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Significant Monasteries in Mongolia Specified in Zawa lam Damdin's Golden Annals

Monks, monasteries, and monastic education have great importance when upholding and transmitting the religious traditions. After more conversions Buddhism spread in the present area of Mongolia in the 17th-18th centuries when Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, the 1st Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagt (1635-1723, T. rje-btsun dam-pa),¹ and other eminent Mongolian monks studying in Tibetan monastic universities, and meeting the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas returned home and introduced the tradition of the Tibetan Gelukpa (T. *dge-lugs-pa*) or Yellow Stream (*shariin shashin*), and started to establish monastic sites in large number. The idea of the monastery buildings was supported by the Manchu emperors, local nobles, and local monks. Tibetan monks also arrived to ordain monks, to give empowerments, and to help to organise the ceremonial life of the temples and the monasteries. In these ways Tibetan Buddhism spread thorough the Mongol land² and was combined with local characteristics. Various types of monastic sites came to existence such as monastic camps (or monastic “cities”, towns or villages in Western sense), monasteries founded at isolated places, small temple complexes, or individual temples or yurts where monthly, seasonal or annual events were held, hermitages, and others.³ There were monks who resided within the monasteries, and monks who lived as herders in the countryside with their families and gathered in the monasteries only at important ceremonial events. Monastic “cities” and monasteries had bigger residential communities and also monastic schools where monks could study Buddhist philosophy and other sciences.

¹ The present article was written by the support of the OTKA PD83465 Postdoctoral Research Fellowship of the Hungarian National Research Fund. Khalkha, Tibetan (T.), Sanskrit (S.), and Chinese expressions (Ch.) are mentioned in the article.

² Though the area of the Mongols was much bigger than the area of the present Mongolia, and borders were not the same as today, the article focuses only on the area which belongs to Mongolia today.

³ Types of monastic sites were described by Pozdneev 1978: 34; Majer 2009, Teleki 2009, Majer-Teleki 2011.

The number of monastic sites reached about 1000 at the beginning of the 20th century. Due to the Soviet-type political changes these sites were all destroyed in 1937-1938 or later, and Buddhism came to a halt for decades until the democratic changes in 1990. The exact whereabouts of the old monastic sites were known locally but were unknown for the public till the 1970's when D. Maidar and B. Rinchen published their atlases listing 750 and 950 monasteries by provinces and presenting their sites on different maps.⁴ O. Pürew also participated in this work and prepared his own maps as well. The Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries project organized by the Arts Council of Mongolia and Gandantegchenlin Monastery took place in 2007 to survey all once-existed and present-day monasteries (www.mongoliantemples.net). The partial results of the survey were published in 2009⁵ completed with historical data of several sites and eminent monks. The books of J. Ölziit, D. Maidar, Ch. Banzragch – B. Sainkhüü, B. Daajaw, and a recent publication of the archives of the old State Intelligence Agency⁶ also describe the history of several monasteries, whilst other publications focus only on given monasteries such as the famous Erdene zuu or Amarbayasgalant.⁷

Though the most famous and significant monasteries are known for the Mongols by oral tradition, “famous” and “significant” are subjective concepts. 61 big monasteries are marked on Rinchen's map No.43,⁸ and researchers compile newer lists from time to time. Although philologists consider written sources as authentic ones, only a few published Tibetan and Mongolian chronicles, biographies, archival documents, and some books of foreign travellers⁹ provide sporadic data regarding old Mongolian monasteries. When turning the pages of one of the chronicles a unique list of 75 significant Mongolian monasteries was found, which will be analysed and translated in the present article.

The Golden Annals and its List

The most extensive chronicles regarding the history of Mongolian Buddhism were written in Tibetan by Tsembel *güüsh* (T. *gu-shrī* Tshe-'phel) in 1819,¹⁰

⁴ Maidar 1972: 95-107. Rinchen – Maidar 1979: Maps No. 24-41.

