwgön*), the Blue Old Man (*Khökh öwgön*), two Indian teachers (*Azar*, T. *a-tsarya / a-tsa-ra*, S. *ācārya*), 32 *Begz* or Red Protector (T. *beg-tse, lcam-sring*), 21 Black hat dancers (*Shanag*, T. *zhwa-nag*), *Gombo* (T. *mgon-po*, S. Mahākāla), *Gongor* (T. *mgon dkar*, S. Sita Mahākāla) *Lkham*, *Shalsh*, *Namsrai* (T. *rnam-(thos)-sras*, S. Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera), *Zamundi*, *Choijoo*, and the deer (*Shiwa*, T. *shwa-ba*) and the bull (T. *ma-he*).²⁹⁵

All in all 97 characters participated in the dance. From the characters listed it seems the dance of this monastery belonged to the *Jakhar Tsam* type (T. *lcags-mkhar*, 'iron palace, residence of Yama').

Other names for this type of *Tsam* can be *Choijoogiin tsam* or *Erleg nomon khaanii tsam* as it is presided by the Lord of Death, *Choijoo* (or *Erleg nomun khaan*, T. *chos-rgyal*, S. Dharmarājā, Yama).

S. Tüdeu also confirms that in Dood khüree *Tsam* dance was held during the Maitreya procession, which event was called *Khuuchin Maidar* ('Old Maitreya

[procession]'), while the Maitreya procession of Deed khüree was known as *Shine Maidar* ('New Maitreya [procession]'). *Sor* (T. *zor*, a wooden construction with a sacrificial cake inside) was not burnt during this *Tsam*.

According to S. Tüdew, Dood khüree had a separate cemetery: the corpses of monks of Dood khüree were placed at a place called Khuurai, which is today a refuse dump (GPS was taken in the nearby area N 47°28'20,2" E 101°31'57,1" elevation 1713m).

According to his account some parts of Dood khüree were used as military barracks after the closure of the monastery, and in the beginning of the 1940's a biocombinat was founded there, which moved later to Songino, near Ulaanbaatar. In the beginning of the 1950's an agricultural training school (*Khödöö aj akhuin tekhnikum*) was operating there, which was moved later to Dundgow' aimag.

In the beginning of the 1960's a school of young herders was located there, and since the 1970's a technical school (*Tekhnik mergejiliin surguul'*) has been operating on the site. Today the area where once Dood khüree stood is occupied by this technical school (*Mergerjil Surgaltiin Üildwerleliin Töw*) having about 860 students and 40 teachers.

All of the buildings of the *khüree* were destroyed or demolished, though in 2008 one of them still stood according to Kh. Baasanjargal abbot. According to the people belonging to the school staff the remained building was demolished in 2003, and until that time their shepherd lived there.

The director of the school, D. Gantömör states that the excavated stones of Dood khüree were moved to the new Ölzii badruulagch monastery, and the one which was excavated in 2008 as the last one was placed in front of the province theatre.

Several ornamented stones were found under the present buildings. Today only heaps of bricks and foundations of about three buildings are visible there, within the fence of the school on the southwest. These stone foundations are 40-50 cms high.

Ruins indicate that other buildings stood once in the south and in the north out of the fence. Some foundations are also visible in the courtyard of the school in the north.

LIFE IN ZAYAIIN KHÜREE

Legends Regarding the Foundation of the Monastery

Several legends are known about the history of Zayaiin khüree. Bulgan uul has been worshipped for a long time. The mountain behind that was called Khairkhan and its five peaks together were called Erdene, thus its name became Erdene Bulgan Khairkhan. Around Bulgan uul there is a strictly protected area of 48 km².²⁹⁶ There is a legend about the foundation of the monastery: Zaya geegen and Said wan were wandering around to find a suitable place to found a monastery. At Chonotiin Khöndii during the night a flower was growing out of their bowl, which they realised as the sign of founding the perfect place to build a monastery.²⁹⁷ According to another legend Öndör geegen Zanabazar, Manzshir khutagt (or according to another variant, Lamiin geegen), and Zaya bandid spent a night near Bulgan uul.²⁹⁸ They agreed that one of them, whose alms bowl will have a flower for the morning can establish a monastery there, named *Buyan delgerüülekh*. At dawn Zaya bandid saw that a flower was growing out in Öndör geegen's alms bowl, and quickly changed it with his empty bowl. In the morning Öndör geegen when waking up said: "Fortune favours youthfulness: let it be your area with 10,000 *shaw*' and much merits", but he also whispered in Zaya geegen's ears: "Don't forget that your subordinates will be with "long hands" (i.e. will be thieves)". There is an old traditional 'long song' (*urtiin duu*) entitled *Erdene bulganii öwör*, which mentions the *khüree*, too.



Erdene Bulgan Khairkhan

Visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Other Eminent Monks

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama (T. Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho, 1876-1933) stayed in Ikh khüree (Urga) in 1904-1905 for a longer period escaping from Tibet. After his arrival at Ikh khüree Zaya gegeen (Jambatseren) was brought in a bend (*ölgii*) to worship him. The Dalai Lama took him on his lap and cut off some of his hair with a little golden scissors saying: "I need this very much." Then he said: "Before this lama becomes eighteen you must send him to me at Lhasa."²⁹⁹

Departing Ikh khüree, the Dalai Lama passed the winter of 1905 in Khand chin wangiin khüree (present Bulgan aimag, Bulgan sum), and in spring he went to Zayaiin khüree, and spent the summer there, and in autumn he proceeded to Beijing.³⁰⁰ I. Lomakina claims that when heading for Kumbum Monastery, the Dalai Lama visited Zayaiin khüree, Erdene zuu, and Sain noyonii khüree (present Öwörkhongai aimag, Uyanga sum) on his way.³⁰¹ About this trip the secretary of the Russian Consul, Kuziminskij accounts that the Dalai Lama spent three weeks in Zayaiin khüree, and finally left on 5 July, 1906. The local princes organised a *Tsam* dance and a *Naadam* festival in his honour, and local people offered ten great horses for the safety of his trip.³⁰² S. Tüdeu claims that the Dalai Lama stayed in the *khüree* in the year of the sheep (1907), and acknowledged Jambatseren, the new incarnation of Zaya gegeen that time. In general, 1906 is considered to be the date of the visit of the Dalai Lama.

According to the legend Jamganii bulag, a spring near to the east of Deed khüree in the northeast valley of Bulgan uul (GPS: N 47°29'18,5" E 101°27'16,2"), came out on the place when His Eminence the Dalai Lama referred as Jamgan rinpoche (T. *skyabs mgon rin-po-che*, 'his eminence, supreme protector') visited the site (a variation is, as S. Tüdeu explained, that Jamgan rinpoche created the spring with his stick, whilst another variation is that Jamgan rinpoche peed there).

The visit of the Dalai Lama was a great event in the life of the *khüree*. His bed is said to have been stored after his visit in *Baruun semchin*.³⁰³ According to S. Tüdeu three Tibetan lamas resided in the *khüree* in the 1920-1930's and one of them definitely participated in the ceremonies in the main assembly hall. One of them was called Lodoi *töwd* ('the Tibetan Lodoi', T. *blo-gros*). These three Tibetans were like ambassadors nowadays, kinds of representatives of the Dalai Lama.

Zayaiin khüree had other guests as well since the time of Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei. Regarding Naran khutagt's lineage the Tibetan Sodnomchoijinyam (T. Bsod-nams chos-kyi nyi-ma) was invited to pacify local spirits. He was invited for the opening ceremony of Zayaiin khüree at the time of Luwsanprinlei.³⁰⁴ Shiwa shireet honoured Zaya gegeen.³⁰⁵ An eminent philosopher monk, Erdene mergen bandid Agwaanishsambuu (1847-1896) of Züün So güunii khüree (Bulgan aimag,

Büregkhangai sum) wrote many of his works in Zayaiin khüree (referred as *Zaya bandidiin gazar*),³⁰⁶ and he may have been acknowledged from this monastery.³⁰⁷ Darwa bandid Agwaanchoijürdondow (1870-1928) studied in Zayaiin khüree when he was young.³⁰⁸ Ser-Od *gewsh* (1900-1998), also known as Baruun bagsh, studied philosophy in Zayaiin khüree.³⁰⁹

From Asaatiin khüree Khanchin khamba (T. *mkhan-po*, abbot) Jamiyaangaraw visited Zayaiin khüree in 1904 to meet the Thirteenth Dalai Lama there. Lügrig Dandar *maaramba* (1831-1920) who lived in Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree (or Tariatiin khüree, today Arkhangai aimag, Tariat sum) met the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and his two doctors in 1904 in Zayaiin khüree.³¹⁰ Though the Dalai Lama travelled via Sain noyon khan aimag to Ikh khüree in 1904, there is no evidency whether he passed Zayaiin khüree in 1904. Khanchin khamba and Lügrig Dandar might meet the Dalai Lama only in Ikh Khüree. Sources mentions the Dalai Lama's visit in Zaya gegeenii khüree only in 1906 (Tüdeu says *khon' jil*, 'sheep year', 1907).

Monks of Zayaiin khüree also visited other temples and monasteries mainly in the *shaw'* area, or in the vicinity of the *khüree*. Monks of Zayaiin khüree and its *shaw'* area also resided in Ikh khüree, which was the biggest *khüree* and the residence of the Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagt. They lived in Anduugiin aimag or Anduu nariin aimag (T. *a-mdo*) of the final 30 districts of Ikh khüree, west of the main temples.³¹¹

Eminent Polymaths Associated with the Monastery

Apart from Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei, several eminent monks of Zayaiin khüree composed books in Tibetan. Mostly the monks who deeply studied and understood philosophy and tantra wrote these works in handwriting. S. Ishtawkhai monk's (1902-1972) famous account written in Tibetan in 1958 lists nine monks,³¹² and S. Gombojaw's (1901-1980) list³¹³ written in Mongolian in 1959 lists 13 monks of Zayaiin khüree who composed several works in Tibetan. Based on these two lists the eminent Tibetan polymaths of Zayaiin khüree were as follows: the First Zaya bandid, Luwsanprinlei, who was the author of six volumes printed in Beijing. The Second Zaya gegeen, Luwsangelegnamjil wrote two volumes. Tüwdenrinchen is also mentioned from the 18th century, who belonged to the *shaw'* area of Zaya gegeen, and wrote mainly in philosophical topics. Rinchindagwa known as *Tsagaan rawjamba* (T. *rab-'byams-pa*) wrote a volume about philosophy. The following authors lived in the 19th century: Galsan *khamba*, author of one volume in tantric topics; Galsan *shunlaiw* (T. *gzhung lugs-pa* or *gzhung las-pa*), author of one volume related to philosophy and tantra; Luwsanjimba known also as *Tsagaan*

rawjamba,³¹⁴ author of one volume related to Vinaya; Dondüwrinchen, author of two volumes; Luwsantsültem known also as *Tayagt lam* ('monk bearing a stick'), author of one volume; Badrakh *gawj* born in Said wangiin khoshuu of Sain noyon khan aimag (today Öndör-Ulaan sum), author of one volume on philosophy; Dashrawdan *tsorj*, author of four volumes; Dondow-Rinchin *gawj*, author of two volumes on sutras and tantras.

At the turn of the 20th century the following polymaths were famous: Tüwdenchoijinyam or Jambatseren, the Sixth Zaya gegeen, author of one volume; Wanganjaw, author of one volume; Gelegdorj, who was the tutor (*yonzon*, T. *yongs-'dzin*) of Jambatseren, and author of two volumes on sutras and tantras; Mendbayar *tsorj* (T. *chos-rje*) born in Said wangiin khoshuu of Sain noyon khan aimag (present Öndör-Ulaan sum), author of two volumes covering explanations of sutras and tantras; Luwsanjamba *khamba*, who wrote one volume mainly related to Vinaya and translated or wrote *Düira* (T. *bsdud grwa*, collected topic, elementary class in philosophical studies) and other philosophical books; and Ölziibat *maaramba*, who wrote four volumes in medical subjects.

A short catalogue of the two volumes written in Tibetan by Luwsanjamba *khamba* was published by L. Terbish, a famous astrologer-researcher of today, who had inherited these books of Luwsanjamba from his astrologer master. In the introduction of his book³¹⁵ L. Terbish claims the following: Luwsanjamba lived in the turn of the 20th century. He was born in 1871, and as his collected works include texts dated as 1924 and 1926, the abbot still lived that time. The two volumes include 140 pieces of work. Their majority were written in verses. Among them there are numerous prayers and ritual texts dedicated to different peaceful and wrathful deities. L. Terbish mentions that Luwsanjamba abbot who spent much time in Ikh khüree criticized the habits of drinking alcohol, smoking and playing dominos or other games. He also composed works about famous places in Arkhangai aimag.

Zaya gegeen's palace had a library, from which several rare books arrived later to the library of Gandantegchenlin Monastery. Meanwhile, in the 1920's O. Jamiyaan, the head of the *Sudar bichgiin khüree* (Mongolian Institute of Scriptures and Manuscripts, from which the Academy of Sciences was formed later) delivered a lot of rare sutras from Zayaiin khüree to the library (today the National Library of Mongolia). In the 1950's Ts. Damdinsüren (1908-1986) and B. Rinchen (1905-1977) visited Tsetserleg many times, met old monks, and also took old sutras.³¹⁶ Researchers such as L. Terbish, G. Nyam-Ochir, P. Nyam-Ochir and monks such as Ts. Otgonbayar *gawj* also possess rare books of Zayaiin khüree.

Specialities of the Ceremonial System

According to S. Tüdew, the main objects of worship in Zayaiin khüree were that of Tsongkhapa (*Bogd lam*), *Lkham*, *Ochirwaan'* (T. *phyag-na rdo-rje*, S. Vajrapāni), and wrathful protectors. All the eight *datsans* had their own main objects of worship (*shüteen*), mainly brass sculptures.

S. Tüdew claims that ceremonies were held non-stop in the *khüree* without interruption for the night. Monks were appointed to chant day or night; different monks chanted in daytime and at night. They used various musical instruments, such as drums (*khengereg*), trumpets (*büree*), gong (*kharanga*), conch shell, and others. If someone was late, and the ceremony was interrupted, he had to make prostrations three times as punishment. Regarding monthly rituals, on the 15th day of the lunar months the monks of the *khüree* circled Bulgan uul on the *goroo* (T. *skor*) circumambulating road carrying two or three of the 108 heavy volumes of the Kanjur (*Ganjuur*, T. *bka'-gyur*). It was an offering to the local spirits of Bulgan uul. He says that this Kanjur procession (*Ganjuur ergek*) was held separately in Deed khüree and Dood khüree on special feast days (*düitsen ödör*). Monks carried the volumes in their hands or on their backs.

According to the Historical Summary, concerning annual ceremonies, before the celebration of the Lunar New Year, during the 'ceremonies of the Old Year', called *Khuuchin khural*, *Sor* (T. *Zor*) was offered to annihilate and avoid illness and suffering. It was burnt to the South of Dund gol. The main protector of *Agwa datsan* was *Choiijil*, and at the night of the 29th of the last winter month *Choiijiliin dügjüü* was performed (T. *chos-rgyal drug-bcu*, 'sixty to *Choiijoo*', a kind of sacrificial cake offered to *Choiijoo*, the Lord of Death).³¹⁷ *Lkham* or *Baldan lkham* (T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, S. Śrīdevī) the main protector of the main assembly hall and the whole *khüree* was worshipped at the Lunar New Year Eve when a special *Sakhius* ceremony is held in most Mongolian temples in honour of her. This is called the *Tsedor Lkham* (T. *tshes-gtor lha-mo*) ceremony, meaning the 'annual ceremonially cake offering' to *Baldan lkham*. This ceremony usually begins late in the evening continuing until the morning of the first day of New Year with a special thanksgiving offering, called *Tsedor danrag* (T. *tshes-gtor gtang-rag*) being performed to *Baldan lkham* at dawn.

From the 5-20th of the first spring month *Tsogchin awag* was held in every *datsan*. From the 1-10th of the first summer month *Günreg* ceremony was held. In the *Güshig datsan Tüwchid* ceremony (ceremony unidentified) was held annually, as well as *Sandui* ceremony for 15 days. In *Demchig datsan Demchig khural* was held regularly and in every season. There was an *Ikh Choir* ceremony lasting for 30 days, and a *Baga Choir* ceremony lasting for 15 days in the *Choir*. In the main

assembly hall *Zul* ceremony was held from the 20-25 of the first winter month,³¹⁸ *Khangal* ceremony was held from the 5-15th of the middle winter month, and *Düinkhor* ceremony was held from the 22-30th of the last winter month. On the 19th of the last winter month *Begziin Sor* was performed with the dance of 32 *Begz* and 8 butterflies (*erweekhei*).

Maitreya procession and *Tsam* dance were held annually in the *khüree*. In Deed *khüree* Maitreya circumambulation was held on the 15th of the first summer month. The 50 cm tall statue of Maitreya placed on a cart with a green headed horse was circumambulated around the *khüree*. Many devotees came to watch this event. S. Tüdeu claims that for the Maitreya procession several people came from the countryside on horseback: men, women, and also children. From the vehicle of Maitreya monks gave blessings (*adis*) holding a string (*oosor*). The last Maitreya procession was held in 1933 or 1934 as far as he remembered. The procession started in front of the Palace, where the wooden fence called *shörgön khashaa* was situated. Then, the procession went to the south and circled the *khüree* from the West to the East. The Maitreya procession of Deed *khüree* was called *Shine Maidar* ('New Maitreya'). In Deed *khüree* *Maidar* and *Tsam* were performed together on 15th of the first summer month. The *Tsam* dance took place in front of the Palace. About 30-40 masked monks participated according to Tüdeu: *Lkham*, the Old Men, Bat Amgalan (correctly Enkh Amgalan), the butterflies, the Black Hat dancers, the Bull-masked one, and the skeletons appeared among others. According to another source, the participants of the *Tsam* dance were in Deed *khüree*: skeletons (*khokhimoi*), the Yellow Old Man (*Shar öwgön*), the bull and the deer (*buga sogoo*), and the wrathful deities (*khangal*) among others.³¹⁹ S. Tüdeu adds that apart from *Tsam* dance, other dances were performed in the *khüree*, as all the temples had their own dances. For instance the dance of the four *dogshids* (T. *drag-gshed*, 'wrathful protector') was also performed. In Dood *khüree* Maitreya procession was called *Khuuchin Maidar* ('Old Maitreya'). Monks of Deed *khüree* visited Dood *khüree* as both belonged to the same *Zayaiin khüree*. Wrestling was not held that time in the *khüree*.

S. Tüdeu accounts that there were monks with wives, but there were several fully-ordained monks (*gelen*, T. *dge-slong*) as well. *Khailen* (T. *khas-len*) oath-taking period was held as well as *Nügnee* fasting (T. *smyung gnas*). S. Tüdeu said that *Khailen* lasting for 45 days was held with the participation about 50 monks in the *Tsogchin* temple, though later only about ten monks participated in the *Khailen* in the *khüree*, as all the monks went to Ikh *khüree* to participate in the *Tümen gelengiin khailen* (T. *khas-len*, 'oath-taking period' of ten thousand monks) there. In *Nügnee süm* or *Mamba datsan* (in Dood *khüree*), monks held fasting (*nügnee*

sakhikh) for different periods, for example for five days, eating only vegetarian food.

Monks used to hold fasting also in caves praying and reciting their books for the health of all sentient beings and gathering merits in this way. The monks did meditation practice for 10 or 20 years. They used to meditate for example at Asagt Khaikhan Mountain (location unknown). They used to meditate for ten years without eating meat, then with eating meat for another ten years.

A written Mongolian source kept in the National Library of Mongolia (No. 692/96.),³²⁰ and its modern translation includes data about the origin and ceremonies of the main assembly hall, Dood khüree, the history of the image of *Lkham*, legends about the *Nandin pürew* or precious ritual dagger, and the images of *Logshir* (T. *'jig-rten dbang-phyug*, S. Lokeśvara, a form of Avalokiteśvara) and *Yansan yadam* (T. *yang-gsang yi-dam*) which should have been important objects of worship in Zayaiin khüree, as well as the ceremonies of *Jee datsan*, *Güshig datsan*, *Sandui datsan*, *Yamandagiin süm*, *Günreg datsan*, *Demchig datsan*, *Ochirwaaniin süm*, *Janraisegiin datsan*, *Bulgan uuliin takhilgiin süm*, and also historical facts regarding *Mamba datsan* and *Myangan burkhanii süm* (founded in 1904 according to this source), *Nügnei süm* (founded in 1912 according to this source), and *Lkhamiin süm* (founded in 1889 according to this source).³²¹ As the analysis of this source requires further studies, these data were not included in the present book. Tsetseglen refers to this source, too.³²²

Life in the 1920-1930's

S. Tüdeu provided data on the life of the city in the 1920-1930's in the interviews. According to him, Zayaiin khüree had strict rules. Women were not allowed to enter to the monastic area, but could go around on the *goroo* circumambulation road to make prostrations and worship (*mörgökh*). Monks were not allowed to drink vodka, and only adult monks could drink kumis.

There was no marketplace in the *khüree*. *Püüs* stores were situated separately in the city. There were about four-five *püüs* stores, such as *Yamaanii püüs* ('store of Goat'), *Asgai Batiin püüs* ('store of Asgai Bat'), and *Büdüün khooloin püüs* ('store of the Bull-throated'). Cakes (*boow*), silk (*torgo*), saddle-cloth (*gölöm*), caps (*malgai*) and other articles were sold there. Mongols paid with mushroom (*möög*) or wool (*noos*). Silver coins of the Russian Tsar were also in use. On the map hanging on the wall of the Museum of Arkhangai province Arsgai Bat and Tsookhor Khaisandai are marked in the *shaw*' area of Zaya gegeen with settled *püüs* stores having travelling merchants as well.