⁵ Tsedendamba et al. 2009

⁶ Ölziit 1992, Maidar 1992, Banzragch – Sainkhüü 2004, Daajaw 2006, Erdenebileg 2012, Khatanbaatar – Naigal 2005, Oyuunbileg 2010

⁷ In Russian see Šepetilnikov 1960. In English a comprehensive book of 68 significant monasteries is written at present by Zs. Majer.

⁸ Rinchen – Maidar 1979

⁹ Pozdneev 1883, 1887, 1896, 1898; Pozdeyev 1971, 1978

¹⁰ Huth 1892

Dam-chos rgya-mtsho Dharmatāla in 1889,¹¹ and Luwsandamdin or Luwsandayan (T. blo-bzang rta-mgrin, blo-bzang rta-dbyangs) better known as Zawa lam Damdin (T. rtsa-ba bla-ma rta-mgrin) in 1931. Zawa lam Damdin (1867-1937) was a talented Mongolian monk who was born and lived in the present area of Mongolia. He studied in Urga (Ikh khüree) and in Tibetan monasteries, and founded the famous Delgeriin Choir monastery known also as Choyon Odsallin (T. chos-dbyings 'od-gsal gling) in the Gobi in the 1910's. As he was an eminent Tibetan polymath his biography is available in many sources.¹² He finished his chronicle regarding the history of Mongolian Buddhism (T. *hor chos-byung*) entitled the Golden Annals in 1931.¹³

It is said that this chronicle is a result of a many-year teamwork, which was proofread by Sanduijaw abbot of Zuugiin khiid monastery (today Dundow' province, Adaatsag sub-province), and edited by Luwsangonchig abbot of Khadan usnii khiid (today Dundgow' aimag, Erdenedalai sum), which were situated not far from Delgeriin Choir (today Dundgow' aimag, Delgertsogt sum).¹⁴ Famous monks of Delgeriin Choir were Chojin gawj, Khayamal Dawaa, and Jaal Shyeraw,¹⁵ who might help Zawa lam Damdin when writing the chronicle. The colophon of the chronicle tells more about dates and participants (187b-191a) as well as the many sources which were used when compiling the chronicle and some of which have been lost for today (189b-191a).

Sh. Bira drew the attention to the list of Mongolian monasteries when describing the Golden Annals.¹⁶ It is namely an eight-folio list (160a-163b)¹⁷ of 75 significant monastic sites which were situated in Mongolia in the beginning of the 20th century. The sites are unnumbered, but are listed in accordance with the five territorial divisions of the Khalkhas existed in the Manchu period (i.e. Ikh khüree also known as Urga and the four Khalkha *aimags*). The names of the monasteries, their numbers of monks, types of their monastic schools, and the views of their philosophical monastic schools are all specified.¹⁸ This list

¹¹ Lokesh Chandra 1987: 423-426, 242-243.

¹² Lokesh Chandra 1963: 30, 395, Lokesh Chandra 1961: 26, Majer 2012

¹³ Its full title is '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', 'The Marvelous, Wise and Delighting Golden Book: Historic Treatise of the Great Mongol Land situated in the Northern Part of Jambudvīpa'. Its published version includes 301 pages, and 38 pages appendices. Tóth 2003: 149

¹⁴ Majer 2012: 13

¹⁵ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 447

¹⁶ Bira 1964: 52

¹⁷ Lokesh Chandra 1964: 143-146

¹⁸ The chronicle contains a list of Inner-Mongolian (T. *sog*) monasteries as well (163/b-

can be compared with the short list by Dharmatāla, who lived in Inner-Mongolia thus had different knowledge about the monasteries of Outer-Mongolia. As according to our present knowledge any other such lists are not available in publication¹⁹ the list of the Golden Annals is special as it was compiled in the present area of Mongolia and clarified monasteries which had significant education in the turn of the 19th-20th centuries.²⁰

Dates and Authors of the List

We consider Zawa lam Damdin as the author of the Golden Annals. His list of monasteries begins as follows (160a⁴): “Who is able to list all the countless monastic places (T. *dgon gnas*, holy sites) that have been existed in different times and in different sizes as well as the ones which were established even in these days in this great Mongol land (T. *chen-po hor*, referring to Outer-Mongolia) supported by the gratitude of the Manchu emperors who rule the Mongol areas (T. *hor sog*, referring to Outer-Mongolia and Inner-Mongolia) according to the Buddhist Laws? Hereby only the bigger monastic estates (T. *dgon-khag*) will be listed roughly, where the rules of the three methods (T. *bgyi sgo bsgrub*) of the three cycles of the Buddha’s teaching (T. *'khor-lo gsum*, renunciation, study and work) are practiced.”²¹ According to this self-definition only a rough list of significant monastic sites is given by the author. It is also clear from the definition that the list was written in the Manchu period, which ended in 1911. However, it also includes at least one monastery, namely Choyon Odsallin (known better as Delgeriin Choir) founded by Zawa lam Damdin in the 1910’s, which was added later.

Zawa lam Damdin finished the Golden Annals in 1931, but the list of the monasteries was written many years before. It seems that the list is based on one or more previous lists written during the Manchu period which were copied, maybe combined, and completed later by Zawa lam Damdin or his

165/a) continuing the list of Outer-Mongolia (T. *hor*).

¹⁹ A recent Tibetan religious work (Lodrö 1974: 373) also discuss Outer and Inner-Mongolian monasteries (T. *phyi sog nang sog gdan-sa*) claiming that there were 45 important monasteries in the Kalmuck area (T. *kal-mig*), 38 in the Buryat area (T. *sbo-ra'i-to-pa*), 57 in the Khalkha area (T. *khal-kha*), and 49 in Inner-Mongolian area (T. *nang sog*). Their philosophy was based on the manual book of *Goman igchaa*. It provides details on the Torgut (T. *thor-gwod*) and Kalmück areas (Lodrö 1974: 374).

²⁰ For its Hungarian publication see Teleki 2005.

²¹ *hor sog man-ju'i chos-rgyal gong-ma de-dag-gi bka'-drin-la brten-nas chen-po hor-gyi rgyal-khams 'dir snga phyi bar-du chags-pa'i dgon-gnas che chung-gi gras mtha'-yas-shing bgrang-du med-pa byung 'dug-pas de thams-cad su-zhig-gis brjod-par nus/ 'on-kyang de-dag-las 'dir ni 'khor-lo gsum-gyi bgyi sgo bsgrub-pa'i khirms ldan-gyi dgon-khag che-ba'i gras rags rim tsam brjod-na/*

assistants. It might have happened that different lists were used when describing Ikh khüree and the rural monasteries, but let's suppose that only one original list existed. As we will see from the translation when describing Ikh khüree the text includes the relics temple of the Fifth Bogd (1815-1841) at Gandan, but exclude the relics of the Seventh Bogd (1849-1868 or 1850-1870), whose relics temple was built in 1869 next to the relics temple of the Fifth Bogd. Though the relics of the First and Fourth Bogds are mentioned at Amarbayasgalant monastery, the relics of the Second, the Third, and Sixth Bogds are not mentioned at Dambadarjaa, where they were preserved.²² Though in the case of Dambadarjaa it might have been an omission by chance, in the case of Gandan mentioning the relics of the Fifth Bogd, and not mentioning the relics of the Seventh Bogd has not much evidence if his relics were also preserved there when writing the description. Therefore, it seems that the original list was written after the passing away of the Fifth Bogd (1841) but before the passing away of the Seventh Bogd (1869).

Meanwhile, for the construction of *Lamrim datsan* at Gandan, which is mentioned in the list, 1844 is a widely known date, though other sources provide previous dates as well. It seems that Urga, which consisted of the *khüree* and Gandan in the 19th century, was situated in the banks of the River Selbe when this part of the list was written. The *khüree* moved to this area in 1855 again after a short move to Tolgoit (1839-1855). The fact that the Maitreya Temple is mentioned in the list confirms this assumption, as it was built for 1836 when the *khüree* was situated on the banks of the River Selbe, and it was not moved to Tolgoit.²³