About 400 types of Tibetan medical herbs grew in the vicinity of the *khüree*,

but today it is almost impossible to find them. There were several types of animals, such as white antelopes (*tsagaan zeer*), ibex (*yangir*), deers, marmots, etc. There were no agricultural fields in the nearby area.

There were two famous singers in the *khüree*: O. Baatar monk (later reviver of Deed khüree) and Amgaabazar (?). Tsagaan Janchiw was a famous clerk (*bicheech*). Sonomdorj monk was responsible for the other Zuu temple [maybe the same as *Bulganii dugan*].

Danshig naadam was held when people from more *aimags* gathered (Arkhangai, Zawkhan, Bayankhongor, etc.) in one place. There were many wrestlers, and finally monks also started wrestling. Bürkhen Dendew (?) was a famous wrestler monk.

There was a well on the west of *Galdan zuu*, from where the drinking water of monks was taken. The temples had their own kitchens, but there was a bigger one behind *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*, where special cakes (*boow*) were baked as large as a cubit. Monks ate in the morning, and had some tea and cakes for lunch, and proportions of food offered by donators during the ceremony were divided in the evening.

Firewood and coal was used to fire and heat. Trees were not cut out at all, as Mongols and monks protected the nature and environment, protecting the woods and waters, and their spirits (*lus sawdag*).

There was a white stupa (*Tsagaan suwarga*) on the right bank of the Ur'd Tamir River, in the south of the bridge. Crossing *Tsagaan dawaa* ('White Pass') in the west, a small monastery with five or six monks was situated, who performed ceremonies to the fierce spirits of the land. Its monks belonged to Khan-Öndriin khüree or Said wangiin khüree (today Ikh Tamir sum, Arkhangai aimag), and not to Zayaiin khüree.

Zoch (T. *gcod-pa*) monks lived outside of the *khüree* in a courtyard, on a place called Lüijin üzüür ulias, south of the River Ur'd Tamir. *Zod* (or *Jod*, T. *gcod*, 'cutting') is a tantric ritual based on the Prajñāpāramita and set down by the Indian siddha Phadampa Sangye and his consort, a Tibetan female teacher Majiglawdonma (T. Ma gcig lab sgron-ma, 1055-1143 for the purpose of cutting through the four Māras and ego-clinging. Its practitioner, called *zoch*, *zodoch* or *joch* (either a man or a woman) practices the tantric ritual of cutting the ego-clinging. Among the *Zoch* practitioners near Zayaiin khüree there were two *khandmaas* (female *zod* specialists), and three men. These *lüjinch* monks (T. *lus-sbyin*, tantric body offering rite) sometimes went in the *khüree* with their small tents (*jodkhar*) and performed astrologic rituals (*zurkhai zurdag*).

Ranked and Famous Monks of the Monastery in the 1920-1930's

The head of the monastery and the main assembly hall was Zaya gegeen.

S. Tüdeu claims that other high ranking monks were the main and the vice teachers (*ikh shunlaiw* and *deed shunlaiw*, T. *gzhung lugs-pa/ gzhung las-pa*, name of the head in *datsans*), the 'Lama of the Philosophic School' (*Choir lam*), the 'Lama of the Tantric School' (*Agwa lam*), the Geshe (*gewsh*, T. *dge-bshes*, 'virtuous friend', high academic degree), the disciplinary masters (*gesgüi*, T. *dge-bskyos*), and the chanting masters (*umzad*, T. *dbu-mdzad*).

All the eight *datsans* had their own *khamba* (T. *mkhan-po*, abbot) or *lam* (T. *bla-ma*), disciplinary master(s) and chanting master(s). *Sanduin khuwilgaan*, *Güj lam* (i.e. *Shanzodwa*), *zaisan*, *donir* and other ranked monks also belonged to the *khüree*.

Famous *gawj* monks of the *Choir Temple* in the 1930's were Awirmed *gawj*, Gorziin Rintsendorj (?) *umzad*, and three monks from Erdenemandal sum: Balganjaw *gawj*, Dowdonnyam *gawj*, and Urtaa *gawj*.

According to S. Tüdeu the *zoch* practitioners (practicing the tantric ritual of *Zod* (T. *gcod*, cutting ego-clinging) were responsible for pacifying the local spirits of land and water (*lus sawdag*). There were two temples near *Donoi bulag* spring in the east, where local spirits were worshipped (GPS: N 47°28'54.5" E 101°26'00,9" elevation 1773m).

In the 1920's Byamba *zoch* was a famous *zoch* of Zayaiin khüree. He did not have a separate temple, but had a *jodgar* tent, which is a white tent used often by *zoch* practitioners.

The name of his wife was Sesren. Byamba *zoch* held *lüijin* ceremonies near Gyesaa *khad* (Gyesaa rock, near today's Battsengel sum centre). In Deed khüree he performed his services east of the *Tsogchin temple*, and near *Jamganii bulag*. Tserenkhüü was another *zoch*. These two *zoch* masters visited the *Donoi* temples frequently, where a guard lived permanently.

There was a very famous *Choijin* (T. *chos-skyong*, oracle transmitting the words of a deity in trans) called Luwsandalai *choijin*. S. Tüdeu claims that *zochs* and *choijins* knew very well how to handle and pacify the *lus sawdags*, and protected the *khüree* in this way.



*Byamba zoch. in front of his mobile tent.
Date and photographer unknown. Film Archives No. 24955*



*Home altar of S. Tüdew with the photos of Jambatseren
geegen and Byamba zoch*

Destruction of the Monastery and the Capturing of Monks

S. Tüdew claims that the temples started to be closed after 1921, and the *khüree* became almost abandoned as the monks were captured gradually. The first monks were captured in the 1920's, ceremonies ceased in the 1930s, and then the *khüree* was destroyed in 1937-1938, with the temples destroyed one after the other.

Mongolian soldiers of the 31st military unit (*tsergiin khoroo*) of the army of Arkhangai destroyed them. The soldiers wore green caps and were called

therefore *nogoon malgaitan*, 'green capped ones'. Several monks also joined the army, some of them in Tsetserleg, others in Ulaanbaatar, and in this way ex-monks captured the ones still being monks.

In 1937-1938, about 800 monks of the *khüree* were captured, and only two came back: Damchaabadgar and Urtaa *gawj*. The *gawj* monks of the *khüree* had properties, which were confiscated and delivered to Ulaanbaatar, even Buddhist statues as large as a man. Though monks hid sutras and statuettes or dug them in the ground before they were captured, the hidden artefacts could not be revealed as the monks who hide them passed away and there remained no one to show their sites.

Bulgan uul and all the surrounding area, the streets, and the monks' courtyards were covered by leaves of Tibetan books and their cloth coverings (*barintag*) scattered. The hillside of Bulgan uul was filled with Buddhist items and books, where children played with them. Then these items slowly disappeared. Not only all the monks, but all the relatives of the attendants of the *Shawiin yaam* were captured, and even people who had rosaries, lit butter-lamps, or worshipped the Buddha.

The young novices were sent to state school. For 1940 nothing has left from the monastery, and all other monasteries of Arkhangai aimag, about 40 in number, were all similarly destroyed.

Yadamsüren states that from Arkhangai aimag, the names and residential monasteries of 230 *agramba*, 820 *gawj*, 59 *güremch* (T. *sku-rim*, 'healing ceremony') 73 *maaramba*, 28 *doorombo* (T. *rdo-rams-pa*), 8 *awragch* (the same as *güremch*), and 399 monks were registered in 1996 by the State Research Group of Rehabilitation. This means that they were all persecuted.³²³

There were 75 children studying philosophy in Zayaiin khüree in Jambatseren's class.³²⁴ At the time of the purges some monks of the class became representatives of the Ministry of Interior (*Dotood Yaam*), whilst others got married, herded the livestock, or started to work in the *artyel'* handicraft cooperative.

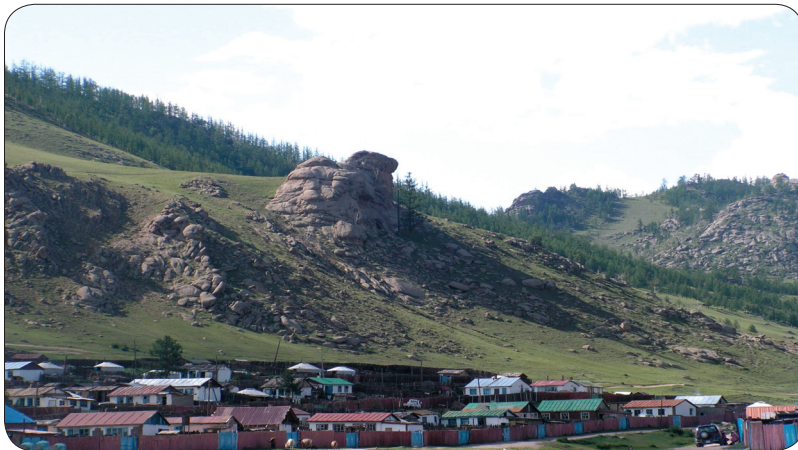
The fate of the other monks of the monastery and also all Mongolian monks was similar countrywide. In 1930-1939 an *artyel'* as well as a gold mine, a road construction firm, and a sewing factory was founded in the *aimag* centre. In 1937-38 about 700 monks joined the *artyel'*.³²⁵

PLACES OF WORSHIP IN THE NEARBY AREA

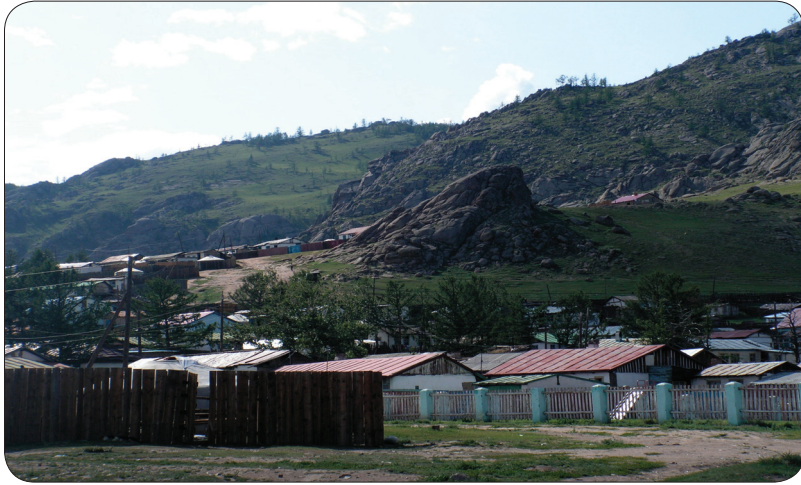
Tsetserleg consists of some main districts that were named after geographic sites: west of the old monastery the districts of Arslan tsokhio ('Lion cliff') and Tsagaan dawaa ('White pass') are situated (this is the name of the pass leading to the bordering Ikh Tamir sum), and east of the old monastery Tsogt uul ('Glorious mountain'), Bor tolgoi ('Brown hill'), and Naran bulag ('Sun spring') are located. There are two rock formations, towering above the enclosures on the west, namely Arslan tsokhio, 'lion cliff' and Ochirt khad, 'Vajra cliff'. The nearby and further areas are abundant in waters, peaks, and natural beauties.



Tsagaan dawaa, 'White pass'



Arslan tsokhio, 'Lion cliff'



Ochirt khad, 'Vajra cliff'



Bor tolgoi

Mountains and Owoos

According to Kh. Baasanjargal, abbot of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid, 13 mountains in the area were venerated by monks of the monastery (*Takhidag 13 uul*):

- Bulgan uul to the north of Deed khüree with an *owoo* on its top
- Saiiriin owoo on the southeast, on the right bank of the river Ur'd Tamir. This was worshipped by the monks of the Medical monastic school (*Mamba datsan*) of Dood khüree. This mountain is situated southeast of Dood khüree with an *owoo* on its top, near Tsenkher sum border.

- Bayanberkh uul is located to the north of Dood khüree. It was worshipped by monks of the Philosophical monastic school (*Choir datsan*).
- Khaan uul is on the east behind Bayanberkh uul.
- Maan't uul is on the southwest of Deed khüree (There is an antenna on its top today.)
- Artsatiin uul is on the northeast, behind Bayanberkh uul
- Norowtümbiin owoo (T. *nor-bu khrus bum* ?) is on the far north, near the River Khoid Tamir
- Argalantiin owoo (originally Ar Golomt), is on the north, near Khoit Tamir River
- Bor tolgoi is situated southeast of Deed khüree. It was worshipped by novices whose duty was to serve tea for the monks at ceremonies (*manzach*). However, S. Tüdeu claims that *Manzachingiin owoo* was not on Bor tolgoi but on another place. Novices and children used to play football near *Manzachingiin owoo*.
- Sangiin tolgoi is a hill to the south of Deed khüree, on the bank of Ur'd Tamir River. It is said that Sangiin tolgoi has auspicious features and resembles a mandala with the river as a *khadag* (T. *kha-btags*) offering scarf.
- Erdene Sümber is on the east, near Artsatiin uul
- S. Tüdeu mentioned a place where monks of *Demchig datsan* venerated *Shalsh*. This was called Jargalantiin owoo, and was situated on the present area of Erdenemandal sum



Sair in Tsenkher sum

Rivers and Springs

The area is abundant in rivers, brooks, and holy springs (*rashaan*). The springs do not freeze over in winter. Kh. Baasanjargal, abbot of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid listed the nearby rivers and springs as follows:

- the River Ur'd Tamir is at about 3 kms to the south of the city



The River Ur'd Tamir

- the River Khoid Tamir is at about 20 kms to the northwest of the city
- Jamganii bulag is on the near east of the city in the northeast valley of Bulgan uul, near the tourist camp, Gurwan Bulgan (GPS: N 47°29'18,5" E 101°27'16,2"). Its source is fenced-off now. According to the legend this spring came out on this place after the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Jamgan rinpoche (T. skyabs mgon rin-po-che) visited it (a variant accounted by S. Tüdeu explains that Jamgan bogd created the spring with his stick). Tüdeu also claimed that it was a deep source once with goldfish.³²⁶ North of Jamganii bulag another spring flows as well.
- Gakhain bulag is situated east of Jamganii bulag, south of Tsogt uul (GPS: N 47°29'45,1" E 101°29'04,4). In its valley people plant vegetables.
- Gants modnii rashaan is in the (north) west (GPS: N 47°28'57,2" E 101°25'25,6). This spring, named 'the spring of the only tree' got its name after a tree standing beside it. The tree is fenced-off and is venerated by *khadag* ceremonial scarves.



Jamganii bulag



Gakhain bulag



Gants modnii rashaan

- Dund gol or Baast as known today flows across the city from the west, and flows in front of the present-day monastery.
- A well is located west of *Galdan zuu* temple.
- Naran bulag is situated between Deed khüree and Dood khüree, south of the road (GPS: N 47°28.04, 8" E 101°30.22, 2" elevation 1687m).



Naran bulag

- Khadat bulag is located east of Dood khüree
- Ur'd bulag is near Dood khüree. These waters flow to another Dund gol, then to the River Ur'd Tamir.
- Donoin bulag is located at Donoi, east of the city (GPS: N 47°28'54.5" E 101°26'00,9" elevation 1773m)



Dund gol or Baast

Donoin Süm or Lusiin Süm

According to Kh. Baasanjargal abbot and S. Tüdew, *Donoi* was a place to worship the local spirits of springs and the earth.

There were different snakes in the area. It was also a place of contemplation (*nyamba*, T. *bsnyen-pa*). Permanent ceremonies were not held, only a shrine-keeper (*donir* or *gonir*, T. *dgon-gnyer*) lived there.

It was the place where local spirits (*lus sawdag*, T. *klu sa-bdag*, S. *nāga*) were pacified, so the whole Zayaiin khüree was protected here by *zoch* masters as Byamba and Tserenkhüü *zoch* who performed *lüijin* (T. *lus-sbyin*) body offering rituals there.

The hills called Ur'd Donoi (South Donoi) and Khoid Donoi (North Donoi) are situated there, as well as Donoin bulag spring. Today, there is an *owoo* at Donoi (GPS: N 47°28'54.5" E 101°26'00,9" elevation 1773m).

According to S. Tüdew, two or three temples were located there. To the east of the *owoo* up on the hillside the presumed site of the *süm* was found, with slightly visible foundations.



Donoin bulag



Lusiin süm site



The site of Lusiin süm temple



Owoo near Donoin bulag and Lusiin süm

OTHER PLACES OF WORSHIP

Tārā Images

The pictures of the Green Tārā (*Nogoon Dar' ekh*, T. *sgrol ljang*, S. Śyāmatārā) and the White Tārā (*Tsagaan Dar' ekh*, T. *sgrol dkar*, S. Sitaārā) were carved on the hillside of Bayanzürkh uul, north of Dood khüree. Today, this is a place of worship again. The area is decorated by silken scarves and prayer flags.



Tārā images

Maidar Chuluu

Maidar chuluu ('Maitreya rock'), the stone on which the carving presents Maitreya (*Maidar*, T. *byams-pa*), the future Buddha, is situated at the left bank of the River Ur'd Tamir (GPS: N 47°26.49.1" E 101°30'56.4", elevation 1662m). S. Tüdeu claims that the stone was erected to protect Dood khüree from the danger of flood of Ur'd Tamir that is why it was placed at the river bank. According to S. Tüdeu, the stone itself was floated from Donoi on the river to here. The fenced-off stone sculpture is worshipped by local people till today. There is also a prayer wheel beside it.



Maidar chuluu

Rinjün Maan't Khad

The rock called 'the rock with the miraculously appeared mantra', on which it is said that miraculously the OM MANI PADME HUM mantra (*maan'*) appeared spontaneously (*rinjün*, T. *rang-'byung*, self-arisen, self-existent) is situated northwest of Deed khüree (GPS: N 47°28'54.9" E 101°26'01,1" elevation 1777m). The mantra itself is visible in the form of moss growing in a strange shape on the rock. There is another rock with the OM MANI PADME HUM mantra carved and painted in white in it situated also nearby.



Maan't khad, the rock with the miraculously appeared mantra on it



The other rock nearby with mantra on it

MONASTIC SITES OF THE SUBORDINATED AREA (*SHAW' NAR*)

Three sites in Arkhangai aimag are said to have been consecrated (*sünshiglen*, T. *srog-shing*, 'life-tree', placed as an axis at the centre of a stupa or a statue) by Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei himself: Suwarga Khairkhan, Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan, and Tariatiin Khorgo.³²⁷ According to S. Tüdeu, Suwarga Khairkhan was venerated by local people every year, and Zaya geegen also visited the mountain to worship it in the beginning of the 20th century.

Suwarga Khairkhan, 'Stupa-shaped Holy Mountain' (*khairkhan* is a honorific word for mountains) is a 3117 metres high volcanic mountain peak of the Khangai Mountains, situated in today's Tsenkher subprovince. Orkhon River, Tamir River and other streams originate from this area. It has venerated since 2009 by state ceremonies (*töriin takhilga*) in every fourth year when also a *Naadam* festival is held in the centre of Tsenkher sum. The ceremonial veneration starts with the *Narnii takhilga* ('Offering at sunrise') held at Shar gelengiin nuruu ridge ('Ridge of the yellow *gelen* monk'). As in 2013 the 90th anniversary of the foundation of Arkhangai aimag takes place Suwarga Khairkhan will be venerated only in 2014.

Tariatiin Khorgo is also a volcanic mountain of 2965 metres in Tariat subprovince situated near Terkhiin Tsagaan nuur Lake, in Terkhiin Tsagaan nuur National Park under state protection since 1965.

In the following the monastic sites of the area belonging to Zaya geegen *shaw'* area are detailed. Most of these (except from Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan) were local temples belonging under and having similar names as the eight temples of Zayaiin khüree.

Mukhar Khujirtiin Rashaan and Döwkhan Khiid (Tsetserleg Sum)

Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan (holy water, S. *rasayāna*), and the Döwkhan temple (T. *sgrub-khang*, 'place of practice or meditation', *Burkhanii büteeliin oron* in Mongolian translation) is situated in the area of Tsetserleg sum, near its borders with Erdenemandal sum and Jargalant sum, in Khujirt bag, about 18 kilometres from the sum centre (GPS: 48°45'36,2", E 101°10'03,7", elevation 1618m, this is the GPS of the present Döwkhan temple at the site). The southern and south-western part of today's Tsetserleg sum belonged to the subordinated area of Zaya geegen (*Zayaiin shawiin nutag*), from Mukhar khujirt to the south through Erdenemandal till Battsengel and Tsenkher subprovinces. From among the monasteries once situated in today's Tsetserleg sum, the Döwkhan temple of

Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan belonged to the area subordinated to Zaya geegen, while other monasteries, like Bukhiin khüree, and Agitiin datsan belonged to other *khoshuus* and not to the area of the Zaya geegen.³²⁸



The rashaan and its visitors

According to the legend the cold water spring called Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan sprung out on Luwsanprinlei's birthplace three days after his birth.³²⁹ Luwsanprinlei was born on a small hill 100 steps east of the spring on the 1st of the first summer month in 1642.³³⁰ The ground of the hill was gradually taken home by the visitors, thus a valley was formed there. Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan is situated in front of the Owoot Mountain, which has a big *owoo* on it. On its south-west is the Böörönkhii Mountain, on its north are the two mountains Molom and Tögöl, from which two the Mukhar khujirt originates.³³¹

Döwkhan khiid was founded at the site where Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei was born, in the 1900's by Gergen bagsh (T. *dge-rgan*) with the help of the Fifth Zaya geegen, Luwsanchoijiiwanchig (1867/1868-1904).³³² He gave to the temple the name Döwkhan. Gergen lama became the head of the temple, and Gachaa bagsh was the vice abbot (*ded khamba*).³³³ The other ranked lamas were Damdin *gawj*, Bekh *gawj*, Tsedew *gorwon*, G. Samdan who was the main chanting master (*ikh un zad*), Damba who was the second chanting master (*baga un zad*), Samdan *maaramba*, Luwsandampil, and Geleg who was the *gonir* (T. *dgon-gnyer*).³³⁴ The temple had about 70 monks.³³⁵ The 12 stupas were constructed in front of the temple itself, north-west of the holy spring.