We have even less knowledge about the detailed history of rural monasteries, but for instance *Zayaiin khüree* is mentioned in the text with its upper and lower parts. Its lower part was founded in 1844, thus the list could not have been written before.²⁴ All in all, the original list or at least the description of Urga might have been written after 1855, but surely after 1844 and before 1869.²⁵ It should be considered that Zawa lam Damdin was born in 1867, thus the original list was not written by himself. The names of territorial divisions or areas (*khoshuu*, T. *sa-cha*, 'banners') mentioned in the text refer to the

²² Teleki 2011: 242

²³ Sereeter 2004: 69

²⁴ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 258

²⁵ The question arose that how this list as very first list was prepared. In Urga the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Bogd had certain lists about monasteries, but it could also happen that someone completed the list gathering oral information from monks. It could be performed easily at Urga where monks from different countryside monasteries lived.

divisions of the Manchu period. Studying their history can result in a more precise date of the original list(s).

The outer appearance of the list is very homogenous. It doesn't contain any additional notes, thus it is difficult to determine which monasteries were added later to the original list(s), when and by whom. Zawa lam Damdin knew Urga well as he studied and lived there, but did not update Urga's description. However, his residential monastery founded in the 1910's in the Gobi is mentioned with the name "Choyon Odsallin." The Eight Bogd gave this name to the monastery in 1919.²⁶ According to the list this monastery belonged to the area of Üizen gün prince that time. It is known that first the area where the monastery was situated belonged to the area of Üizen gün (Üizen günii khoshuu), but later it belonged to Daichin beisiin khoshuu.²⁷ Choyon Odsallin is described with apparent details, even its five living quarters with monks' dwellings (*aimag*, T. *khang-tshan*) are mentioned, whilst this important information is missing in the cases of such important places as Urga. It is sure that this sentence was added to the original list in or after 1919 by Zawa lam Damdin or any other monk who proofread the list, and who knew Choyon Odsallin well. Based on the fact that Zawa lam Damdin did not update the description of Urga and its Gandan part though such famous temples as *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* philosophical monastic school (T. *yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling grwa-tshang*) or Avalokiteśvara Temple (*Janraisegiin süm*, T. *spyan-ras gzigs*) were built there in 1911-1913, it is supposed that not much changes were made in the original list. However, in the area of Tüsheet khan aimag, and especially in the "nearby" area of Choyon Odsallin apparently many not so well-known monasteries are listed, such as *Tuuliin günii khüree* (Töv aimag, Öndörshireet sum), *Dewsen (bulaqiin) khüree* (Töv aimag, Erdenesant sum), *Orgiochiin süm* (Töv aimag, Erdenesant sum), as well as a hermitage. Zawa lam Damdin joined *Güngaachoilin datsan* philosophical monastic school (T. *kun-dga' chos-gling grwa-tshang*) at Gandan at the age of 17 (1884), and he took *gawjiin damjaa* philosophical doctor exam (T. *dka' bcu'i dam-bca'*) in Gandan in 1905.²⁸ As he was a great philosopher he was a very famous and appreciated member of the Buddhist intelligence in the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. He had many teachers and disciples, and he knew the activity of great philosophers and Tibetan polymaths as well as the history of Mongolian Buddhism and its condition and monasteries then in being. His famous teacher, Minjüür *agramba* (*angi gewsh*) of *Güngaachoilin datsan* came from *Tuuliin günii khüree*.²⁹ Zawa lam

²⁶ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 447

²⁷ Majer 2012: 15

²⁸ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 156

²⁹ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 153, 673

Damdin was often invited to *Dewsen bulagiin khüree*, the monks of which also studied in *Güngaachoilin datsan*, and its reincarnation, Galsanjamts known also as Doltson khuwilgaan was reborn in 1912 as Dashdondog.³⁰ Doltson khuwilgaan was a contemporary of Zawa lam Damdin. Luwsanbaldan *gawj*, great philosopher and polymath, the founder of Orgiochiin süm was reborn as Jantsandorj in 1880, and as Tsenddorj in 1905 (1905-1937).³¹ This lineage of Orgiochiin khuwilgaan was also well-known by Zawa lam Damdin. Studying the great philosophers of Urga and the contemporaries of Zawa lam Damdin can clarify more details regarding the list, as the above-mentioned three monasteries were not so famous ones, but monasteries with outstanding schools at Zawa lam Damdin's student-ages, or ones which he used to visit as philosophical master after his graduation. At least these few sites are considered to be added by Zawa lam Damdin to an original list maybe in the same time when Choyon Odsallin was added or even earlier.