On the order of the Fifth Zaya geegen from 1900-1910 the stupa of Döwkhan khiid was erected in honour of Luwsanprinlei.³³⁶ Gachaa lam made the stupa

behind the monastery delivering bricks, stones, sand, and mud with numerous ox carts and camels.³³⁷ Later, also a smaller temple, called *Suwargan jas* was founded beside Döwkhan, thus Döwkhan khiid had two shrines, a huge stupa and its financial unit (*Suwargan jas*). The monks' dwellings with courtyards were located south-west of it. The Döwkhan temple building was made of wood, while *Suwargan jas* was built of bricks. People and pilgrims used to come first to the temple, then, they encircled the *owoo* three times, went to the *rashaan* and afterwards encircled the 12 stupas.³³⁸

The main protector of Döwkhan temple was *Damjan Chojjoo* (T. *dam-can chos-rgyal*, S. Dharmarāja, epithet of Yāmāntaka).³³⁹ The 45 days *Khailen* retreat was held in the temple. On the 17th of the middle autumn month the *owoo* was worshipped. In the two temples some ceremonies were held separately.³⁴⁰ In the temple special texts for pacifying the spirits of land and water (*lus sawdag*) of the *rashaan* source were also recited.³⁴¹

In the 1920's Samdan *maaramba*, Tömör and other doctor monks analysed the water, and indicated on small boards put on the fences in Tibetan and Mongolian scripts if that is good for heart disease, nerve, lung, liver, stomach, kidney, eye, ear, and skin problems.³⁴² After drinking or having a dip in the cold *rashaan* someone has to have a bath in Güzee nuur (Güzee lake), which is on the north (It is dried-out by now.). The water of this lake is good for skin diseases and scabies.

In the old times the place was frequented by famous lamas as well. It is said that as Darwa bandid was the teacher of Zaya geegen Luwsantüwdenchoijinnyam (Jambatseren), the geegen used to visit Rashaantiin khüree (a famous monastery once situated in present Khöwsgöl aimag, Rashaant sum, where Darwa bandid resided) as well when he came to Mukhar khujirt, travelling somewhat further to the north where it was situated. Darwa bandid also visited Mukhar khujirt sometimes, as he was a student of Gergen bagsh.³⁴³ For instance, in 1924 August Jalkhanz khutagt Damdinbazar (1874-1923, he had his monastery in today's Khöwsgöl aimag, Tsagaan-uul sum) came to the *rashaan* to visit his teacher, Gergen bagsh. At the same time Darwa bandid also came from Rashaantiin khüree, and also Zaya geegen arrived (whose teacher was Darwa bandid). Also the abbot (*khamba*) from Dalai wangiin khüree (or Tariatiin khüree, once situated in present Arkhangai aimag, Tariat sum) arrived, and other great lamas from other parts of Mongolia. In this way the *Khailen* ceremony of that year was special there.³⁴⁴ It is also accounted in sources, that Zaya geegen Jambatseren visited Mukhar khujirtiin *rashaan* in 1920. His assistant (*shadar tuslakh*) was Ya. Sharaw *gelen* from the area of the present Erdenemandal sum, also known as Tsagaan (White) Sharaw.³⁴⁵ Near

Döwkhan monastery Zaya gegeen put up five white yurts and organized a *Naadam* festival for devotees. He visited Mukhar khujirtiin rashaan in 1924, 1926 and 1928, the last accompanied by his wife, as he had disrobed by that time.³⁴⁶

In 1930 Gergen bagsh died and Gachaa bagsh became the abbot, who studied in Tibet and was an eminent scholar.³⁴⁷ When Gergen bagsh became old, he gave the leading of the temple to the *shadar lam*, Gachaa bagsh, who became the *khamba* then (Gergen bagsh then left for his homeland, where he died later).³⁴⁸ When Gachaa bagsh became the leader of the monastery the vice abbot was Damdin *gawj*, the main chanting master was Samdan *gewsh*, the vice chanting master was Damba, the main disciplinary master was Tsagaan Sharaw, the vice disciplinary master was Namnan, and the officer of the Great financial unit (*ikh jasiin nyaraw*) was Khöldüü Puntsag.³⁴⁹ Other monks were Bekh *gaw'j*, Dalai *unzad*, the doctor (*emch*) Tömör *gelen*, Tsedew *jorwon* (T. *skyor dpon*, rehearsal teacher, teaching assistant), Dashaa, Badrai, Dashzeweg, Sharaw and others, all together about 40 monks lived in the monastery and about 30-70 laypeople surrounding it.³⁵⁰ The activity of the temple was supervised by the Zaya gegeen and Darwa bandid khutagt, who sent devotees and disciples.³⁵¹

Gachaa bagsh was captured and executed in the 1930's.³⁵² Later all other ranked monks of the temple were captured and the temples were closed. Monks scattered to all direction, the monastery and the stupas were neglected. The building material of the temples were taken to Erdenemandal sum centre and used there for new buildings.³⁵³ Today, only their ruins are visible. The site of the old Döwkhan (GPS N 48°45'38,0", E 101°09'49,6", elevation 1627m) is now in the valley between the new temple and the line of stupas, at Güzee nuur, the dried-out lake, to its east. Two foundations of the two brick temples are visible, the bigger is on the east being 12x12 steps, and the smaller one on the west is 9x9 steps.



The site of the old Döwkhan

The following ranked monks of Döwkhan khiid survived the purges and became again monks with the democratic change (there is no information on in which monastery they gathered): B. Dorjdan, D. Demid, D. Donidow, D. Jambal, G. Lombo (ex-monk of Zayaiin khüree), and S. Günchin.³⁵⁴

The temple was revived at Mukhar khujirt after the democratic changes. In 1995 first a stupa was built and consecrated.³⁵⁵ This now stands within the fence of the courtyard of the new temple. In the same year the base of the small new temple to be erected at the site was laid (though at a site different from the old temple site), and the temple was built in 1997-1999. The temple opened on 8 July, 1999.³⁵⁶ Locals such as Günchin Tsogbadrakh, T. Namdag, D. Gelenkhüü, S. Dorjsüren participated and helped the revival.³⁵⁷ The head monk became S. Dorjsüren. Other monks were N. Amartöwshin, Bayar and others. According to the oral communication of Dorjsüren monk, only one old surviving monk took part in the revival of the temple, and he was a *gelen* (fully ordained monk). The main deity of the temple is Damjan Chojoo, similarly to the old Döwkhan Temple. In summer, when people visit the *rashaan* in great masses, it has ceremonies, but in winter and spring only on the 8th, 15th and 30th of the lunar months.³⁵⁸ As the Döwkhan temple at Mukhar khujirt works only seasonally in summer, when people frequent the *rashaan*, and a temple was more needed in the *sum* centre, where people more easily reach it, on 19 August, 2006³⁵⁹ a temple was opened in Tsetserleg sum centre, too.³⁶⁰ This works throughout the year (according to S. Dorjsüren monk, it had only two monks in 2009), and S. Dorjsüren monk only comes to Mukhar khujirt in summer.



The rebuilt Döwkhan temple



Inside the Döwkhan temple

A collective of Tsetserleg sum established a camp at the *rashaan* for visitors who come for cures in the water.³⁶¹ Doctors revived the tradition of healing, for example doctor Kh. Dorj, P. Tsogbadrakh, and P. Dawaasambuu. The *rashaan* area was surrounded and put under protection, and wooden houses were built. Following the line of *Rashaanii owoo* Ts. Chuluunpürew, Sh. Samdan, S. Jadamba, Miyaatawjantsan, and Ts. Shagj built stone lions there. In 2006, for the 70th anniversary of the *sum* the area was renewed with the help of the local governor and the local authority. The huge wooden *Maan' owoo* is near the spring (GPS: N 48°45'29,0", E 101°09'55,5", elevation 1621m). Inside it there is an image of *Manal* or *Manla*, the Medicine Buddha (T. *sman-bla*, S. Bhaiśajyaguru).³⁶²



Maan' owoo



Rashaan

The 12 stupas at Mukhar khujirt were rebuilt in 2006 (GPS: N 48°45'32,4", E 101°09'45,2", elevation 1642m), at the 800th anniversary of the Mongolian State and the 80th anniversary of Tsetserleg sum. The opening and consecration was held on 11 June (which was the 15th of the first summer month).³⁶³ Among them are the eight stupas of Buddha (*naiman bod' suwarga*).³⁶⁴



The stupa line

Another stupa stands separately in the valley between the stupa line and the new temple (GPS: N 48°45'47,3", E 101°09'48,5", elevation 1638m). According to the oral communication of Dorjsüren monk, this stupa was erected when the temple was revived in honour of Gachaa bagsh, who was the vice abbot (*ded khamba*) and later the last abbot of the old Döwkhan.



The stupa standing in the valley

People from all over Mongolia visit the *rashaan* during the summer, as it cures various illnesses. It is said to be good for 60 kinds of illnesses. According to Yadamsüren, the holy spring (*rashaan*) has 35 sources with different smells and tastes. People come for drinking cures of the water which can last for 7, 10, or 14 days, and also for bathing cures which can take a maximum of 10 minutes at a time in the icy water.³⁶⁵

In summer the area looks very nice with masses of people camping around the *rashaan* in tents, some even taking with them and putting up their yurts, again others hiring one of the small wooden houses and cabins built at the site, cars and trucks parking around the tents, and shops operating in wooden houses. The Döwkhan temple is active during the summer, devotees visit it and also request recitations of different texts for different purposes and life situations from Dorjsüren monk.

Günregiin Khural (Erdenemandal Sum)

Rinchen marks *Günregiin khural* (shortly for Günreg Nambarnanzad, T. *kun-rig(s) rnam-par snang-mdzad*, S. Sarvavidyā Vairocana, a form of Vairocana Buddha) on his map of the Arkhangai monasteries as No. 158, with the name *Güngeregiin khural* and gives *Güngeregiin owoo* as the place name.³⁶⁶ It was one of the eight countryside temples of Zayaiin khüree. At the supposed site (GPS: N 48°25'40,1", E 101°26'52,3", elevation 1568m), which is near *Günregiin owoo* at about 12 kilometres from the *sum* centre of Erdenemandal, in Alag uul bag,³⁶⁷ only some stone formations can be made out, looking like a *kheregüsüür* (ancient burial site)

rather than as a temple. A source claims that *Güngeregiin dugan* had about 20 monks, a *datsan* and a *dugan*, but this source gives the place name as *Jargalant owoo* (this might be another *owoo* nearby).³⁶⁸ S. Tüdew mentioned a place where monks of *Demchig datsan* venerated *Shalsh*. This was called *Jargalantiin owoo*.



Stone formations



Nearby owoo

Demchig Datsan (Erdenemandal Sum)

Rinchen marks *Demchig datsan* (T. *bde-mchog*, S. Cakrasamvara) on his map of the Arkhangai monasteries as No. 157, with the name *Demchigiin khural* and gives Erdenemandal sum centre as the place name.³⁶⁹ *Demchigiin dugan*, one of the eight countryside temples of Zayaiin khüree, was situated in the centre of Erdenemandal sum, on a place called Ölziit denj hill. A source claims that it had 25 monks, a temple building, and a *jas*, and was founded by Zaya geegen (presumably Luwsanprinlei).³⁷⁰ The main deity of *Demchig datsan* was *Demchig*.

The site of this *datsan* (GPS: N 48°31'35,8", E 101°22'35,5", elevation 1508m), once a yurt-shaped temple, can be seen today inside the private fenced-off enclosure of a man called Önnöröö. It is in front of the Mongol Shuudan Bank building. On its right side there is a green coloured building. The foundation of the large yurt temple is still visible, and is of 15 steps in diameter.



The site of the old Demchig datsan in Erdenemandal sum centre

There is a detailed description about the operation of the temple.³⁷¹ It was a yurt-shaped temple, and had 400 monks. Wanganjaw, the main astrologer (*ikh zurkhaich*) of the *shaw'* area predicted that 300 people will visit this temple every day. Monks of Zayaiin khüree visited this temple annually in the middle summer month to hold a five-day ceremony. At this occasion nine monks came riding white horses delivering the *tügden* (T. *thugs-rten*, 'mind support', usually a stupa) of *Shalsh* (T. *zhal bzhi*, four-faced Mahākāla) who was the main protector worshipped in *Demchig datsan* in Zayaiin khüree. They were accompanied by disciplinary masters, chanting masters, and musicians. From the 1920's Wanganjaw *zurkhaich*, Dashzeweg *unzad*, and Samdan *gawj* of Zayaiin khüree participated in ceremonies here. During the time of the ceremony a black horse and a black sheep from the livestock of the *jas* were decorated by silken scarves and sacrificed to the deities (*seterlekh*) in this way. The other source says it was in autumn when monks of Zayaiin khüree visited *Demchig datsan*, and it also mentions the nine people arriving on white horses.³⁷² However, it states that ceremonies on these occasions lasted for seven days, and it adds that the monks also worshipped Khan-Öndriin owoo, and also held a small *Naadam* with horseracing and wrestling.

Demchig datsan had many horses, herds and flocks. It had 10,000 sheep. Herds and flocks were counted and listed every autumn and also sealed. S. Tüdeu mentioned a place where monks of *Demchig datsan* venerated *Shalsh*. This was called *Jargalantiin owoo*.

In the centre of Erdenemandal sum the present-day *Dashchoikhorlin khiid* (T. *bkra-shis chos-'khor gling*) was founded in 2001 (GPS: N 48°31'39,8", E 101°22'00,0", elevation 1510 m). It has close connections with the revived Zayaiin khüree. A stupa was built in 2003, and another in 2004. The temple was reopened on 16 April, 2004.³⁷³

According to the monk of *Dashchoikhorlin khiid* there were 13 monks when the tradition of the monastery was revived. Two of them, namely Jadamba and Dügersüren, were monks of the old *Demchig datsan*. The main protector of the monastery is *Shalsh*.

This is a Gelukpa monastery, which had three monks in 2007 performing daily chanting and monthly ceremonies.³⁷⁴ Some monks of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid often visit this temple.

Dar' Ekh (Erdenemandal Sum)

This temple, the Tārā temple, which was not marked by Rinchen on his map, was once situated in Erdenemandal sum, in Erdene uul *bag*, about 10 kilometres to the north of *Günregiin khural*.³⁷⁵

It was one of the eight countryside temples of Zayaiin khüree. At the site only some stone foundations can be made out, there is nothing else left (GPS: N 48°23'07,7", E 101°06'45,9", elevation 1637m).

There is a hill called Khadat uul (GPS: N 48°24'07,9", E 101°06'57,2", elevation 1677m) nearby, where monks of *Dar' ekh* temple are said to have hidden the worship objects and books of the temple before they were captured.

According to the monk of *Dashchoikhorlin khiid* in Erdenemandal sum centre, the temple of *Dar' ekh* had an eternal butter-lamp and a *gonir* shrinekeeper.³⁷⁶

Monks of Zayaiin khüree used to visit *Demchig datsan* in autumn with nine white horses and hold ceremonies for nine days there, and they supposedly also visited *Dar' ekh* temple.

They worshipped the *owoo* of Khan Öndör uul, and a small *Naadam* festival was also held there.



Stone formations



Khadat uul

Jaarai Datsan (Töwshrüülekh Sum)

This temple stood once in the present Töwshrüülekh sum centre, in its suburb (GPS: N 47°23'13,3", E 101°55'05,4", elevation 1610m). Rinchen marks only one temple in Töwshrüülekh sum on his map of the Arkhangai monasteries as No. 222, named as *Zasariin khural*, and gives *Surt am* as place name.³⁷⁷ This seems to be different, so *Jaarai datsan* is not marked on his map.

Related to the temple of Töwshrüülekh a source mentions that the temple called *Janraisegiin dugan* was founded in 1850. The shrinekeeper's (*duganch*) name was Jaarain Tsagaan lam ('the White monk of *Jaarai*'). The temple had only temporary service (*tsagiin khural*).³⁷⁸

According to Daajaw, *Jaarain baishin* originated from the 18th century.³⁷⁹ Monks of the *Jaarai datsan* of Zayaiin khüree used to come here for ceremonies and for *owoo* venerations. They held here *Naadam* festivals as well.³⁸⁰

About the foundation of the temple, one of the sources says the following: when Luwsanprinlei founded *Buyan iltgegch süm* near Khökhkhot in 1699, he received subordinates (*shaw' nar*) from the *Khuuchids* living in Inner-Mongolia (Khuuchid khoshuu was one of the banners of Shiliin gol area, bordering the present Sühbaatar aimag of present day Mongolia).

They were moved and settled on the bank of the lake called Gichgenge khotol nuur in 1907, which belongs today to Töwshrüülekh sum. They had a yurt-shaped temple there (*ger dugan*) with temporary service (*tsagiin khural*).³⁸¹

As this temple burnt down, the monks went to the *khüree* and built a temple there in 1908-1909.³⁸²

In the centre of Töwshrüülekh sub-province centre a new stupa was erected some years ago. There are several big stones, presumably parts of columns or foundation stones left scattered about the site, but that is all what remained from the *datsan*. The foundations can not be made out.

Four Gelukpa monks founded a new, yurt-shaped concrete temple in the province centre in June, 2006 (GPS: N 47°23.232', E 101°55.108') with temporary service.³⁸³ (It was not visited by the authors.)



The site of the old Jaarai datsan in Töwshrüülekh sum centre

REVIVAL AND REVITALIZATION OF THE MONASTIC TRADITION: PRESENT-DAY TEMPLES

After the democratic changes in 1990 Mongolians were able to practice Buddhism freely again. Monasteries, temples and Buddhist institutes were re-opened or newly established led by those survivor old ex-lamas who had avoided execution only by being young enough, not yet highly educated in their monastic studies and not bearing high ranks or titles at that time. Several families, mostly those which had monk relatives previously, made one of their sons a monk in the beginning of the 1990's. The old, mostly married monks trained the new monk generation with teaching Tibetan prayers and texts, music and performance of ceremonies, and preparation of offerings. After the passing away of the old monks their disciples took their roles to head the monasteries and revitalised ceremonial life. Keeping the restored temples in operation depends on the calling and education of monks, as well as the generosity of donors as the temples operate as private 'enterprises' without state support. Monks pray for the benefit of all sentient being, play an active role in devotees' everyday life, and make efforts to develop their monasteries.

TÖGS BAYASGALANT BUYAN DELGERÜÜLEKH KHIID (GANDANGEJELIN)

Revival in 1990

First the old monks of Arkhangai aimag and Buddhist devotees wanted to put the main assembly hall in religious use again, but they did not have enough funds to renovate the old building which was still almost complete that time. They gathered in front of the old Palace to put the old palace buildings in use of religion again. Finally, religious tradition was revived in the survived temple of *Sanduin khuwilgaan*, where that time the religious museum, part of the Museum of Arkhangai province was operating (GPS: N 47°28'46,2" E 101°27'05,3" elevation 1700m).



The revival. Film Archives No. 44902.

The revival of Tögs bayasgalant Buyan(iig) delgerüülegkh khiid (Gandangejeelin, T. dga'-ldan dge-rgyas gling) started on 3 April, 1990.³⁸⁴ The monastery was given the name of the old main assembly hall of Deed khüree. R. Gochoo (1906-1996) and O. Baatar (1902-1994) were the key figures of the revival of the monastery. They met His Holiness, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Bakula rinpoche (1917-2003),³⁸⁵ Gurudeva rinpoche (1908-2009),³⁸⁶ and D. Choijamts, abbot of Gandan monastery. According to Yadamsüren,³⁸⁷ these two old monks put on their old monk robes which they preserved for 61 years, and started to collect old Buddhist statuettes and sutras from local people. Before the monastery destructions they both studied together with the Sixth gegeen, Jambatseren in the same philosophical class. O. Baatar and R. Gochoo monks both were born in the area of Bayan-Ulaan sub-province. O. Baatar was a monk of *Demchig datsan*. After the closure of the monastery he became a herdsman, and worked with a caravan which delivered domestic products on oxen carts to Ulaanbaatar and to Altanbulag. He learnt craft, and worked in a handicraft cooperative (*artyel'*). He had full ordination (*gelen*, T. *dge-slong*), and did not get marry. He passed away in 1994. R. Gochoo married Ch. Sereenen in the 1930's. They had six children. He was a teacher from 1936, party officer, and bookkeeper of a school till 1953. In 1956 he was a shepherd in the cooperative called Ulaan tug (Red Flag) then, was retired. He passed away in 1996. Other old surviving monks who did not participate in ceremonies were Nyamdondow, Ayuush, Norowoo, Yadamsüren, and Banzragch.

Yadamsüren gives the following data about the revival of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid:³⁸⁸ the Association of Devotees (*Süsegetenii kholboo*) had a main role in the revival. O. Baatar and R. Gochoo monks and others, such as Jantsanzamir monk, Nyamdondow (who did not participate in ceremonies, but stayed at home), D. (Dolgoriin) Lombo monk, B. Tseden-Ish monk, Ayuush, D. Sambuu astrologer monk, Tseden, Nanjid, Tüdew, Dorjgotow; the monks who belonged to the former Luu güinii khüree (Battsengel sum) namely Chimediin Choidor, and Lamzaw; the monks who belonged to the former Bulganii sumiin khüree, namely Choijinjaw and Banzragch; the monks, who belonged to the former Khan-Öndriin khüree (Arkhangai aimag, Ikh Tamir sum), namely Tsewegdorj (*showgor*), Damchaabadgar, Nanzad, Jambal, Janraijaw, and Byambajaw; the monks, who belonged to the former Jargalantiin khüree, namely Pürewdorj and Shagdar; Pürewdaawuu (*tsookhor*, the first *gonir*) monk, who belonged to the former Shireetiin khüree; the monks, who belonged to Mörön bagiin khüree (in Tariat sum), namely Nawaantayaa and B. Gomboragchaa; and Namuubud'yaa monk of Bürdiin khüree founded the Association of Devotees of Arkhangai. Its head became J. Jamsranjaw from Battsengel sum, who was a lay person. They submitted the following requests to the authorities: 1. Old religious accessories (*büree* trumpets, *bishgüür* trumpets, *tsan* cymbals, *khengereg* drums, etc. preserved in the Museum of Arkhangai province should be given to the monastery, 2. Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid monastery should be registered to start its operation officially, 3. Fundraising should start to use the religious museum building as monastery.

Under the guidance of R. Kherelbaatar, G. Choijookhüü and M. Chimedbazar, who worked in the museum, the artefacts of the museum started to be restored based on the instructions of O. Baatar. First local authorities did not agree with these movements, but finally L. Baasankhüü, the *aimag's* local governor (*aimgiin darga*) submitted the request officially to the Administrative Office of Religious Affairs (*Shashnii Khereg Erkhlekh Gazar*). In the 1990's Erdene zuu monastery and Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid monasteries received permission for operation first. The monastery received an UAZ van as well. J. Jamsranjaw, the head of the Association of Devotees and D. Lombo monk went to meet the representatives of the Administrative Office of Religious Affairs and the Committee of Development of Culture and Art (*Soyol Urlagiin Khөгjiliin Khoroo*), and Gandantegchenlin monastery. On 5 May 1990, L. Baasankhüü of the Executive Board (*Güitsetgekh Zakhirгаа*) decreed the 31st Decision to transfer the religious museum building of Tsetserleg (the old *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*) into religious use, and gave 300,000 tögrögs support from the Cultural Treasury (*Soyoliin san*).

According to Yadamsüren,³⁸⁹ the monastery started its operation on 17 May, 1990. O. Baatar of *Demchig datsan* of Zayaiin khüree became the abbot (*khamba*), Tserendorj monk of Zayaiin khüree became the *lowon* later Nawaantayaa from Möröngiin khüree became the *lowon*), Choidor monk from Luu güni khüree (Arkhangai aimag, Battsengel sum) became the *gewsh lam*, D. Sambuu (Sambuu *zurkhaich*) who was an astrologer monk in Zayaiin khüree became the chanting master, Norowoo, monk of Luu güni khüree became the disciplinary master (later B. Tsenden-Ish, monk of Zayaiin khüree became the disciplinary master), and Pürewdaawuu from Shiwa shireetiin khüree became the *gonir* (later, Dorjgotow from Zayaiin khüree became the *gonir*). The *daamal nyaraw* ('administrator, manager' and bookkeeper), was J. Jamsranjaw, but later, Kh. Natsagdorj to this duty. There was another old monk, Luwsan of *Agwa datsan*. Tserendorj *lowon* taught the old rules (*deg jayag*) together with Jambaldorj monk (Bulgan sum) and Ser-Od (Öndörsant sum, also known as Baruun *bagsh* according to the present monks of the monastery) who were asked to come from Ulaanbaatar. Everyone offered money to put the museum into religious use as a temple and also old accessories, artefacts and books. The community received 500,000 tögrög from Gandantegchenlin Monastery to start its operation. At the opening ceremony the following old monks participated: Jambaldorj, Ch. Choidor, D. Lombo, Choijinjaw, B. Tsenden-Ish, Sh. Luwsan, D. Sambuu astrologer, J. Jamsranjaw, Nawaantayaa, S. Tüdeu, Gomboragchaa, Byambajaw, R. Dashdendew, Nanzad, Damchaabadgar, Norow, Lamjaw, Banai, Tserenbat, Khawchig Sambuu, Jambal, Dorjgotow, etc.

According to Yadamsüren,³⁹⁰ Jambaldorj (Bulgan sum), who moved to Ulaanbaatar gave a lot of donations, such as sitting carpets, sutras and artefacts. People from Arkhangai aimag living in Ulaanbaatar such as G. Tserenbat (from Bayan-Ulaan sum), D. Sambuu, Ser-Od (from Öndörsant sum) also gave a lot of donations, such as Buddhist statuettes, books, alms and catering to the monks (*zed, manz tsaw*), and maintained the ceremonies in operation. Moreover, L. Khuushaan writer (from Töwshrüülekh sum), Rentsen painter (from Bulgan sum) started to popularize Luwsanprinlei. Local people gave also donations to the monastery, such as incense (*khüj*), silken scarves (*khadag*), offering cups (*tsögts*), etc. J. Khorolgaraw ordered sutras and created altars and shelves for the monastery.³⁹¹ He made the benches of the monks as well. Authorities and individuals also gave money, firewood, herds and flocks, a five-walled yurt and other donations, thus within a year the monastery had cattle, horses and 200 sheep. The operation of the monastery was revived on the 8th of the first summer month in 1990 after 53 years closure. Witnessing this successful revival, countryside sub-provinces also started revival activities: monasteries opened in Öndör-Ulaan, Tariat, Khangai, Jargalant,

Tsetserleg, Khaikhan, Battsengel, Ölziit, Khotont, and Tsenkher. In autumn 1991 old monks went to the countryside to found temples there. Bakula rinpoche, who supported the reopening of the monastery, personally came in September, 1990, and gave initiations (*nomiin awshig*) in Tsetserleg. Later Gurudeva rinpoche, Jado rinpoche, and representatives of the Association of Asian Buddhists visited the monastery as well as devotees and organisations from India, Thailand, Laos, Ceylon, Vietnam, Singapore, Korea, Japan, and other countries. D. Choijamts, the abbot of Gandantegchenlin monastery, and Ch. Dambajaw, the abbot of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin monastery also visited the monastery.

The stupa standing on the west in front of the ruined *Tsogchin* temple was erected in 1990, when Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid opened.

Forty children became monk in the beginning, such as T. Sharkhüü (his religious name is Bumsan), S. Jargalsaikhan, S. Mönkhgerel, J. Dawkharbayar, Kh. Baasanjargal, B. Günsennorow, and L. Chinzorig.³⁹² Their teachers were Dashdendew and Gomboragchaa monks, and others. Among them S. Mönkhgerel, S. Jargalsaikhan, and Kh. Baasanjargal became abbots later. L. Chinzorig founded a private monastery, Ölzii badruulagch khiid with his father, L. Lamsüren in 1996 reviving the tradition of the old Dood khüree. The disciple (*shaw*) of D. Lombo and son of R. Tümenjargal veterinary (Erdenemandal sum), T. Sharkhüü (Bumsan) has been studying for more than ten years in India preparing for the *lkhaaramba* (T. *lha-rams-pa*) exam, which is the highest scholar degree in Tibetan philosophy. Another disciple (*shaw*) of D. Lombo, S. Jargalsaikhan studied at Gandantegchenlin Monastery in *Dashchoimbel datsan* (T. *bkra-shis chos-'phel grwa-tshang*). Bumsan monk had studied there, too.

As the old monks have passed away, the present-day monk community of the monastery is led by the monks who were newly enrolled children in the monastery. They remember that O. Baatar (*khamba*), Tserendamba *lowon*, Sambuu *zurkhaich umzad*, Tsenden-Ish *gesgüi*, Dorjgotow (*manzchin*, later *gonir*) were the old monks leading the operation of the monastery that time. At the first ceremony about 60 old monks participated. Bakula rinpoche gave ordination to about 30 children in autumn 1990.

The first *Sakhius* ceremony was held in summer 1991. The main protector of this ceremony in this temple is *Lkham*.

After O. Baatar, Nawaantayaa, Sambuu, Choijinjaw, S. Mönkhgerel, N. Begzsüren, S. Jargalsaikhan, and Kh. Baasanjargal became the abbots of the monastery, in this order.

Present-day Operation and Ceremonial Practice

Kh. Baasanjargal (born 1973) has been the abbot since 2003. He is from the nearby Tsenkher sum, and became a monk of this monastery in 1990.

In the temple which was revived in 1990 in the present building being once the temple of *Sanduin khuwilgaan* ceremonies have been held everyday and butter lamps are lit (*mönkh khuraltai*, *mönkh zultai*) since 1990.

At present 30 monks belong to the community, but in summer only ten are in the temple as the monks usually go to the countryside for a holiday. Apart from the abbot J. Dawkharbayar *gewsh*, N. Begzsüren disciplinary master, Jambalsüren *lowon*, and Ölziidüüren chanting master lead the community.

There are three monks with novice vows (*getsel*). The monks of the monastery came from different sub-provinces of Arkhangai aimag, such as Khotont, Tariat, Battsengel, Jargalant, and Tsenkher. Some of them had their further training in Ulaanbaatar, and a few monks study in India. Bumsan is one of them, who has full-ordination (*gelen*), and has studied in Goman *datsan* (T. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*) for more than ten years (probably since 1995).

Other monks of the monastery study in Sera monastery.



*Revival in the 1990's. Photographer unknown.
Photo kept in the Museum of Arkhangai Province*



Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid (Gandangejeelin) in 2009



Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid (Gandangejeelin) in 2012



The temple building in 2012

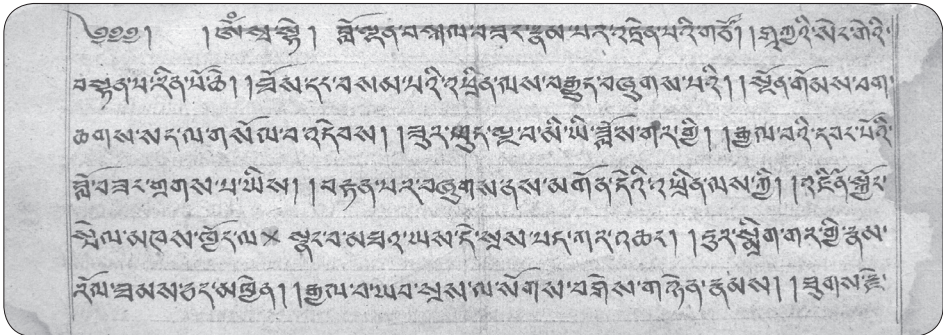


The community of the temple in 2009

Mongolian temples have differences in the ceremonial system, and also in the daily chanting called *Tsogchin* (T. *tshogs-chen*, ‘general assembly / great assembly’), which is a set of different shorter and longer texts recited in a given monastery every day in the given order. The variety of texts included on a given individual temple’s list of everyday chanting (*gorim*, T. *go-rim*, ‘sequence, order’, meaning the set of these texts), apart from the tradition followed, mostly depends on the temple’s size, that is, the number of its monks, meaning a restricted number of texts and therefore shorter everyday ceremonies for temples with extremely few monks. Usually a *Tsogchin* ceremony lasts for about 2-3 hours with a break. In general, every temple has on its list the same basic texts (sometimes with slight variations, such as longer or shorter versions of the same text, or variations in the stanzas included in their version of a text), together with their own choice of special texts for example sacrificial cake offerings or other texts to the protector deities of the given temple. The everyday chanting of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid consists of the following texts: *Itsel* (or *Jawdo*, T. *skyabs-gro*, ‘Taking refuge’), *Dashchiirawiin san* (T. *bkra-shis char-’bebs(-kyi) bsang(s)*, full title: *bsang-mchod bkra-shis char-’bebs*, ‘Incense offering to cause rainfall of auspiciousness’), *Khiimoriin san* (T. *rlung-rta’i bsangs*, ‘Incense offering for spiritual strength / vitality’ [represented by wind horse]), *Bulgan uuliin san* (‘Incense offering to Bulgan Mountain’), *Lamiin chodow* (T. *bla-ma’i mchod-pa*, ‘Offering to the Master’) with *Tsogchid* (T. *tshogs-mchod*, ‘Feast offering’), *Soldew* (T. *gsol-’debs*, ‘Invocation’), which is a prayer to Luwsanprinlei, *Naidan jüdüg* or *Naidan magtaal*

(T. *gnas-brtan (bstod-pa) / gnas-brtan bcu-drug-gi bstod-pa*, '(Eulogy of) the (sixteen) sthaviras or arhats'), *Lamaadan* (T. *bla-ma dang* (beginning of the text), 'Lamas and...'), a short prayer to Mañjuśa for attaining sharp mind and improving wisdom). Then, the monks have the first break when they drink their teas [*ekhiin/ ankhonii manz*]. Afterwards, the recitation of one of the ten eulogies (*Magtaal*) begins, as monks recite daily only one of the ten texts in the following order: *Gawsümbe* (T. *skabs-gsum* (beginning of the text), 'The three times [past, present and future]', full title: *bstod-pa byin-rlabs nyer-'jug-ma*), *Gandanlkhawjaa* (T. *dga'-ldan lha brgya-ma*, 'Hundred deities of Tuśita'), *Nishonchirгаа / Nishonjirгаа* (T. *nyi-zhon 'char-ga*, 'Arising Sun'), *Sawiin chemba* (T. *zab byangs mkhyen-pa*), *Khayonan / Khainyam* (T. *mkha' mnyam-ma*), *Dadündagwo* (T. *rta 'dun bdag-po*), *Sersün denchog* (T. *srid gsum 'dren mchog*), *Rawjanjalgon* (T. *rab-'byams rgyas kun*), *Lünrig ralzai* (T. *lun-rigs ral mdzes*), *Jachen tsogni* (T. *rgya-chen tshogs gnyis*), *Dünjii namkhar* (T. *mdun-gyi nam-mkhar*, 'In the sky', a prayer to Padmasambhava), *Dembereldodwa* (T. *rten-'brel bstod-pa*, 'Eulogy of the interdependent connection'), *Nogoon Dar' ekh* (T. *sgrol-ma*, 'an eulogy of (the Green) Tārā), *Tsagaan Dar' ekh* (T. *sgrol dkar*, an eulogy of (the White) Tārā), *Düger/Dugar* or *Tsagaan Shükhert* (T. *gdugs-dkar-gyi bstod-pa*, 'Eulogy of Sitāpatrā', *Shirnen* (or *Shiiraw nyambu* / *Do* (T. *sher snying / shes-rab snying-po / mdo*, 'Heart Sūtra, Heart / Essence of wisdom'. At the revival a 20 minutes break was held for the wish of elderly monks after this prayer. Then, *Jambaltsanjid* (T. *'jam-dpal mtshan brjod*, 'Enumerating/reciting the names of Mañjuśrī'), *Yeröoliin khaan* or *Sanjid molom* (T. *bzang-spyod smon-lam, bzang-spyod smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po / 'phags-pa bzang-spyod smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*, 'Prayer of good actions' / 'King of the prayers, the noble prayer of good actions'. One of the six prayers (*Zurgaan yerööl*), *Sanjee günlaa* or *Maidariin yerööl/ Jambiin yerööl* (T. *sangs-rgyas kun-la* (beginning of the text) or (*'phags-pa*) *byams-pa'i smon-lam(-gyi rgyal-po)* (title of the text), a prayer of Maitreya), *Jambii güsüg* (T. *byams-pa'i sku-gzugs*), *Maan'* (*toolokh/unshikh*, mantra recitation), *Sakhiusnii ganshigüüd* (T. *bskang-bshags*, 'fullfilment and confession', parts form the text to the wrathful deities), *Namshir* (or *Choiwoo perenlei*, T. *na ma shrī / (chos-rgyal 'phrin-las)*, 'Duties of Dharmarājā, (epithet of Yama)', a part of the texts to *Choiwoo* (T. *chos-rgyal*), also a part of the *Arwan khangal* text to the ten wrathful deities), *Arwan dorwul / dörömpöl* (T. *gtor-'bul*, Sacrificial cake offering (to the protective deities, full title: *yid-dam yang gsang khros-pa sogs-kyi gtor-'bul bzhugs-so*, a text of Sera igchaa), *Jinlawtsogzol* (T. *byin-rlabs mchog-stsol*, 'Giving the greatest blessing', the most well known prayer composed by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar), *Jelwa malüi* (T. *rgyal-ba ma-lus* (beginning of the text), 'All victorious ones', full title: *dge-ldan lugs-bzang rgyas-pa'i smon-lam*, 'prayer spreading piety and good morals',

a prayer recited for the Teachings to flourish for a long time), *Dash* (T. *bkra-shis*, 'Auspiciousness verses', benediction prayer), *Demberel dodow* (T. *rten-'brel bstod-pa*, 'Eulogy of the interdependent connection', an eulogy of Buddha composed by Tsongkhapa). The specialities of the *Tsogchin* reading in this temple are that they recite the eulogies of Zaya geegen, called *Lamiin magtaluud* ('eulogies of the lama') or *Lodongalsan sudar* (T. *blo-ldan bskal-bzang*, 'Nice kalpa with intellect'), and the incense offering to Bulgan Mountain (*Bulgan uuliin san*).



Lodongalsan, an eulogy of Zaya geegen

According to Kh. Baasanjargal abbot, as monthly ceremonies on the 23rd of each lunar month the *Sakhuis* ceremony (or *Arwan khangal*, ceremony honouring the wrathful deities protecting the Teaching – this is usually held on the 29th of the lunar month) is held to honour the wrathful deities, especially *Lkham*. At the request of individuals on the 8th and 15th *Oroin yerööl* (T. *smon-lam*, '(evening) prayer') ceremony, and on the 12th and 18th *Tsegmediin chogo* (or *Tsewegmediin chogo*, T. *tshe-dpag-med-kyi cho-ga*, ceremony to worship *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmed*, T. *tshe-dpag-med*, S. Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life) ceremony are held monthly.

Regarding annual ceremonies the festival days of Buddha are held, for example at Tsagaan sar, the Mongolian New Year the 15-day ceremony of *Choimbrel* is held (T. *cho-'phrul chen-po'i dus-chen* or *Choinpürel jon aa*, T. *chos-'phrul bco-linga*, 'Fifteen miracles' 'the great festival days of Buddha's miracle showing'), which commemorate Buddha's defeat of the six masters, the holders of heretical doctrines (*tersüüd*, T. *log-par lta-ba*). It is usually held in Tibetan and Mongolian Gelukpa Monasteries from the 1-15th of the New Year, but here it is held from the 5th to the 20th. Nowadays, *Khuuchin khurals* of the Old Year are not held, and *Sor* (T. *zor*) is not burnt. *Tseder Lkham* ceremony is performed at New Year Eve. The monks do not hold *Nünnai* fasting. To revive the Maitreya circumambulation was planned in 1990, but it could not be revived until now. Its reintroduction

is an important plan of the monastery. For the commemoration of Tsongkhapa on the 25th of the first winter month, hundreds of butter-lamps are lit by the monks and local people on the hillside of Bulgan uul, which is a wonderful experience in devotees' life. Individuals worship Tsongkhapa's rock painting regularly, though women are not allowed to climb up to the hill. Monks of the monastery and devotees worship the *owoo* of Bulgan uul and *Sairiin owoo* in summer, as well as Khaan uul. Suwarga Khairkhan Mountain, which is situated south of the monastery in Tsenkher subprovince is venerated in every 4th year in summer. This mountain was worshipped by Luwsanprinlei and the monks of Zayaiin khüree, and became worshipped again in 2009 by the State as Suwarga Khairkhan is one of the holy mountains worshipped nationally for the well-being of the Mongolian State and the Mongols. Near this mountain juniper (*aarts*) and carnation (*dal'*) grow.

In addition to performing the ceremonies and daily chantings, monks in all the temples perform readings of religious texts at the request of individuals. Some texts which can be requested by individuals have fixed prices, while other are recited for donations. The texts with fixed prices in this monastery are as follows:

1. *Bekhen Ganjuur* (T. *bka'-gyur*, the teachings or translated words of Buddha, Kanjur written in black ink): 5000 tögrög
2. *Oroin yerööl* (T. *smon-lam*, '(evening) prayer', Ceremony held for the benefit of the deceased ones): 5000 tögrög
3. *Lkham khurakh* (Ceremony in honour of *Lkham*, T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*) on the 23rd of the month: 5000 tögrög
4. *Burkhadiig takhikh* ('Worship of the Buddhas'): 3000 tögrög
5. *Tsegmediin chogo* (T. *tshe-dpag-med-kyi cho-ga*, Ceremony in honour of Amitāyus) held on the 12th and 18th of the month: 5000 tögrög
6. *Nyantaggügin* (T. *nyams thag dbugs 'byin*, ceremony after someone's passing away):³⁹³ 5000 tögrög
7. *Ulaan Yum* (T. *yum*, 'Red Prajñāpāramitā', Prajñāpāramita Sūtra written in vermilion ink): 1000 tögrög
8. *Süld duudakh* (T. *bla 'gugs*, 'Calling back the soul' to restore one's health and to revive one's spiritual strength / vitality, to prolong life and to have health): 1000 tögrög
9. *Dallaga awkhuulakh* (T. *gyang-'gug*, 'calling', a ritual calling prosperity or for summoning the forces of prosperity): 1000 tögrög
10. *Suudal zasakh* or *suudal salgakh*, a remedy, 'To amend or separate the birth years', recited in case the wife and the husband or family members were born in the same year of the 12 year cycle: 1000 tögrög
11. *Serjim örgökh* (T. *gser-skyems*, Golden Libation offering): 1000 tögrög



Monks chanting texts for the requests of individuals

The main worshipped deities of the monastery are Buddha Śākyamuni, *Jigjid* (T. *'jigs-byed*, S. Bhairava, or the 'Terrifying' Yāmāntaka, one of the three main Gelukpa tantras/deities, one of the ten wrathful protector deities), and *Lkham*.

The statuettes of Buddha Śākyamuni and *Jigjid* are placed on the main altar. The smaller statuette of *Lkham* given by Gurudeva rinpoche is one of the main objects of worship in the monastery.

Many small statuettes, painted scrolls and ornaments decorate the spacious temple, which is one of the most beautiful temples in Mongolia.



Altar with the statue of Buddha Śākyamuni

The monastery possesses a new Tibetan Kanjur and several old sutras. They have only a few old objects of worship, such as a metal ritual dagger (*nandin pürew*, T. *phur-bu*) which was preserved by Lombo monk, a conch shell turning clockwise (*dun*, T. *dung*, 32 cm) preserved by O. Baatar monk, and covered in silver by Gerel in 1993-1994, and other small items.