It is also unknown where the list was compiled. Supposedly in Urga, and was revised in the Gobi by the head monks mentioned above.

All in all we have no evidence about how the list of the Golden Annals was completed. It seems that a list was used as a base (written maybe after 1844 (1855) and before 1869), whilst other monasteries were added later. It is evident that all of these monasteries existed in 1920 and were significant ones. We should keep in mind that the whole list is not homogenous as some monasteries were added to the list later, but as we do not have any other lists of monasteries we have to handle the list as an adequate and homogenous database, which lists several monastic sites considered to be significant by the eminent monk, composer of the last Tibetan chronicle, Zawa lam Damdin. It should be underlined that the spelling of the list is very precise without misspellings, only few words, geographical names, and the names of the monastic sites indicate that it was written by a Mongolian and not a Tibetan monk(s).

Territorial Divisions

The list includes 75 monastic sites divided to five territorial divisions. As first division, the two parts of *Ikh khüree* or *Daa khüree* (or Urga, *Örgöö*, *Bogdiin khüree*) are mentioned, which was the residence of the Bogd Jewtsündamba khutagt, together with three nearby monasteries: Dambadarjaa, Shaddüwlin, and Manzshir monasteries. Afterwards, as after 1725 the area of the Khalkhas was divided into four *aimags* (T. *sa-cha*), the monasteries are listed accordingly: 22 monasteries in the central TüsHEET khan aimag (Erdene zuu with Zuugiin

³⁰ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 137, 681

³¹ Tsedendamba et al. 2009: 681

lamiin süm and Baruun khüree with Noyon lamiin süm are counted here separately), 15 monasteries in the eastern Setsen khan aimag, 15 monasteries in the western Sain noyon khan aimag, and 18 monasteries in the far western and north-western Zasagt khan aimag.³² Regarding the terms ‘East’ and ‘West’, *g-yon* is used for East (*Züün*) and *g-yas* is used for West (*Baruun*) in the text.

Types of Monastic Sites

One should consider that different terms exist in the Tibetan and in the Mongolian languages to identify different types of monastic sites.³³ The Tibetan terms used in the text to distinguish the different functions of the monastic sites are as follows:³⁴

hu-re (Tibetan transliteration of the Mongolian *khüree*): monastic camp, monastic city or town, village. Though Tibetan translations of the word “*khüree*” are available in dictionaries (T. *ra-ba*, *bsgar-ba*, *do-ra*, *gyang*),³⁵ the author wrote *hu-re* instead. *Khüree* is a typical formation of Mongolian monastic camps or “cities”, a round-shaped (precisely \cap -shaped) formation or settlement,³⁶ a centre of a given ecclesiastic superior or a noble landowner with temples in its centre surrounded by the living quarters of monks (usually called *aimag*, T. *khang-tshan*). The *khürees* were the biggest monastic estates which used to move (camp) in the beginning, and settled down finally. One, two or three thousands of monks resided in these *khürees*, and lay population and merchants often lived nearby.

gdan-sa ('major monastic centre'): this term is usually used for the monastic universities of Tibet.³⁷ In the list the biggest *khüree*, Ikh khüree (the Great khüree, Uрга), the monastic city of the Bogd is the only site which is referred as *gdan-sa*, as it had the most monastic schools as well as the biggest monk population with about 10,000 monks.

dgon-pa (equivalent with the Mongolian *khüid*): monastery. Monasteries were founded at remote, and isolated areas. Their monk populations were

³² A detailed map of the territorial units of the four regions is available in Moses 1977: 149-151.