Stupas built in 2012

The stupa standing in the courtyard in front of the large prayer pavilion wheel on the East was erected in 2006. The roof and the wall of the temple building were renovated in 2011 by state support, and instead of the wooden fence of the courtyard a stone fence was constructed that time as well as a yurt-shaped building made of brick. In August, 2012 two stupas were erected, and prayer wheels were put surrounding the temple building. Later, a new prayer wheel pavilion was erected in the West, behind the two new stupas. A large-scaled plan of the monastery is to build a school within the monastery's enclosure in order to train young novices.

Though the old monks revived the faded tradition, and the present-day community maintains and develops practices, the training of children as recruitee is required, as at present only adult monks belong to the community. The monastery opened a bank account for donations (Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid: Khan Bank, Swift Code: AGMOMNUB, account number: 5135645735).

In this new building the present incarnation of Zaya geegeen would also have a residential place. He was acknowledged from this monastery in 1999, and has a temple in Ulaanbaatar, but visits his home area from time to time.

He usually comes for the New Year Festival, which is held from 5-20th of the first spring month as was the tradition in Zayaiin khüree. *Danshig* (T. *brtan-bzhugs*) ceremony is held for his longevity when he comes.

Teachings are held in the temple for individuals by Bumsan monk or others, mainly in summer to understand the teachings of Buddhism better. The guard monk of the rebuilt *Galdan zuu* is nominated from this monastery, too. Some monks of the monastery study in Ulaanbaatar, and they hold ceremonies at *Güshig datsan*, the temple of Zaya geegeen there.

One of them studies medicine in *Manba datsan* (T. *sman-pa grwa-tshang*), a medical temple in Ulaanbaatar. On 9-10th August, 2012, there was the anniversary of the first *Sakhius* ceremony held in 1991, when relatives of those monks who belonged once to Zayaiin khüree, and monks who became monks in the revived monastery in the 1990's gathered, and held a common ceremony in honour of *Lkham*.

Monks often go to the countryside to erect stupas, and have good connection with a monastery in Erdenet. As Mongolian monasteries do not get support from the state, their existence and future depend on donations.



Interior of the monastery



Children studying Tibetan prayers in the monastery in 2013

Galdan Zuu

The temple was rebuilt and reopened on its original site, on the foreground of Bulgan uul (GPS: N 47°29'01,7" E 101°26'58,5" elevation 1757m) in 1994. The old temple once housed the famous Zuu, the statue of the young form of Śākyamuni Buddha given by Galdan boshigt. In 2008 a concrete stair was built leading to the temple and a new, Korean-style Buddha statue was built in front of it. Today only one monk belongs to this temple, nominated from Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid. The new statues of Zuu Buddha and his two disciples were built there by G. Pürewbat sculptor monk of Gandantegchenlin monastery in 2011, and the temple building was also renovated and repainted.



Galdan zuu temple today



Zuu and his two disciples by G. Pürewbat monk artist

Ölzii Badruulagch Khiid

According to Yadamsüren, Ölzii badruulagch monastery was founded in 1996.³⁹⁴ It stands to the west of the ruined main assembly hall, in a fenced-off courtyard (GPS: N 47°28'49.6" E 101°27'03,4"). The surrounding wall is decorated by stupas and prayer-wheels. In front of the yurt temple entrance there are big stones delivered here from the old Dood khüree site.

Ch. Choidor, Tsewegjaw, R. Dashdendew, Jambal, D. Sambuu, Namobud'yaa old monks agreed to revive it with the name of Dood khüree, Ölzii badruulagch. 19 people such as Ch. Choidor, L. Lamsüren and his older brother, L. Laagansüren, N. Chimedbaldar, J. Khorolgaraw indicated the request of the monastery foundation to the *aimag's* authority on 1 July, 1997. On 3 September 1997 a resolution was issued. Funds were raised by L. Lamsüren and L. Laagansüren. Ceremonies started in a six-wall yurt.

The old monks trained the novices. According to Yadamsüren,³⁹⁵ devotees gave donations, thus in a month about 1,5 million tögrög was collected as well as herds and flocks worth 2 million tögrög, a five-wall yurt, and religious equipment. J. Khorolgaraw and L. Lamsüren donated livestock, D. Pürew gave a five-wall yurt,

while others, such as L. Lagaansüren, Yanjinlkham, B. Tseweenamjil gave 5000-10000 tögrögs or herds and flocks. After the foundation, G. Gantömör, the director of Ochir-Undraa Group gave 5 million tögrög and ordered the 108 volumes of the Kanjur from the Wu-Tai Shan or Kumbum monastery. D. Bayarsaikhan went to Goman *datsan*, to India. His route was supported by Kh. Mönkhbat, who also gave donations.

In May 1998 the monastery's board was nominated, and the first *Tsogchin khural* was held on the 3rd of the first summer month, in May. Participating monks of the first ceremony were R. Dashdendew old monk, Tsewegdorj old monk, Jambal old monk, D. Sambuu old monk, L. Chinzorig, B. Ankhbayar, and other young monks, such as B. Gendensüren, D. Gantögs, S. Erdenebulgan, E. Enkhbayar, B. Bulgan-Erdene, B. Lamjaw, Azjargal, J. Shijirbaatar, Baldan, and L. Batsüren. In the financial affairs the following people took part: L. Lamsüren, J. Khorolgaraw, D. Bayan-Ochir, W. Tsedensodnom, B. Tseweenamjil, Sengee, L. Laagansüren, Ts. Battogtokh, B. Bayansan.

Three old monks trained novices: Ch. Choidor, D. Lombo (they passed away by the time the monastery opened), and D. Sambuu. Later, the abbot became L. Chinzorig, the *lowon* became L. Enkhbayar, the chanting masters Ganzorig and Dawaakhüü, the disciplinary master became S. Buyankhüü, and later B. Gendensüren. Ch. Choidor *gewsh* trained several novices, and he was the first teacher of the present Zaya gegeen.³⁹⁶



The revived Ölzii badruulagch khiid



Interior of the temple



Stones taken from the old Dood khüree site



Ölzii badruulagch khiid from the North

L. Lamsüren, the astrologer and administrator of the yurt-shaped temple now (born 1949, in Battengel sum) claims that Ölzii badruulagch khiid was founded by Choidor old monk on 29 May 1998. First, a yurt was put up on the west of the museum, in front of the ruins of the main assembly hall. The stupa standing on the east in front of the ruined *Tsogchin* temple was erected in 2001 by Jam'yanjaw.

They moved to the present site, to the west of the old main assembly hall in 2005. In the beginning the temple had eight monks at all: five old monks, Choidor *khamba*, Dashdendew, Sambuu, Showgor, Namubudd'yaa, and three children, Gendensüren, Chinzorig, and Batsüren. Lamsüren became the administrator of the temple. Today 30 monks belong to the community. The temple has everyday ceremony from 10am, called *Baga Tsogchin*. Since 2004 the abbot of the monastery is L. Chinzorig (born 1974), Lamsüren's son, whose master was Lombo monk when he first became a monk in 1990 in Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid monastery. Then, he studied at Gandan. Apart from the abbot a disciplinary master, Gendensüren, a chanting master, Ganzorig, and a *lowon*, Enkhbayar are the ranked monks of the monastery. The monastery has a fully-ordained monk as well.

Concerning monthly ceremonies on the 8th and 15th of the month *Ikh Tsogchin* is chanted. On the 15th *Tsegmediin chogo* and *Ganjuur* are held. On 29th of the month *Sakhuis* ceremony is held. *Lkham* is the main protector of the temple. On the 30th *Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwaa* (T. *sgrol-ma'i mandala bzhi-ba*, the Four Maṇḍalas of Tārā) is performed and eternal butter lamp is lit (*mönkh zul*). Regarding annual ceremonies *Ikh Tsogchin* is read on great days (*düitsen ödör*). They hold *Khuuchin khural* and *Tseder lkham* ceremony with thanksgiving offering before the Lunar New Year and *Choimbrel jünaa* (*Choinpürel jon aa*, T. *chos-'phrul bco-lnga*, 'Fifteen miracles') at the beginning of the Lunar New Year for fifteen days. The monastery possesses the volumes of a new Tibetan Kanjur. The texts recited every day are (*Tsogchin gorim*) the following: *Itgel*, *Gandanlkhawjaa*, *Shirnen*, *Dashchiirawiin san*, *Lamiin chodow*, *Naidan jüdüg*, *Londongalsan* (*Zaya gegeenii magtaal*, an eulogy to Zaya gegeen), *Lkhaaraw soldew* (or *Zaya gegeenii soldew*, T. *zhabs brtan* (?) *gsol-'debs*, 'invocation', an invocation to Zaya gegeen), *Doodüdüw / Dodüdüwa* (T. *mdo bsdus-pa*, 'abridged sūtra', in Mongolia a short version of Prajñāpāramitā is called by this name), *Jambal tsanjid*, [there is a break for tea], eight *Yerööl* texts (eight prayers) including the 'six prayers' (*zurgaan yerööl*, T. *smon-lam drug*), namely *Sanjid molom* or *Yerööliin khan* (T. (*'phags-pa*) *bzang-spyod smon-lam (-gyi rgyal-po)*, *smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*, 'prayer of good actions', 'king of prayers'); *Sanje gүнla* or *Maidariin yerööl / Jambiiin yerööl* (T. *sangs-rgyas kun-la* (beginning of the text) or (*'phags-pa*) *byams-pa'i smon-lam(-gyi rgyal-po)* (title of the text), a prayer of Maitreya); *Dagii janchiw* or *Bod'satwagiin yerööl* (T. *bdag-gis byang-chub*

(beginning of the text) or *spyod-'jug smon-lam* (title of the text)); *Chogjü jalwa* (T. *phyogs-bcu rgyal-ba* (beginning of the text) or *thog-mtha' bar-gyi smon-lam* (title of the text)); *Püljin* or *Diwaajin(giin) molom* (T. *phul-'byung mdzad-pas* (beginning of the text) or *bde-smon/ bde-ba-can-du skye-ba'i smon-lam* (title of the text)); *Sandui/ Sandüi(n) molom* or *Gewaan di / Gawaan di* (T. *dge-ba 'di-yis* (beginning of the text) or *gsang-'dus smon-lam* (title of the text)); *Shambaliin yerööl* (T. *sham-bha-la'i smon-lam*, 'Prayer of Shambhala', recited for the deceased), *Jambiigüsüg*, *Dorombiin* (*Lkhamiin dorombo*, T. *lha-mo'i gtor'bul*), *Dash*, *Jelwa malüi*, *Sanje namseg* (or *Dambarmaa / Dambjewii molom*, T. *bstan-'bar-ma* (short title) / *sangs-rgyas rnam-gzigs* (beginning of the text), 'Alight Teaching', 'prayer of the spreading of the teaching', a prayer to the seven buddhas who have already appeared in our kalpa). The monastery has some old ritual implements and accessories and sutras. As for the texts requested by individuals, here some texts have prescribed prices, whilst others are recited for donations.

Gandangejeelin / Khalkhiin Zaya Gegeenii Gūshig Datsan in Ulaanbaatar

The 15th incarnation, or the seventh Mongolian monk incarnation, Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed (T. Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin phul-'byung 'jigs-med) is the present head of both the revived parent-monastery in Arkhangai and the Ulaanbaatar centre, *Gandangejeelin* (T. *dga'-ldan dge-rgyas gling*, 'monastery of joyful flourishing virtue') or *Gūshig datsan*.³⁹⁷ He was acknowledged in 1999 from Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, and studied at the Sera Jey monastic school (Ser je / Sera je, T. se-ra /ser byes) of Sera monastery, South India, Bylakuppe (Mysore district, Karnataka state) from 1999-2004 where he took full ordination. He resides in Ulaanbaatar, but often visits Arkhangai province and his monastery, especially at great religious events such as the Tsongkhapa commemoration day, or the Lunar New Year. A ceremony of longevity (*Danshig örgökh*, T. *brtan-bzhugs*) is performed in his honour on these occasions as privilege of *khutagts*.

His yurt temple in Ulaanbaatar was opened in September, 2004. First, it was situated on Zanabazar Street, on the way up to Gandan monastery (GPS: N 47°55.063', E 106°55.703'), but in 2009, it moved to the slope of Dasganii owoo (GPS: N 47°55.426', E 106°53.902').³⁹⁸ There are eight stupas beside the site. From the combined community in Tsetserleg and Ulaanbaatar several monks study in India and in the Zanabazar Buddhist University in Gandan. At present about 20 monks held ceremonies in this temple. Most of them came from the parent-monastery, but others joined only in Ulaanbaatar. Some of them have *gelen* and *getsel* vows.



The yurt temple of Gandangejelin or Gūshig datsan in Ulaanbaatar



The current incarnation heading the temple



Interior of the yurt temple

The main protector of the temple is *Lkham*. Daily chanting is held between 9.00am and 1.00pm, and consists of the following texts in the following order: *Itgel / Jawdo*, *Lamiin chodow*, *Naidan / Naidan magtaal*, *Lamaadan*, *Tsagaan Dar' ekh* (T. *sgrol-dkar*, 'white Tārā', an eulogy of (the White) Tārā), *Nogoon Dar' ekh* (T. *sgrol-ma*, 'Green Tārā', an eulogy of (the Green) Tārā), *Tsagaan Shükhert* also known as *Düger / Dugar* and as *Seded* (T. *gdugs-dkar*, 'Goddess with the white parasol (Sitātapatrā)'), *Shirnen* or *Shiraw nyambu*, *Yeröölüüd* ['prayers', three of the 'six prayers' (*Zurgaan yerööl*) are recited here, including *Sanjid molom* or *Yerööliin khaan* and *Jambiin molom / Sanje günla / Sanja(a) günla*], *Jinlaw tsogzol*, *Jelwa malüi*, and *Dash*.

After this, the monks recite texts requested by individuals until about 5.00pm. There are no fixed prices for requesting texts here so people pay according to their means. There is no list of texts that can be requested. The system of ceremonies differs from the schedule of the parent-monastery in Tsetserleg. Thus, the monthly special ceremonies performed in the temple are as usual in Gelukpa temples in Ulaanbaatar: on the 8th of the lunar month the ritual of the Medicine Buddha (*Manal* ceremony, T. *sman-bla*, S. Bhaiśajyaguru); on the 14th the ritual to honour the 16 disciples of Buddha (*Naidan chogo*, T. *gnas-brtan cho-ga*, a ceremony for the sixteen arhats, the main disciples of the Buddha); on the 15th Guhyasamāja tantra (*Sanduin jüd*, the Guhyasamāja tantra, T. *gsang-'dus rgyud*) and gurupūjā with a feast-offering (*Lamiin chodwiin tsogchid*, T. *bla-ma'i mchod-pa*, 'offering to the Master' with *Tsogchid*, T. *tshogs-mchod*, 'feast offering') are recited; on the 29th ceremony in honour of the protector deities (*Sakhius*) is performed; and on the 30th the Four Maṇḍalas of Tārā are offered (*Dar' ekhiin mandal shiwaa*). Every Sunday *Oroin yerööl* ceremony is held for the deceased. Apart from the head, the monastic authority consists of the *lowon*, a chanting master, a disciplinary master and a *daamal lam*. There is a fortune-teller as well.

Around on the wall of the yurt there are painted scrolls of the reincarnations of Zaya bandid. On the altar there is a huge image of *Lkham*, an image of Buddha, a large photograph of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, a portrait of Jambatseren *gegeen*, and a photo of the present reincarnation. Astrologers of the temple minister to individuals, operating either in a separate building or in a yurt alongside the yurt-shaped temple. The monastic authorities plan to construct a permanent building for the temple and to establish a monastic school.

REMAINED ITEMS, ARTEFACTS AND ACCESSORIES PRESERVED FROM ZAYAIIN KHÜREE

According to the reminiscence of S. Tüdeu, during the monastery destruction in 1937 and 1938 religious items and pages of Tibetan books and their covering clothes were scattered and thus covered Bulgan uul and the area surrounding the *khüree*. The huge statues were delivered to Ulaanbaatar, and though the building of the present-day Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid functioned as a religious museum until 1990, not much remained for today from the old objects of worship, the many-volumed library, and the personal belongings of the *gegeens*.

Today, the Museum of Arkhangai Province, Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid, and the descendants of monks who once belonged to Zayaiin khüree possess a handful of sacred objects, sutras, and small religious items, whilst small objects of everyday use, such as offering cups and other equipments still come to the light from time to time occasionally from the ground of private courtyards where temples and the dwellings of monks were situated before.

The relatives of Jambatseren claim that apart from his old photo, nothing has remained from his personal belongings in the family. However, the monk contemporaries of Jambatseren possessed some of his belongings. For instance a relative of Sambuu *gawj* has old boxes and a writing board and pen used by Jambatseren. R. Gochoo monk (1906-1996) was the assistant of Jambatseren, and was a key figure of the revival. His family preserves some of Jambatseren's and Gochoo monks' belongings, for instance a carpet, an old altar box decorated by vajras, a conch shell, bowls, an incense vessel, a sacred water pot, the Eight Auspicious Signs made of silver, silver offering cups, a small box with some documents, a small box with talismans, a sandalwood rosary decorated by the nine jewels, a writing board, a four-legged fireplace, and other small objects of worship. The most precious item is a white porcelain cup in a box. It is said to have been gifted by the Manchu emperor and the inscription of the cup confirms this statement (*Da qing chao long nian zhi*, 'It was prepared during the period of Qianlong emperor (1735-1796) of the Great Ching dynasty').³⁹⁹ The family preserves Gochoo monk's monk robe and hat as well.



Remained items of Jambatseren gegeen

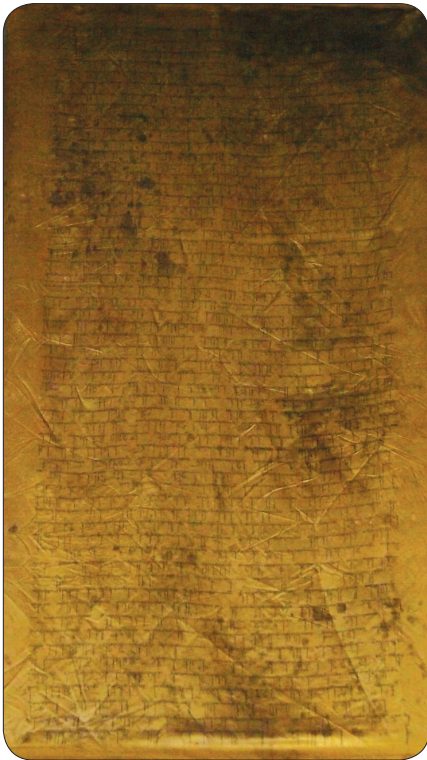


Gochoo monk's robe

Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid possesses an old conch shell and a ritual dagger, as well as small objects of worship. The conch shell is used during the *Choimbrel* ceremony at the New Year, but the ritual dagger is kept in secret. At the revival of the monastic tradition old monks of different rural monasteries gathered in the revived temple, and several monks and lay people donated old artefacts, accessories, musical instruments, and sutras to the monk community. Therefore, it is unknown for today what exactly was inherited from Zayaiin khüree and what from other monasteries, but from Buddhist point of view this question has not much importance.

The hugest collection of Jambatseren's belongings and the remained objects of Zayaiin khüree are preserved now in the Museum of Arkhangai Province. In the renovation of the temples and objects R. Kherelbaatar, G. Chojookhüü, and M. Chimedbazar took part.⁴⁰⁰ At present the museum possesses the following relevant items:

- The stupa containing the relics of Luwsanprinlei, 59x59 cm, 140 cm high. (Renovated in 2013.)
- Another very similar stupa, 59x59 cm, 140 cm high, containing the relics of his next incarnations (possibly of the Second and Third gegeens) (Renovated in 2013.)
- Sculpture of *Tsagaan shükhert* (or *Dugar*, T. *gdugs dkar*, S. *Sitātapatrā*) of Zayaiin khüree, 50x34 cm
- Sculpture of *Zuu* (T. *jo-bo*) of Zayaiin khüree, 76x26 cm
- Sculpture of *Tsend Ayuush* (or *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmid*, T. *tshe-dpag-med*, S. *Amitāyus*) of Zayaiin khüree, 60x48 cm
- *Zayaiin jayag* (T. *bca'-yig*, regulation) hanging in the middle of the temple
- Thangka of *Lkham* (T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, S. *Śrīdevī*) of Zayaiin khüree
- Thangka of *Jigjid* (T. *'jigs byed*, S. *Bhairava*) of Zayaiin khüree
- *Rigana* (T. *rigs lnga cod-pan*, 'crown of the five families'), five-lobed crown or diadem decorated by the Five Buddhas, worn by the First gegeen and his reincarnations (32x52x18,5 cm)



Zayaiin jayag



Thangka of Jigjid



Rigana crown

- A slipper, used by the Sixth geegen when he was 9 years old (25x7 cm)
- A nail-set of the Fifth geegen (6,5x10 cm) in a box
- Pearls of the Fifth geegen received from Korea
- A seal holder box (*tamgiin khairtsag*, 12,5x13x19,5 cm) of the Sixth geegen
- A fan of the Sixth geegen (its box: 30 cm)
- Bed of the Sixth geegen's mother, which was situated previously in the *Semchin* (83x185x42 cm, back side 73 cm)



Bed of the Sixth geegen's mother

- Sandalwood mirror given to the Sixth geegen by Nicholas Tsar in 1914 or 1916, 89x206 cm
- Painting showing Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei (not an old painting)
- Painting showing the Sixth geegen, Jambatseren with his wife (not an old painting)
- A five-legged table (80x48,5x27,5 cm). It was broken during the purges.

- Two tools of the *Jinsreg* (T. *sbyin-sreg(s)*, S. *homa*) fire offering ceremony. These long spoon and ladle were used to pour melted butter to the fire to burn differing grains and other offerings. The two tools (72-78 cm long) together are called ‘the fire offering implements made of cast metal’ (*ganlög*, T. *dgang-blugs*), which is a common name of *ganser* (T. *dgang-gzar*, S. *patri*), that is, the ‘filler’ with which butter is poured into the other landle, and the *lögser* (T. *blugs-gzar*, S. *śruva*) the ‘pourer’, or ritual ladle with a long handle to pour clarified butter in the sacrificial fire. The melted butter is poured to the *lögser* by the *ganser*, and from the long beak of the *lögser* it is poured into the fire. Generally, these tools are used for fire-offerings held to amend mistakes and omissions of meditation before *Tsam* dance, or other meditational events.
- Two silver *bishgüür* trumpets (62 cm, lower part’s diameter is 17 cm)
- Three *damar* drums (T. *da-ma-ru* or *rnga-chung*, S. *ḍamaru*), one of them is a *damaru* for *Zod* rituals
- Three ritual daggers (*pürew*, T. *phur-bu*)
- Conch shells, *ganlin*, and other religious objects and instruments said to be used in *Zayaiin khüree*
- Six small objects which came to light when the museum’s toilet was dug in 1998. These were made of sandalwood and belonged to *Zayaiin khüree* (two lions, Padmasambhava, a female bodhisattva, etc.)
- Monk robes of Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei (?)

The model of the monastery (with mistakes, not resembling the original architectural features and arrangement), a painting of Wu-tai-shan, a medical sutra (*Emiin sudar*), a seal (*tamga*), a book and a brush, a tea pot (*dombo*), a monk robe, several statuettes in different size depicting mainly Tsongkhapa and his two disciples, ritual objects, pictures (*Lkham*, *Jamsran*, etc.), copper/brass cups, mandalas, prayer wheels, offering cups, blocks for printing, few sutras, benches of monks, many thangkas, small miniatures of clay (*tsats*, T. *tsha-tsha*), prayer flags (*lündaa*, T. *rlung-rta*, ‘wind-horse’), and *Tsam* masks are also exhibited in the museum but their origin is unknown, as their majority were donated by individuals. Most of the religious items are exhibited in the western *Güden*, which is furnished as a temple.

In the middle *Güden*, the new photograph of *Maidariin chuluu* is exhibited, as well as small boxes, a medical sutra, and medical bags with Tibetan inscription (e.g. *brin-zal zla-’od*, *smän ser chen*), instruments of torture, and seals of princes (e.g. *Tsetserlegiin chuulganii dargiin tamga*). However, it is not confirmed whether

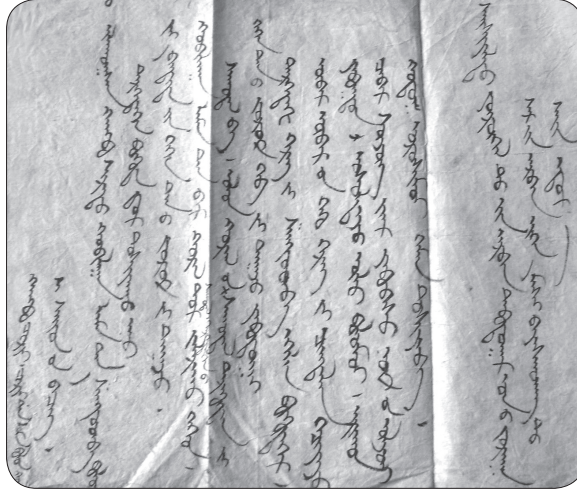
these objects were originally preserved in Zayaiin khüree. In the eastern *Güden* there is a photo of the revival of the monastery in the 1990's. The altar looked different from today, and the arrangement of painted scrolls was also different. The storage of the museum is in the roof level. There are large, old boxes, five boards with old photos, and a red *Sor* offering. In the vitrines there are small ritual objects, such as the Eight Auspicious Signs used as ends of flag poles, a *shashir* (T. *zhwa ser*, 'yellow cap') and other types of hats for monks, ritual daggers, fragments of the Seven Royal Treasures (T. *rgyal srid sna bdun*), and other ornaments.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES ON THE MONASTERY, OLD PHOTOGRAPHS AND PAINTINGS

Written Sources

Tibetan sutras kept or written in Zayaiin khüree are preserved now in Gandantegchenlin Monastery and in the National Library of Mongolia, as it was mentioned in the chapter 'Eminent Polymaths associated with the Monastery'. Besides, Mongolian documents exist as well, rather in administrative topics. In spite of the fact that Zayaiin khüree had a *Shanzodwiin yaam* ministry with many officials and clerks, and had correspondence with monasteries and authorities, only a handful of written documents remained for today. Though the catalogue of the local archives in Tsetserleg city contains a register of monks of the monastery, it is missing from the collection by now. However, in the National Archives of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar one can find relevant materials from the three periods of Mongolian history (Manchu period: 1691-1911, Bogd khan's reign: 1911-1921, beginning of socialism: 1921-1938).

From the Manchu period, the catalogue No. M-192, entitled 'Catalogue of the subordinates of Zaya bandid khutagt of Sain noyon khan aimag, 1810-1912'⁴⁰¹ includes six folded-out papers (i.e. one page documents). The first one entitled "Rules of Zaya gegeenii khüree related to the monks' participation in ceremonies and the use of seats during the ceremonies (1810)"⁴⁰² is in connection with the monastic life of the *khüree*, whilst others refer to lively issues.⁴⁰³ Besides, catalogues of the nearby area also include relevant documents of the same period, for instance the catalogue of Dalai Choinkhor wang's khoshuu (M-62),⁴⁰⁴ which contains two relevant texts: a report for the *Shanzaw* of Zaya bandid khutagt (M-62/1/1., 1843-1-30, 1844-2-28, 133 pages), and an order to raise fund for the stay of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Zayaiin khüree (M-62/1/69., 1901, 1 page).



A text written in 1810. National Archives of Mongolia, M-192/1/1.

Four documents of the period of the Bogd khaan's reign (1911-1921) are available, included in the catalogue No. A-171, entitled 'Subordinated area of Zaya bandid khutagt.'⁴⁰⁵ Among the four documents dated from 1917-1921 the first one, entitled "Origin of Erdene Zaya bandid khutagt of Sain noyon aimag" (1917, a book)⁴⁰⁶ is an important one used by many scholars to describe the life and activity of the Zaya gegeen lineage.⁴⁰⁷ Besides, other catalogues also include relevant documents from the same period, such as No. A-19, entitled 'Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1912-1915' that includes an order to deliver the young, sick Zaya bandid khutagt to Niislel khüree in order to have him bow to the Bogd (A-19/1/90, 1915, 1 page). The catalogue of Dalai Choinkhor zasgiin khoshuu (A-60) also contains relevant documents regarding the fundraising for the Dalai Lama's visit to Zayaiin khüree, the determination of the value of salaries and silks, and the operation of relay stations (A-60/1/39, 1911, 2 pages). Documents issued in order to cover the expenses of Ekh dagina, the spouse of the Bogd, and *Yonzon khamba*, the head abbot of Ikh Khüree, and the expenses of the stay of the Dalai Lama in Zayaiin khüree (A-60/1/59, 1912, 2 pages) are also available, as well as a document about the articles which were sold to cover the costs of the Dalai Lama (A-60/1/83, 1913, 1 page).

From the beginning of the socialist period the catalogue of Tsetserleg mandaliin aimag (SKh-166/1-2.)⁴⁰⁸ lists the following relevant documents: 95. List of the livestock of monasteries, temples, and financial units (1928, 4 pages), 120. A document declaring the inconvenience of arbitrary foundation of monasteries and temples by the ruling authorities of monasteries (1929, 2 pages), 2/1. Population

of Zaya bandidiin khutagt's area (1924, 255 pages), 2/2. List of property and livestock of the economy management of Zaya gegeen's area (1925, 357 pages).

All in all, whilst in the Manchu period (1691-1910) caravans, usury, and stealing were the main topics of administration, during the Bogd khaan's reign (1911-1921) the covering the costs of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit was a vital issue. In the beginning of socialism (1921-1940) taxation, survey of the population, the livestock, and the monastic properties were relevant topics. These documents reflect on historical facts regarding Zaya gegeenii khüree: in the Manchu period Chinese and Russian merchants resided in the *khüree*, traded, and gave loans; the stay of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Ikh khüree and in the countryside costed a lot, and covering these debts took years; with socialism collectivisation of monastic properties started. Though Zayaiin khüree had a *Shanzodwiin yaam* which administered the *shaw'* area, documents related to the livestock are scarce. It seems that almost all documents were burnt during the monastery destruction together with the sutras. From religious point of view the lineage of Zaya gegeen written in 1917 is the most significant document preserved in the National Archives.

A few documents related to Zayaiin khüree are also available in the National Library of Mongolia. A six-page document written in 1919 clarifies monasteries and assemblies established by the Zaya gegeens.⁴⁰⁹ A document on Zaya bandid's nomination is available⁴¹⁰ as well as a nomination written in black on a 38x62 cm yellow silk with two red seals in 1800.⁴¹¹ Again a few documents are available at the National Academy of Sciences⁴¹² as well as in foreign collections.

Old Photographs

Photos taken by A. M. Pozdneev in 1892, G. J. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi in 1909, and the Kontratiyev expedition in the 1920's are known today, and the archives in Ulaanbaatar preserve other photos the photographers and dates of which are unknown.

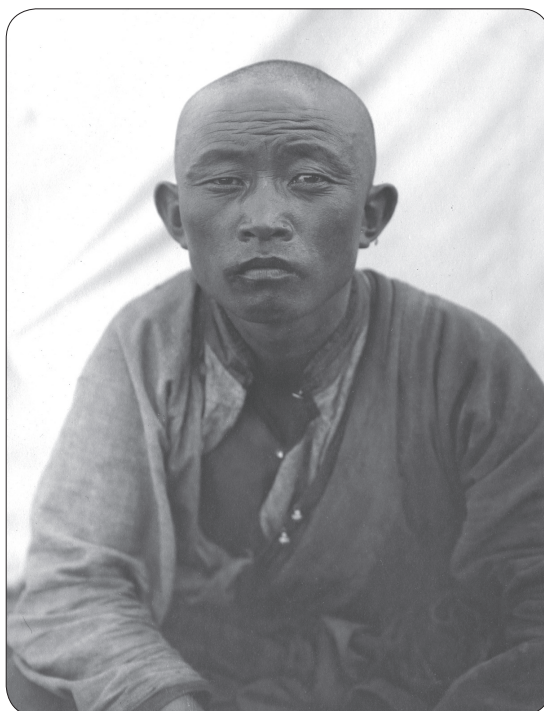
In 1892-1893 A. M. Pozdneev crossed Mongolia travelling on the way of Khyagta – Urga – Sair us – Zawkhan – Khowd – Zawkhan – Urga – Beijing – Urga – Russia, and passed about fifty monastic sites in the present area of Mongolia. Apart from his detailed description of Zayaiin khüree, he took at least two photos which are available in print in his book: a photo of Deed khüree and a photo of Dood khüree.⁴¹³ At present, other photos of Dood khüree are not available. This photo was taken from the South-West, and several temple buildings are visible on it. The photo of Deed khüree was taken from the south-western part of the monks' quarter. The palace, the main assembly hall, and other temples are visible on it as

well as the two buildings of *Sanduin khuwilgaan*, and *Galdan zuu*. It is also evident that within the fenced-off courtyards monks lived in buildings and in yurts.

G. J. Ramstedt travelled to study the language, Turkic memories, and rock carvings of Mongolia from Khyagta to Urga, visiting Sain noyonii khüree, Lamiin gegeenii khüree, Zayaiin khüree, and Khand chin wangiin khüree, and getting back to Urga in 1909. S. Pälsi accompanied him as a photographer, and took a photo of Deed khüree from afar, from the south-west, from the mountain called today Maan't uul (Halén, p. 137. Picture 93.). The photo shows that the monk dwellings were arranged in *khüree* style surrounding the central part of the temples, and eight stupas were situated at the foot of the hill, and *Galdan zuu* on the top of the hill. The Chinese quarter is in the foreground, south-west of the *khüree*. H. Halén mentions in the photo captions the *Güshig datsan*, and the *Tsogchin* Temple as well as the golden and red rock paintings of the hillside. Another photo of S. Pälsi shows the River Ur'd Tamir near Zayaiin khüree with an *owoo* and yurts (Halén, p. 102. Picture 13.).

Kondratiyev's photos and other photos are preserved now in Saint-Petersburg. Some of these photos were published and analysed by N. M. Shepetilnikov⁴¹⁴ (No. 22. *Günreg datsan*, No. 76. *Güshig datsan*, 87. *Tsogchin dugan*, 88. *Chjar (Jaarai) datsan*, 89. *Chjar (Jaarai) datsan*, 113. Prayer-wheels of the main assembly hall). Maidar's book⁴¹⁵ (drawings No. 76. *Chjar (Jaarai) datsan*, 77. *Chjar (Jaarai) datsan*, 118. Sketch of Deed khüree, 78. the main assembly hall, 79. *Güshig datsan*, 81. *Günrig datsan*) and Tsültem's book⁴¹⁶ (Intro No. 23. *Jaarai datsan*, Intro. 33. Sketch of Deed khüree; 133. General view of the *khüree* from the North; 134. *Dar' ekhiin süm*; 135. The two temples of *Demchig* and *Agwa datsan*) also includes photos taken by S. A. Kondratiyev. Regarding the photo collections in Ulaanbaatar, about 25 relevant old photos of the monastery are available in the Film Archives (K23713-K23735), the majority of which were taken by S. A. Kondratiyev. Apart from the pictures already described above, there is a photo of the small building called *Mörgöliin dörwöljin*. There are also photos of the revival (No. 44902) of 1990. The Photo Archives of the National Academy of Sciences also have relevant old photos (large albums: No. 2: 314, No. 5: 272-292., No. 6: 229, No. 12: 10, No. 33: 6, 154, etc. No. 40: 17; small album No. 40.) the majority of which were taken by S. A. Kondratiyev, and were published recently.⁴¹⁷ He took photos of the following temples: general view from the North, *Güshig datsan* and *Agwa (Jüd) datsan* from the north-west, *Güshig datsan*, *Günreg datsan*, *Jaarai datsan*, *Demchig datsan*, *Büreenii shat* platform for calling monks to ceremonies, prayer wheels situated east of the main assembly hall, general view from the south-west. The museum of Arkhangai aimag also have old photos, mainly taken by Kondratiyev,

and also the photos of *Demchigiin süm*, *Galdan zuu*, the main assembly hall, *Khamchigiin süm* or *Dar' ekhiin süm*, and newer photos of the *Semchins*. Copies of some photos are possessed by Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid monastery. In 1912 W. Kotwicz took three portraits of Luwsan, a 28 year-old monk of the *shaw'* area of Zaya gegeen, who lived among the Öölöds near Ögii Nuur (eastern part of Arkhangai aimag).⁴¹⁸



*Luwsan monk of Zayaiin shaw' among the Öölöds.
Photo taken by W. Kotwicz in 1912. Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU,
sygn. K III-19 Fot. Nr. 14549.*

Drawings and Paintings

The National Library of Mongolia preserves a map of Sain noyon khan aimag, drawn on linen in 1892 (326/96, 912, 517.3, C149). Rivers, lakes and springs were painted in blue, the Mongolian scripts, monastic sites, hills and owoos in black, and the lines in red. The map includes Bulgan uul with *Buyaniig khöggjüülegch süm* [correctly *Buyaniig delgerüülekh süm*] as well as *Ölzii badruulagch süm*. Another map (109x67 cm), painted in 1926 present the area of Zaya gegeen's *shaw'* area (985/96).



Part of the map of Sain noyon khan aimag

The painting by Damba (22,5x72 cm) is kept in Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts.⁴¹⁹ Its middle part present Deed khüree with the *Tsogchin* main assembly hall and the two stupas and a small shrine in front, the Palace with the *shörgön khashaa* wooden fence, and an entrance temple, two small temples west of the *Tsogchin* (maybe *Yamandagiin süm* and *Norowsambuugiin süm*), *Sandui datsan*, and the two temples of *Demchig taij* in one enclosure to their North. East of the *Demchig* temples the huge *Agwa datsan* (*Choir datsan* according to S. Tüdeu) is painted behind the *Tsogchin*, with other temples on its east and southeast. East of the Palace *Jaarai* and other temples were painted. Flag poles are presented in front of *Galdan zuu* and in the northeast and northwest edges of Deed khüree in accordance with Pozdneev's description. The dwellings of the monks are presented (south)east and (south)west of the centre occupied by the temples. The rock paintings are well visible at Bulgan uul. The western part of the painting might show the lay quarter with Chinese buildings and *Geser* temple, whilst the eastern part of the painting shows *Tsogt uul* and maybe a lay quarter with rather European style houses east of *Zayaiin khüree*. (We have no data on where and how Russians lived in *Zayaiin khüree*, but sources do not mention a separate quarter.) A temple is painted in the valley east of *Bulgan uul*.



Painting by Damba. Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts.

Yadamsüren's painting kept in the Arkhangai province museum in Tsetserleg also used in Maidar's book⁴²⁰ present the buildings of the *khüree* quite accurately. The *Tsogchin* was painted in the middle with its southern and eastern enclosure, with two stupas and a shrine in front. Southeast of the *Tsogchin* the enclosure and the two main buildings of *Sanduin khuwilgaan* is presented facing to the southwest.

He painted buildings situated in the enclosure east of *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan*'s enclosure, but it seems impossible that they stood there as no sources mention them or any building here. These might have been administrative buildings which should have been located rather north of *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* than on its east.

West of the *Tsogchin Yamandagiin süm* (?) and *Sandui datsan* are presented, though they did not have a common fence according to old photos but they have in the painting. North of them a smaller temple (maybe *Norowsambuugiin süm*), and the two temples of *Demchig taij* are painted without any enclosure.

Agwa datsan (or *Choir* according to S. Tüdeu) is presented to the north of the *Tsogchin* in a courtyard, with three other temples, *Güshig datsan*, *Günreg datsan*, and the third temple which was maybe *Shagdariin süm* (or *Jüd datsan* according to S. Tüdeu) in its east. South of *Günreg datsan* two temples were painted, which might be *Sharaw* temple and *Jaarai*.

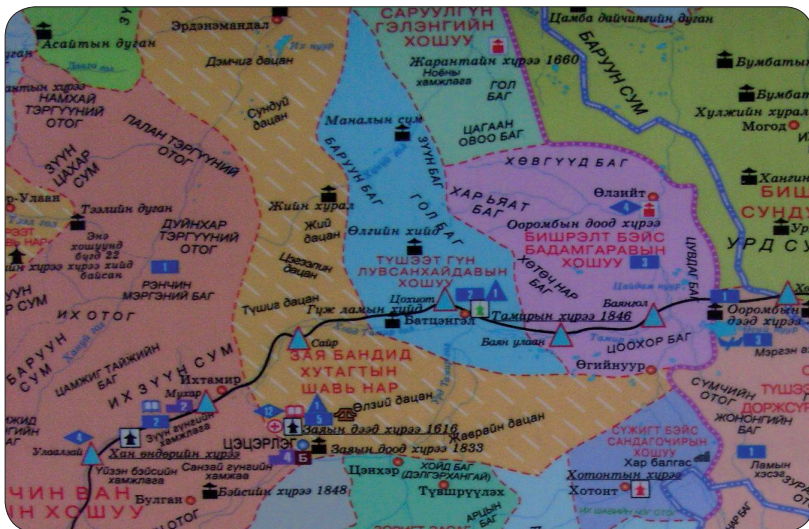
South of them three temples were painted with an enclosure, the same as *Khamchigiin süm* or *Chojil*, *Dar' ekh*, and *Yadam. Bulganii süm* was painted north of the *khüree*, and also *Galdan zuu* on the hillside.

Enclosures with the dwellings of monks are presented east and west of the centre and the temples.



Painting by Yadamsüren (1952), Museum of Arkhangai Province

Pürew presented Zayaiin khüree and its shaw' area on his unpublished map.⁴²¹ He divided the shaw' area into eight parts, which were the following from the south to the north according to him: *Jawrain datsan* (correctly *Jaarai datsan*), *Ölzii datsan*, *Güshig*, *Tseweelin*, *Jii* with *Jiin khural* (correctly *Jee*), *Sundui* (correctly *Sandui*), *Demchigiin khural*, and *Güngeregiin khural* belonging to *Günreg datsan*. According to him Deed khüree was founded in 1616, Dood khüree in 1833, *Demchigiin khural* in 1926, and *Günregiin khural* in 1922. His source for these dates is unknown.



Part of O. Pürew's map

CONCLUSION

The aim of the present book was to reconstruct the history of Zaya gegeenii khüree, one of the most significant monasteries of Mongolia. Zaya gegeenii khüree was famous not only in Sain noyon khan aimag, but in the whole Mongolian area since the time of Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei (1642-1719), who was of noble origin, was an eminent monk and a polymath who had studied in Tibet for 19 years. He was acknowledged by the Fifth Dalai Lama as well as the Manchu Emperor. He is considered to have been one of the keyfigures of spreading the Gelukpa teachings in Mongolia, constructing a monastery on a site already some temples had been situated, and initiating *Zayaiin deg* in the ceremonial system. His reincarnations developed the *khüree*, constructing a philosophical school and other temples, and receiving a seal from the Manchu emperor to govern an own *shaw'* area. In 1844 Dood khüree was founded about five kilometres east of Deed khüree. In the *shaw'* area temples were initiated which got their names from the temples of Zayaiin khüree. The monastery had income from herds and flocks of the *shaw'* area, and apart from monks lay population and also Chinese and Russian merchants settled near the *khüree*. The later incarnations developed the *khüree*, there were several renovations, and finally by the end of the Manchu period Zayaiin khüree became such an important centre with more than 1000 monks that it was even visited by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1906 when returning to Tibet from Urga. S. Tüdew's reminiscences present the life in the *khüree* in the 1920's and 1930's, and the fate of the Sixth gegeen, Jambatseren shows how the *khutagts* were captured, and how the monasteries were destroyed due to the Soviet ideology. Today, foundations of the huge destroyed buildings are visible behind and surrounding the old palace, and there are foundations of other temples in private courtyards, while the monk dwelling areas are only shown by heaps on the ground. The ruins of the *Tsogchin* stand as a very sad memento. The few remained building is a sample of the survival and secular use of the few not demolished monastic buildings during socialism. The few number of remained statuettes and painted scrolls indicate how many artefacts could not survive the monastery destructions. What have remained as the intangible heritage of Zayaiin khüree is the ceremonies monks perform, and the legends and worship of local sacred sites such as *owoos*, rocks, and springs.

The specialities of Zayaiin khüree were its ceremonies different from the general one followed in Mongolian monasteries, white Tibetan-style buildings, unique arrangement with the *Lawran* in the middle, the many sutras its monks

wrote, and also the relatively far site of its two parts: Deed khüree and Dood khüree. Zayaiin khüree was one of the Mongolian monasteries where many Chinese lived and who had an own *Geser* temple. The connection with the Inner-Mongolian Khuuchids is also a unique feature. The *aimags* were formed in the *khüree* based on the *datsans*, and the temples of the *shaw*' area had similar names with the *datsans* of the *khüree*. Only some of these rural temples have been revived.

The book demonstrated the revival of the 1990's in detail, as well as the current activities of the monk communities of the revived temples. The description of the revival of Deed khüree's tradition gives a sample of the enthusiasm one could experience at the democratic changes when old monks gathered again to rebuild temples and reintroduce Buddhism. In Tsetserleg they could get the old *Sanduin khuwilgaanii dugan* that inherited the name Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh and is the main monastery of Arkhangai province, as well as *Galdan zuu*, and the province museum operates in the old palace. Later, another, private yurt-temple opened as well to revive the tradition of Dood khüree, similarly as many of the other province centres had one, two, or even more temples due to the large number of local population. Step by step the present monk communities revitalise old services and have plans to train a recruit. As they do not receive state support, they depend on donations. Tsetserleg is famous for the commemoration ceremony of Tsongkhapa on the 25th of the first winter month, when thousands of butter lamps are placed by people at the hillside of Bulgan uul. The veneration of Suwarga Khairkhan Mountain is also a famous event in every fourth year.

The current incarnation of Zaya geegen, Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed chosen from many children and acknowledged by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama indicates religious developments in Mongolia. For today reincarnations of more than ten old saints have been acknowledged. This shows the present need for religious dignitaries to direct monks and the devotees in religious affairs.

The sources used for this book demonstrate what types of sources are available to study the history of bigger monastic sites. Only a few chronicles, travellers' notes, old photographs, paintings, maps, archival sources are available as well as plenty of recently published but usually less reliable books and articles. Even with the help of S. Tüdeu, the only monk who is still alive, many aspects could not have been cleared, thus, the locations of many temples remained unsure as well as the details of the special ceremonial system.

It is hoped that this book will be useful to encourage the further study of the history of Zaya geegenii khüree, and the study of the history of other Mongolian monasteries in detail.

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http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mongolia_Arkhangai_sum_map.png

APPENDIX

Transcription of Mongolian Words

Cirill letter	Latin letter	Cirill letter	Latin letter
А а	a	П п	p
Б б	b	Р р	r
В в	w	С с	s
Г в	g	Т т	t
Д д	d	У у	u
Е е	ye	Ү ү	ü
Ё ё	yo	Ф ф	f
Ж ж	j	Х х	kh
З з	z	Ц ц	ts
И и	i	Ч ч	ch
Й й	i	Ш ш	sh
К к	k	Ъ ъ	i
Л л	l	Ы ы	ii
М м	m	Ь ь	'
Н н	n	Э э	e
О о	o	Ю ю	yu/yü
Ө ө	ö	Я я	ya

NOTES

- ¹ A table is attached (see Appendix) showing the transcription system used for Mongolian written in Cyrillic. Classical Mongolian equivalents (M.) are given where relevant. The T. Wylie-system was used for transcribing Tibetan terms (T.). Sanskrit terms are also given where applicable (S.). Chinese terms occur in a very few cases, and without intonation marks.
- ² Pozdneev, A. M., *Mongolija i Mongoli. T. 1-2*. Sankt-Peterburg 1986, 1988 (repr.), 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
- ³ Ramstedt, G. J., *Seven Journeys Eastward 1898-1912. Among the Cheremis, Kalmyks, Mongols and in Turkestan and to Afganistan. With 52 Photographs by the Author*. Translated from the Swedish & Edited by John R. Krueger. The Mongolia Society, Indiana University, Bloomington 1978; Halén H., *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Pälsi. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der Nordlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909*, Helsinki 1982
- ⁴ Several of their photos were published by Shepetilnikov, N. M., *Arhitektura Mongolij*. Moscow 1960. Klyagina-Kondratyeva, M. I., *Mongoliin Burkhanii Shashnii Soyol. Khentii, Khangain Süm Khiidiin Sudalгаа*. [Mongolian Buddhist Culture. A Study of Monasteries and Temples in Khentii and Khangai]. Chuluun, S. - Yusupova, T. I. (eds.). Senri Ethnological Reports 113, National Museum of Ethnology. Osaka 2013, pp. 5., 11., 120., 122., 124., 128., 130., 155., 161., 164., 177.
- ⁵ Lokesh Chandra (ed.), Bira, Sh., *The History of Mongolia. Tibetan text in Roman transcription. Dharmatala Dam chos rgya-mtsho*. Śata-Piṭaka Series. Vol. 235. New Delhi 1977. It is also available in modern Mongolian translation: Darmadala, *Ikh Mongoliin orond deediin nom yamar met delgersen yosiig todorkhoi ögüülegch tsagaan lyankhuan erkhis khemeekh orshwoi* [White Lotus Rosary Making Clear the Way How the Precious Teaching Spread in the Great Land of Mongolia]. Translated by S. Gombojaw. Ulaanbaatar 1995
- ⁶ 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*. Śata-Piṭaka Series. Vol. 34. New Delhi 1964
- ⁷ Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia, Ye-shes thabs-mkhas, Bla-ma dam-pa-rnams-kyi gsung-'bum-gyi dkar-chag gnyen 'brel dran gso'i me-long zhes-bya-ba*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 16. New Delhi 1961; Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part 2*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 29. New Delhi 1963.
- ⁸ Heissig, W. (ed.), *Erdeni-yin Erike. Mongolische Chronik der Lamaistischen Klosterbauten der Mongolei von Isibaldan (1895)*. Kopenhagen 1961, pp. XX, 35v: 7-9.
- ⁹ It is available in Cyrillic in Enkhtüwshin, B. - Ganzorig, Ch. - Chunag, Sh. - Dashbadrakh, D. (eds.), *Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlein mendelsnii 360 jiliin oid zoriulsan erdem shinjilgeenii бага khurliin emkhtgel* [Collection of Articles from the Conference Held at the 360th Anniversary of Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlei's Birth]. Ulaanbaatar 2002, pp. 87-105.
- ¹⁰ Erdenebileg, B. (ed.), *Mongoliin süm khiidiin tүүkhees...* Ulaanbaatar 2012
- ¹¹ Entitled *Sain noyon khan aimgiin tomookhon khüree khiidiin bairshil* ('Locations of the Bigger Monasteries and Temples of Sain noyon khan aimag).
- ¹² Entitled *Sain noyon khan aimgiin nutagt baisan khyatadiin khudaldaachid, örtөөний бairshil (Khyatadiin пүүс, donshuur naimaa)* (Chinese Merchant Routes and their Stations in the Area of Sain noyon khan aimag (Chinese Stores, and Travelling Traders)).
- ¹³ Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts: mineral painting by Damba, 22.5x79 cm (date of painting unknown). Museum of Arkhangai Province: painting by Yadamsüren (1952)
- ¹⁴ Rinchen, B., - Maidar D., (ed.), *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaatsnii sudlal, khelnii shinjileiin atlas* [Ethnographic and Linguistic Atlas of the Mongolian People's Republic]. Ulaanbaatar 1979.; Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag* [Three Maps of Mongolian Settlements]. Ulaanbaatar 1970, pp. 56-91.; Maidar, D., *Mongoliin arkitektur ba khot baiguulalt* [Mongolian Architecture and City Planning]. Ulaanbaatar 1972
- ¹⁵ www.mongoliantemples.net, Tsedendamba, S. -Lkhagwa, L. -Soninbayar, Sh. -Luwsanbaldan, E. -Otgonbaatar, R. -Amgalan, N. (eds.), *Mongoliin süm khiidiin tүүкhen towchoon* [Brief History of Mongolian Monasteries]. Ulaanbaatar 2009
- ¹⁶ Regsüren, D. - Baljinnyam, A., *BNMAU Arkhangai aimgiin түүкх*. [History of Arkhangai Province of the Mongolian People's Republic]. Tsetserleg 1973;

- Baatarbileg, Yo., *Arkhangai aimag. Baigal', Tüükh, Soyol, Khümüüs* [Arkhangai Province. Nature, History, Culture, People]. Ulaanbaatar 2009
- 17 Yadamsüren, T., *Zaya gegeenii nutgiin, zaya saitai tümen min'* [Fortunate People of Zaya gegeen's Land]. Ulaanbaatar 2009; Ölziibuyan, R. (Besüd) — Chuluun, D. (Besüd), *Khalkhiin Zaya bandida gegeen* [The Khalkha Zaya bandida gegeen]. Ulaanbaatar 2002; Choros, B. D. (ed.), *Ariin saikhan khangai tüükhen towchoo* [Short History of the Beautiful Northern Khangai]. Ulaanbaatar 2003; Ganzorig, M., *Khüin kholbootoi nutag min'* [My Motherland]. Ulaanbaatar 2005; Dorjsüren, S., *Ölzii khutgiin shünshigt nutag* [Fortunate Consecrated Land]. Ulaanbaatar 2007; Ochirjantsan 2008, B., *Ögii nuur sumiin tüükhen toim* [Historical Sketch of Ögii nuur Subprovince]. Ulaanbaatar 2008; Buyan zanshil sergelee [Meritful Customs Revived]. *Ulaan od*, May 30 1990, No. 42 (pp. 9187-9188)
- 18 Shepetilnikov 1960; Maidar 1972; Ölzii, J., *Mongoliin dursgalt barilgiin tüükhees* [From the History of Historical Architecture]. Ulaanbaatar 1992; Daajaw, B., *Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh* [History of Mongolian Architecture]. Ulaanbaatar 2006, 3 vol. pp. 104-108., 186-188.
- 19 Yanjinsüren, Kh., S., "Khalkhiin Zaya bandid Luwsanprinlei (1642-1715) [The Khalkha Zaya bandid, Luwsanprinlei (1642-1715)]." In: Gantuya, M. (ed.), *Lam nariin setgүүл*. No 1. Ulaanbaatar 2010. pp. 75-80.
- 20 Tsetseglen, G., *Khalkhiin Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlein gegeen öw* [The Bright Heritage of the Khalkha Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlei]. Ulaanbaatar 2012
- 21 Enkhtüwshin et al. 2002
- 22 Dashbadrakh, D., *Mongoliin khutagtuudii namtriin oillogo (XVII-XX zuun)* [Biographies of Mongolian Saint Reincarnations (17-20th Centuries)]. Ulaanbaatar 2004; Laagan, B., *Khalkhiin tamga бүхii khutagtuudii towchis*, Ulaanbaatar 2004
- 23 The book of S. Jünsh has just been published. See Jünsh, S., *Zaya bandida Luwsanperenlein ölgii nutag Ariin Saikhan Khangai* [Beautiful Arkhangai: the Birthplace of Zaya bandida Luwsanperenlei]. Ulaanbaatar 2013
- 24 Rinchen 1979, map No. 28.
- 25 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 12. claims that 19 *khoshuu* were separated, not 18.
- 26 Daajaw 2006, p. 186.
- 27 Choros 2003, p. 499.
- 28 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 12.
- 29 Daajaw 2006, p. 187.
- 30 Laagan 2004, p. 73.
- 31 Choros 2003, p. 499.

- 32 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 3.
- 33 Choros 2003, p. 499.
- 34 Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 111., Daajaw 2006, p. 187.
- 35 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, pp. 4-5.
- 36 The names of the incarnations were Jansanjamba or Khaan Anok/Ashok, Chojilnyanammed, Towuusambu, Shubamgara and Ikh bandida Radnaaseded in order in India, Lodoirawdan, Sodnombaldui, and Ikh bandida Chogloinnamjil in Tibet. See. Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, pp. 4-5. Laagan 2004, p. 67., Dorjsüren 2007, pp. 10-11. Otgonbayar, Ts., *XV khuwilgaan Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed, Khalkhiin Zaya bandida khutagtiin towch namtar* [Short Biography of the 17th Incarnation of the Khalkha Zaya bandida, Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed]. Ulaanbaatar 2003. Different names are given in an archival document describing the lineage of Zaya gegeen's incarnation (National Archives of Mongolia, A-194, D-1, No. 1., pp. 1-4.) which states that the five incarnations born in India were Galdansog, Gaslangüi nomon khan, Bumbasambu, Gübamgaraa, and Radnased, and the three incarnations born in Tibet were Lodoirawdan, Sonombaldüw, Cholainamjil. Ölzii 1992, pp. 46-47. mentions Galdansonom, Galsan, Bambasambu, Gubamakhara, Radnaased, Lodoirawdan, Sonombaltaw, Cholainamjil, based on which it is likely that he used the same source.
- 37 Dorjsüren 2007, pp. 11-12., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 5.
- 38 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1., p. 4.
- 39 Daajaw 2006, p. 179.
- 40 Ölzii 1992, p. 47.
- 41 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 5.
- 42 Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 106., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11. states the same, that this first temple was built by Danzan toin, descendant of Tümenkhen Sain noyon in the foreground of Bulgan Mountain, but he says in 1586. Other dates such as 1616, 1631, and 1681 are also considered to be the date of foundation of Zayaiin khüree.
- 43 Ölzii 1992, p. 59. , Daajaw 2006, p. 105.
- 44 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, pp. 6-14.
- 45 Laagan 2004, pp. 67-68., Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 101. Laagan says that a text preserved in the National Library of Mongolia, entitled *Minii orchlon dakh' yawdal yosiig mashid todruulsan zul orshiw* ('Butter Lamp Enlightening my Presence and Activity in this World'), which might have been written by Luwsanprinlei claims that his father was Suntar and his mother

was Orkhidai. Luwsanprinlei was the second among their five children. Dashbadrakh used the same source. Dashbadrakh gives the title of his source as *Ööriin orchlon dor yawsan yosiig todorkhoi üzүүлсэн сүсэгтнийг ном дор удирдагч мөр khemeegdekh orshwoi* ('Path leading the faithful ones of this world to the Dharma').

⁴⁶ Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10., Laagan 2004, p. 67. Laagan claims that in the National Archives of Mongolia there is a text discussing the origin of Zaya bandida (Zayaiin ug), entitled *Mandal dalain ezen Ochirwaan' Zaya bandida Luwsanperenlein namtar khüслиг khangagch orshiw* ('Wish fulfilling, the biography of Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlei or *Ochirwaan'*, the Lord of the Mandala Ocean') stating this.

⁴⁷ Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.

⁴⁸ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 101.

⁴⁹ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 102.

⁵⁰ Ölzii 1992, p. 48., Daajaw 2006, p. 105.

⁵¹ National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1., p. 5. Ölzii 1992, p. 48. claims that Luwsanprinlei was entitled as Noyon khutagt at the age of 13.

⁵² Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 102., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11.

⁵³ Laagan 2004, p. 68., Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 102.

⁵⁴ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 102.

⁵⁵ Laagan 2004, p. 68., Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 103.

⁵⁶ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 102.

⁵⁷ Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 118.

⁵⁸ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 103.

⁵⁹ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 103.

⁶⁰ Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 104. Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002 p. 7. accounts, that he was acknowledged at the age of 13 (i.e. 1655) as *Zaya gegeen* (*Zaya bandida nomiin gegeen*) first, which seems to be relating to the Mongolian event when Öndör gegeen gave him the *noyon khutagt* title. Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia, Ye-shes thabs-mkhas, bla-ma dam-pa-rnams-kyi gsung-'bum-gyi dkar-chag gnyen 'brel dran gso'i me-long zhes-bya-ba*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 16. New Delhi 1961; 3. says that Luwsanprinlei (T. Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin 'prhin-las, born 1642, received the *noyon khutagt* title from Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, and the *Zaya pandita* title from the Dalai Lama. Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part 2*, Śata-Piṭaka Series 29. New Delhi 1963. Other eminent monks bore this title as well, such as the Oirad *Zaya pandita*, Namkhajamts (T. nam-mkha'i rgya-mtsho, 1599-1662), and Damba Dorzhi Zayayev, the first head

- of the entire Buryad Buddhist clergy (he became the head in 1764).
- 61 Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 104.
- 62 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 272.
- 63 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1., p. 6., Ölzii 1992, p. 48.
- 64 Heissig, W. (ed.), *Erdeni-yin Erike. Mongolische Chronik der Lamaistischen Klosterbauten der Mongolei von Isibaldan (1895)*. Kopenhagen 1961, pp. XX, 35v: 7-9.
- 65 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274.
- 66 Ölzii 1992, p. 48.
- 67 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 8.
- 68 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 238.
- 69 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 10.
- 70 Laagan 2004, p. 68.
- 71 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 13.
- 72 Ölzii 1992, p. 48.
- 73 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1. p. 10.
- 74 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 8.
- 75 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
- 76 Ölzii 1992, p. 57., Dashbadrakh 1998, pp. 106-107., Oyuunbileg 1999, pp. 258. The identification of these deities is unknown.
- 77 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 8. Another source lists the gifts somewhat differently: Ölzii 1992, p. 48.
- 78 Ölzii 1992, p. 48., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 14.
- 79 Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 108. There is no information about where these monks studied from him.
- 80 Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 110.
- 81 Ishtawkhai, S., *Nom zokhiol tuurwisan mongol lam nariin bürtgel* [List of Mongol Lama Writers]. Translated from the original Tibetan by S. Dawaabayar. Ulaanbaatar 2006, p. 19., Dashbadrakh 2004, pp. 108-109., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 12., Ölzii 1992, p. 51.
- 82 Ölzii 1992, p. 51., Laagan 2004, p. 69.
- 83 Pozdneyev 1978., p. 274.
- 84 Lokesh Chandra 1961, Ishtawkhai 2006, p. 28.
- 85 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 435.
- 86 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 437.
- 87 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 492.
- 88 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, pp. 563-564.
- 89 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 197.

- 90 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 310
- 91 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 467.
- 92 Dashbadrakh, 2004. p. 111. Other names are also in use:
Luwsannyamdelegnamjil, Luwsannyandag, Luwsanshindelegnamjil,
Luwsannyandaggelegnamjil.
- 93 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14.
- 94 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1: p. 11., Laagan 2004, p. 69.,
Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10., Ölzii 1992, p. 48. gives Meeren Banjuur.
- 95 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14.
- 96 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1. p. 11., Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 97 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1. p. 11., p. 13.
- 98 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14.
- 99 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Laagan 2004, p. 69., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11.
- 100 Laagan 2004, p. 69.
- 101 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, pp.237-238.
- 102 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274.
- 103 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
- 104 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 20., Dashbadrakh 2004, p. 111. gives 1767-
1803., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10. and Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14. gives 1766-
1803.
- 105 National Archives of Mongolia, A-194, D-1, No. 1., p. 14. Luwsanjigmeddorj
was the son of Chin wan Chingünjaw. Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.
- 106 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14.
- 107 Laagan 2004, p. 69. He was the Uliastai *said*. Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10. gives
the same: Chin wan Tsetsgüünjaw. Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14. gives Chin wan
Chingünjaw.
- 108 Laagan 2004, p. 70., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14. sates
that he was acknowledged as the reincarnation in the 32nd year of Tenger
tetgesen emperor (Qianlong, 1735-1796).
- 109 Ölzii 1992, p. 49. Pozdneyev 1971, p. 254.
- 110 Ölzii 1992, p. 56., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14., and Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p.
31.
- 111 Laagan 2004, p. 70.
- 112 Ölzii 1992, p. 57., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258., Choros 2003, p. 497.
- 113 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.
- 114 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 21., Dashbadrakh 2004, p. 111.
- 115 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.
- 116 National Archives of Mongolia, A-194, D-1, No. 1. p. 17. Luwsanjigmednamjil

- was the son of Damiran. Laagan 2004, p. 70. Damiran was a prince in the *khoshuu* later called Zorigt zasgiin khoshuu. The *bandida* was his 4th child.
- 117 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14.
- 118 Laagan 2004, p. 70., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.: In 1833 he founded *Ölzii badruulagch süm* in the foreground of Norowlin Mountain.
- 119 Ölzii 1992, p. 56., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31. Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 258.
- 120 Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 121 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31., Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14.
- 122 National Archives of Mongolia, A-174, D-1, No. 1., p. 20.
- 123 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 258.
- 124 Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 125 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 126 Ölzii 1992, p. 56. However, the Fourth gegeen passed away in 1867.
- 127 Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 128 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 273.
- 129 Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 111. gives 1868-1904.
- 130 Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 131 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Laagan 2004, pp. 70-71. and Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10. However, some sources claim that he was born in Itgemjit beis Ganjuurjawiin khoshuu (once situated in today's Tarialan sum in Khöwsgöl aimag and Khutag-Öndör sum in Bulgan aimag), but it has small evidence.
- 132 National Archives of Mongolia, A-194, D-1, No. 1. p. 23.
- 133 National Archives of Mongolia, A-194, D-1, No. 1. p. 23., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.
- 134 National Archives of Mongolia, A-194, D-1, No. 1. p. 23.
- 135 Laagan 2004, p. 71., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 10.
- 136 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 273.
- 137 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 273. describes it in detail.
- 138 Daajaw 2006, p. 187.
- 139 Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 140 Pozdneev 1971, p. 273, p. 277.
- 141 Pozdneyev 1892, p. 275., Choros 2003, p. 497., Daajaw 2006, p. 187.
- 142 Ölzii 1992, p. 62.
- 143 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274., Ölzii 1992, p. 60., Choros 2003, p. 497.
- 144 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, pp. 22-24.
- 145 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11.
- 146 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 27.

- 147 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 27.
- 148 Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 149 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 22.
- 150 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 35.
- 151 Ölzii 1992, p. 58., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258.
- 152 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 153 Ölzii 1992, p. 49.
- 154 Ölzii 1992, p. 49-50., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 155 Ölzii 1992, p. 50., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 22.
- 156 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 23, pp. 22-25. 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.
- 157 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 28.
- 158 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 31.
- 159 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, pp. 25-28.
- 160 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11.
- 161 Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11.
- 162 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 15.
- 163 Damchos Gyatso Dharmatāla, *Rosary of White Lotuses, Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country*. Translated and annotated by Piotr Klafkowski, supervised by Nyalo Trulku Lobzang Rinpoche. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1987, p. 426.
- 164 Lokesh Chandra 1964, 162b-163a
- 165 Pozdneyev 1971
- 166 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 273., Choros 2003, p. 497.
- 167 Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 168 Zayaiin Khüree (Tüükhchilsen taniltsuulga) [Zayaiin Khüree (Historical Summary)] Five-page typed document kept by the Arts Council of Mongolia. Referred as Historical Summary. Historical Summary, p. 4.
- 169 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 170 Historical Summary, p. 3.: 41 *jas*, Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.: around 40 *jas*.
- 171 Historical Summary, p. 3.
- 172 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 173 Historical Summary, p. 3., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.

- 174 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 10. lists *Güshig, Güweg* [must be miswritten for *Günreg*], *Jaarai, Ayuush, Zurkhai, Mamba, Choir*, and says that the monastery had about 10 *datsans*.
- 175 Rinchen 1979, map No. 28.
- 176 Choros 2003, p. 497.
- 177 Pozdneyev 1978, p. 275.
- 178 Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258., Pozdneyev 1971
- 179 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 180 Pozdneyev 1971, pp. 274-275.
- 181 Pozdneyev 1971, pp. 274-275.
- 182 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 183 Daajaw 2006, p. 104. On page 187. he gives a sketch of the main temples of the monastery with *Tsogchin, Jar, Güshig* and *Günreg* marked, but that contains mistakes.
- 184 Maidar 1992, p. 27., Laagan 2004, p. 72., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258., Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 185 Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258.
- 186 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 238., Daajaw 2006, p. 105.
- 187 Ölzii 1992, p. 59.
- 188 Ölzii 1992, p. 60., Daajaw 2006, p. 187., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258.
- 189 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 271. says that in 1688.
- 190 Ölzii 1992, p. 8.
- 191 Pozdneyev 1971, pp. 275-276.
- 192 It is not clear whether they were statues or pictures. Even their locations are unsure.
- 193 See Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013, p. 161.
- 194 Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013, p. 39.
- 195 Ölzii 1992, p. 56., Dashbadrakh 1998, p. 65.
- 196 *Bolor tol'*, Niitlel-Uran Saikhonii Setgüül [Crystal Mirror. Art Journal], No. 006, December 2006, pp. 14-15.
- 197 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 198 Historical Summary, p. 4.
- 199 Ölzii 1992, p. 56., Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 271., Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 200 Ölzii 1992, p. 57. See also *Bolor tol'*. December 2006, pp. 14-15., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258., Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 201 Ölzii 1992, p. 57. Tsedendamba et al. 2009, pp. 237-238. says the same. Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258., Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 202 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 271., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258.

- 203 Ölzii 1992, p. 57., *Bolor tol'*, 2006, pp. 14-15., Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258.
- 204 For details see Ninjbadgar, S., *Zayaiin gegeenii nomiin sand khadgalagdaj baisan nom sudruudiin bürtgel*. [List of Books kept in the Library of Zayaiin Gegeen] In: Enkhtüwshin, B. - Ganzorig, Ch. - Chunag, Sh. - Dashbadrakh, D. (eds.), *Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlein mendelsnii 360 jiliin oid zoriulsan erdem shinjilgeenii бага khurliin emkhtgel* [Collection of Articles from the Conference Held at the 360th Anniversary of Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlei's Birth]. Ulaanbaatar 2002, pp. 106-116.
- 205 Yadamsüren 2007, p. 27.
- 206 Ölzii 1992, p. 57.
- 207 Ölzii 1992, p. 58.
- 208 Ölzii 1992, p. 58.
- 209 Ölzii 1992, pp. 58-59.
- 210 Ölzii 1992, p. 59.
- 211 Ölzii 1992, pp. 57-60. *Bolor tol'*. 2006, pp. 14-15.
- 212 Oyuunbileg 1999, p. 258.
- 213 Ölzii 1992, p. 64.
- 214 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274.
- 215 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, 237-238.
- 216 Historical Summary, p. 3.
- 217 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274.
- 218 Historical Summary, p. 3.
- 219 Laagan 2004, p. 72.
- 220 Ölzii 1992, p. 55., Dashbadrakh 1998, pp. 106-107., *Ölziibuyan – Chuluun* 2002, p. 31.
- 221 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274.
- 222 Ölzii 1992, p. 55., Dashbadrakh 1998, pp. 106-107., *Ölziibuyan – Chuluun* 2002, p. 31.
- 223 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 274.
- 224 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 225 Historical Summary, p. 3.
- 226 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 227 Yadamsüren 2007, p. 12.
- 228 Yadamsüren 2007, p. 12.
- 229 Historical Summary, p. 4.
- 230 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 231 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 232 Daajaw 2006, p. 105.

- 233 Daajaw 2006, p. 105.
- 234 Ölzii buyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 235 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
- 236 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 237 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 238 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
- 239 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
- 240 Lokesh Chandra 1966, 162b-163a
- 241 Historical Summary, p. 2.
- 242 A more widespread name of Yāmāntaka in Mongolia is *Jigjid* (T. *'jigs-byed*, S. *Bhairava*).
- 243 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 244 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 245 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 246 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
- 247 Ölzii 1992, p. 62.
- 248 Yadamsüren 2006, p. 11.
- 249 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 250 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
- 251 Ölzii 1992, p. 56., Ölzii buyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 252 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14., Ölzii buyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 31.
- 253 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 254 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
- 255 Ölzii 1992, p. 49., Laagan 2004, p. 69., Ochirjantsan 2008, p. 11.
- 256 Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 257 For the seal of the Shanzodwiin Yaam see Sodnombaljir 2011, photo No. 116.
- 258 Pozdneyev 1978, p. 34.
- 259 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 276.
- 260 Pozdneyev 1978, pp. 33-34.
- 261 Pozdneyev 1978, pp. 33-34.
- 262 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 276.
- 263 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 277.
- 264 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 238.
- 265 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 276.
- 266 Historical Summary, p. 3.
- 267 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 276., Ölzii 1992, p. 61.
- 268 Famous family names at this area deriving from the clan (*otog*) names are

- now Borjigin, Mongol-Besüd, Olkhonud, Gal, etc.
 269 Ölzii 1992, p. 61.
 270 Choros 2003, p. 500. According to Laagan 8,500 people and 1724 families
 lived in the subordinated area in 1918. (Laagan 2004, pp. 71-72.)
 271 Regsüren – Baljinnyam 1973, pp. 50-51.
 272 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 276.
 273 Choros 2003, p. 498.
 274 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 275.
 275 Choros 2003, p. 498.
 276 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 277.
 277 Choros 2003, p. 501.
 278 Rinchen 1979
 279 Choros 2003, p. 501.
 280 Choros 2003, p. 502.
 281 Rinchen 1979, map No. 28.
 282 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 14. says: In 1833 he founded *Ölzii badruulagch süm* in the
 foreground of Norowlin Mountain.
 283 *Norowlin*, T. *nor-bu gling-ka*, ‘treasure island’ was the name of the summer
 residence of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa.
 284 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 258.
 285 Pozdneyev 1971, p. 273.
 286 Ölzii 1992, p. 56.
 287 Daajaw 2006, p. 187.
 288 Pozdneyev 1971, pp. 277-278.
 289 Ölzii 1992, pp. 60-61.
 290 Choros 2003, p. 497.
 291 Choros 2003, p. 498.
 292 Yadamsüren 2006, p. 11.
 293 Pozdneyev 1971, pp. 277-278.
 294 Historical Summary, p. 2.
 295 Historical Summary, p. 2.
 296 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 29.
 297 Ölzii 1992, p. 55.
 298 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 30.
 299 Bawden 1997, p. 44., p. 123.
 300 Bawden 1997, p. 45., p. 124.
 301 Batbayar, Ts. – Gombosüren, D., *Mongol ba Tüwd XX zuunii ekhnii khagast.*
XIII Dalai lam Tüwdenjamts Mongold zalarsan tüükh [Mongolia and Tibet

- in the First Half of the 20th century. The Visit of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Tüwdenjamts in Mongolia]. Ulaanbaatar 2009, pp. 36-37.
- 302 Batbayar – Gombosüren 2009, pp. 66-67.
- 303 Ölzii 1992, p. 59.
- 304 Ganzorig, D., *The Light of Radiating Knowledge. A biography of Naran Khutugtu*. Treasures of Mongolian Culture and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. Vol. 2. Bethlenfalvy, G. (ed.). Research Group for Altaic Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 2005, p. 3.
- 305 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 120
- 306 Demchigmaa 2012, p. 177
- 307 Oral communication by M. Nandinbaatar, abbot of Shaddüwdarjaalin Monastery, Bulgan aimag, Büregkhangai sum.
- 308 Tsedemdanba et al. 2009, p. 122
- 309 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 170
- 310 Ganzorig 2005, p. 3.
- 311 Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tүүкhen бүтetsiin towch. 1651-1938*. [Short History of Ikh Khüree and Gandan Monastery. 1651-1938], Ulaanbaatar 1999, p. 26. This *aimag* was first initiated in Örgöö (Urga, later Ikh khüree) in 1651 as dwelling of Tibetans from Amdo, a north-eastern Tibetan district, who came to Mongolia with Öндөр gegeen to spread Buddhism. Its main tutelary deity was *Jalwajamts* (T. *rgyal-pa rgya-mtsho*, a form of Avalokiteśvara) and its main protector was *Lkham*.
- 312 Ishtawkhai 2006, pp. 12-14., pp. 34-36.
- 313 Gombojaw, S., *Mongolchuudiin түwd kheleer zokhioson zokhioliin зүйл* [Works of Mongolians Composed in Tibetan]. Transcribed by S. Dawaabayar. Ulaanbaatar 2005
- 314 It might be a confusion, but according to the above source, both Luwsanjimba and Rinchindagwa were called *Tsagaan rawjamba*.
- 315 Terbish, L., *Zayaiin khiidiin khambo Luwsanjambiin сүнбүмиин khoyor botiin towch nom зүйл* [Short Bibliography of the Two Volumes Collected Works of Luwsanjamba, the Abbot of Zayaiin khiid]. Ulaanbaatar 2004, pp. 5-15.
- 316 Yadamsüren 2006, p. 10.
- 317 The ceremonial events of the Lunar New Year, *Tsagaan sar* in Mongolian, are the most important in every temple. At this time, first the *Adislaga* (T. *byin-rlabs*), consecration, of the new *balin* or ritual cakes (*balin* or *dorum*, T. *gtor-ma*, S. *bali*) takes place at the 26th of the last winter month. On each of the 27th, 28th and 29th of the Old Year (meaning the last winter month) a ceremony is held in honour of the three wrathful deities (*Sakhius*), one being

central to the proceedings for each day. These are called ‘the old ceremonies’ (*Khuuchin nomiin khural*), as they are the final ceremonies of the Old Year. The *Sor* is burnt during the evening at one of the *Sakhius* ceremonies.

318 The anniversary of Tsongkhapa’s death is held on the 25th of the first winter month. It is called ‘the great day of Tsongkhapa’ (*Zonkhowiin (ikh) düitsen or Bogd (Zonkhawa) lamiin (ikh) düitsen*, T. *tsong-kha-pa’i dus-chen*). 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 ceremony in honour of Tsongkhapa held during the day and in the evening butter lamps are lit outside and the *Migzem* (T. *dmigs-brtse-ma*), prayer to Tsongkhapa, is recited many times.

319 Historical Summary, p. 2.

320 It is available in Cyrillic in Enkhtüwshin, B. - Ganzorig, Ch. - Chunag, Sh. - Dashbadrakh, D. (eds.), *Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlein mendelsnii 360 jiliin oid zoriulsan erdem shinjilgeenii бага khurliin emkhtgel* [Collection of Articles from the Conference Held at the 360th Anniversary of Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlei’s Birth]. Ulaanbaatar 2002, pp. 87-105.

321 *Sain noyon khan aimgiin Erdene Zaya bandida Jambatserengiin üye töröl ba sümiin ug ekh*. [Incarnations and Origin of the Temples of Zaya bandida Jambatseren of Sain noyon khan aimag] In: Enkhtüwshin, B. - Ganzorig, Ch. - Chunag, Sh. - Dashbadrakh, D. (eds.), *Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlein mendelsnii 360 jiliin oid zoriulsan erdem shinjilgeenii бага khurliin emkhtgel* [Collection of Articles from the Conference Held at the 360th Anniversary of Erdene Zaya bandida Luwsanprinlei’s Birth]. Ulaanbaatar 2002, pp. 85-105.

322 Tsetseglen 2012, pp. 76-77.

323 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 33.

324 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 35.

325 Choros 2003, p. 502.

326 According to another legend the origin of this spring is in connection with the Fifth Dalai Lama who has never visited Mongolia.

327 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 7.

328 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 6.

329 Ganzorig 2005, p. 100.

330 Yadamsüren 2009, pp. 17-21.

331 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 6.

332 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 8., Ganzorig 2005, p. 100. The founder, Gergen bagsh was born in the 1830’s. He studied in Tibet for 4 years and sat in meditation in a cave for 3 years. He attained *gawj* degree. In Tibet he studied together with

the Fifth Zaya bandid Luwsanjigmednamjil, and with his help he founded the temple at the birthplace of Zaya gegeen.

- 333 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 8.
- 334 Tsedendamba et al., p. 235.
- 335 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 9., Tsedendamba et al., p. 235.
- 336 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 15.
- 337 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 15.
- 338 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 9.
- 339 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 9., Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 14.
- 340 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 9.
- 341 Tsedendamba et al., p. 235.
- 342 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 17.
- 343 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 9.
- 344 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 17.
- 345 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2002, p. 16.
- 346 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 9.
- 347 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun, 2002, p. 16.
- 348 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 16.
- 349 Yadamsüren 2009, pp. 17-21.
- 350 Yadamsüren 2009, pp. 17-21.
- 351 Yadamsüren 2009, pp. 17-21.
- 352 The exact date is unknown: Dorjsüren 2007, p. 10. says 1934, but p. 23. 1932. Ganzorig 2005, p. 100. gives 1934.
- 353 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 10. Ganzorig 2005, p. 100.
- 354 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 6.
- 355 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 26.
- 356 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 26.
- 357 Tsedendamba et al., p. 235.
- 358 Dorjsüren, 2007, p. 26.
- 359 Ganzorig 2005, p. 85. and the oral communication of Dorjsüren lama. Dorjsüren wrote 2005. Dorjsüren 2007, p. 101.
- 360 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 101.
- 361 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 20.
- 362 Ganzorig 2005, p. 102.
- 363 Dorjsüren 2007, p. 104.
- 364 Ganzorig 2005, p. 101.
- 365 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 20.
- 366 Rinchen 1979, map No. 28.

- 367 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 239.
- 368 Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 369 Rinchen 1979, map No. 28.
- 370 Choros 2003, p. 498.
- 371 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 240.
- 372 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2004, p. 32.
- 373 Tsedendamba 2009, p. 240.
- 374 Tsedendamba 2009, p. 240.
- 375 Rinchen marked a temple No. 171. Dar' ekhiin khural in Öndör-ulaan sum of Arkhangai, near Khanuin gol. This may be the same site, though the sub-province names are different (these might have changed).
- 376 Ölziibuyan – Chuluun 2004, p. 32. confirms it.
- 377 Rinchen 1979, map No. 28.
- 378 Tsedendamba 2009, p. 217.
- 379 Daajaw 2006, p. 188. gives a sketch of the location of this temple, but uses the name *Khökh süm*.
- 380 Daajaw 2006, p. 188.
- 381 Ölzii 1992, p. 58.
- 382 Ölzii 1992, p. 58.
- 383 Tsedendamba et al. 2009, p. 217.
- 384 Historical Summary, p. 5.
- 385 A Geshe Lharampa (*gewsh Ikhaaramba*, T. dge-bshes lha-rams-pa, holder of the highest academic degree in Buddhist philosophy) from Tibet's Drepung Losaling Monastery (T. 'bras-spungs blo gsal gling), the former Indian ambassador to Mongolia from 1989. As ambassador, he contributed immeasurably to the revival of Buddhist institutions in Mongolia. Apart from regular teachings in Ulaanbaatar, he spent his time with travelling all over the country giving teachings. In Ulaanbaatar he founded the only temple fully residential by now.
- 386 A highly esteemed lama of Inner-Mongolian origin who, escaping the purges of the Chinese, went to and learnt for decades in Tibet and Nepal and contributed greatly to the revival, restoration and reopening of temples in Mongolia.
- 387 Yadamsüren 2009, pp. 36-37.
- 388 Yadamsüren 2009, pp. 39-41.
- 389 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 41.
- 390 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 42.
- 391 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 43.

- 392 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 44.
- 393 A special text of Zaya monastery, full title: rta-mgrin gsang sgrub-kyi chos skor-las/ 'chi-ba-ma'i sems-can-la phan thabs bya tshul nyams thag dbugs 'byin zhes bya-ba bzhugs-so/
- 394 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 53.
- 395 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 54.
- 396 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 55.
- 397 The source on the operation of this temple is Majer 2008, pp. 193-195. and the material of the authors prepared for the Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries project of ACM in 2006, www.mongoliantemples.net.
- 398 The *datsan* has a page on Facebook: www.facebook.com/zaygegeeniigushegmonastery
- 399 The Chinese inscription was identified by Matyas Balogh, Research Fellow, Inner-Asian Department, ELTE University, Budapest, Hungary.
- 400 Yadamsüren 2009, p. 40.
- 401 *Sain noyon khan aimgiin Zaya bandid khutagtiin shawiin fondiin barimtiin бүртгел, 1810-1912*
- 402 *Zaya bandid gegeenii jurmiig dagaj, khural khurakh khiigeed olon khurliin suudal zergiig jurmiin daguu zasaj baikh tukhai nugalbar bichig.*
- 403 These are: 2. The participation of Ochir, resident of *Erdene zasgiin khoshuu* in horse stealing (1849), 3. Articles stolen from the Russian Mishik's caravan (1902), 4. An order to capture and sentence Baldan and Gonchig of the *khoshuu* who participated in cattle stealing in the area near *Ikh khüree* (1909), 5. A contract written in Chinese and Mongolian about the claim for damages of Günregjaw layman of the *datsan* who had a water accident with his caravan (1912), 6. A document related to the money lending activity of the Russian Feodor's store (without date)"
- 404 *Sain noyon khan aimgiin Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khoshuunii fondiin bainga khadgalakh khadgalamjiin negjiin бүртгел 1843-1911.*
- 405 *Sain noyon khan aimgiin Zaya bandid khutagtiin shaw'.*
- 406 *Sain noyon aimgiin Erdene Zaya bandid khutagtiin ug ekhiig todruulakh tukhai örgökh tses.*
- 407 The other documents are: 2. Leather, skin and other articles of residents; Paying customs (1917, 1 page), 3. Judgements of thieves; on the short and long trips of usurers and clerks of the store, who needed means of transport; levying tax from articles of merchants, etc. (1917, 1918, 1921, 5 pages)
- 408 *Tsetserleg mandaliin aimgiin Erdene Bulgan uuliin khoshuunii fondiin bainga khadgalakh khadgalamjiin negjiin бүртгел, 1921-1926.*

- 409 *Sain noyon khan aimagiin Da-gaas khariyaat aimgiin Zaya bandida khutagt nariin öör ööriin baiguulsan khural*. 1919, 6 pages, 692/96. 9 (517.3)
- 410 *Sain noyon khan aimgiin erdene Zaya bandidagiin örgökh tses*, 7 pages, 18381/57.
- 411 *Erdene bandida khutagt, Khamba nomun khan, Lamiin gegeen, Erdene Zaya bandida khutagtiin gegeen nart ilgeesen...* (1800), 8777/96 or 8677/96.
- 412 Chuluun, S., *Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Tüükhiin Khüreeleengiin tүүкhen barimtiin бүртгел* [Register of the Historical Documents in the Possession of the Institute of History of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences]. Vol. I. Ulaanbaatar 2010, p. 46. *Zayaiin shawiin khümüüs yaduurch nokhoi, khünii makh idew gesen bichig*. (D-1, KhN-456. 1872. 10 pages), p. 194. *Tsetserleg mandaliin aimgiin Erdene Zaya bandida khutagtiin shaw'd neen baiguulsan jaran negdügeer үүриin төлөөлөгч Тseween, Genden nariin iltgel* (1822, 5 pages).
- 413 Pozdneev 1896, Illustration No. 52., 53.
- 414 Shepetilnikov 1960
- 415 Maidar 1992
- 416 Tsültem, N., *Mongolian Architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988
- 417 Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013
- 418 Tulisow, J. - Inoue, O., Bareja-Starzyńska, A., Dziurzyńska, E. (eds.), *In the Heart of Mongolia. 100th Anniversary of W. Kotwicz's Expedition to Mongolia in 1912*. Cracow 2012, p. 104. p. 113.
- 419 Tsültem 1986, 158.
- 420 Maidar 1972, Picture 118.
- 421 Pürew, O., *XX zunii ekhen üyeiin ar mongol (1900-1930 on)* (map) (forthcoming) [Mongolia in the Beginning of the 20th Century, 1900-1930]