³³ See Pozdneyev 1978: 34; Majer 2009, Teleki 2009, Majer-Teleki 2011.

³⁴ Dictionaries were used to translate the Tibetan expressions of the text (Tibetan-English Dictionary at Nitārtha International www.nitartha.org/dictionary.html), Kowalewski: 1844, 1846, 1849.) The explanations of their Mongolian equivalent was based on Pozdneyev 1978: 34, Kara 1998, and common fieldwork experience with Zsuzsa Majer part of which was communicated in Majer-Teleki 2009, Majer 2009.

³⁵ Kowalewski: 1844, 1846, 1849: 2638.

³⁶ Majer-Teleki 2009: 122.

usually less than the population of the *khürees*, and originally lay people did not reside in their vicinities.

dgon-sde ('monastic complex') is used only for Dambadarjaa, Manzshir, Amarbayasgalant, and Darwa paṇḍita's monastery (*khüid*). They were founded as monasteries (T. *dgon-pa*) at isolated places, but later became as populated as the *khürees*. The list might distinguish them from smaller monasteries (T. *dgon-pa*).

chos-sde ('teaching centre') is mentioned in the text for Delgeriin Choir, Borjigin Janjinii Züün Choir, Borjigin Janjinii Baruun Choir, and Yaruugiin khüree which were famous for their high-level philosophical education.

ri-khrod (equivalent with *dayaanii khüid*): hermitage, mountain retreat, place of contemplation. The list mentions Shaddüwlin near Urga, and another retreat, probably near Delgeriin Choir. The characteristics of these retreats are that only novices and fully-ordained monks used to reside and meditate there.³⁸

bsti-gnas (equivalent with *süm*, 'temple, central place, dwelling place') is mentioned regarding Gandantegchenlin *süm* of Ikh khüree, Zuugiin lamiin *süm* of the head lama of Erdene zuu, and Noyon lamiin *süm*, the residence of the head lama of Baruun khüree. The word *süm* usually was used for monasteries where monks gathered only occasionally,³⁹ but *bsti-gnas* refers here to monastic complexes or residences of certain head lamas who headed nearby monasteries.

The above-mentioned Tibetan terms provide more information about the function of the given monastic sites than the ones which are used in the Mongolian language. The use of these Tibetan terms indicates that the list was completed by someone (Zawa lam Damdin) who was familiar with not only the Tibetan language, but also with the different types of monastic sites existed in Tibet and in Mongolia.

Names of Monasteries

Mongolian monasteries were named mainly after their initiators, locations, or objects of worship. Monasteries were founded by the orders of the Manchu emperors, or were initiated by local monks and nobles and were acknowledged

³⁷ Tibetan-English Dictionary at Nitartha International: „gdan-sa gsum: the three great monasteries of the Gelukpa Sect (Sera, Drepung, and Ganden)” (www.nitartha.org/dictionary.html)

³⁸ A very famous retreat, Töwkhön (T. *sgrub-khang*) founded by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar in the Khangai Mountain is missing from the list (today Öwörkhantai aimag, Bat-Ölzii sum).

³⁹ Pozdneev 1978: 34

by the emperors later. The monasteries mentioned in the list bear the names of eminent monks (e.g. *shireet*, *shi-re-tu*, translation of T. *khri-pa*; *nomon khan*, translation of T. *chos-rj*; *bandid*, S. *paṇḍita*) and also nobles invested with Mongolian (*khan*, *zasag*), Manchu (*beis*, *beil*), and Chinese titles (*wan*, *gün*), who founded monasteries as their camps, or main monastic sites in their territorial divisions (*khoshuu*, Tibetan transliteration: T. *ho-shu*). The Manchu-Chinese noble ranks were given by the Manchu emperors, and covered different types of princes such as *wan* (Ch. *wang*), *beil* (*beil*) or third-ranked prince, *beis* (*bees*) or four-ranked prince, *gün* (Ch. *gong*) or four-ranked prince, duke. Tibetan transliterations of these ranks in the list are as follows:⁴⁰ T. *han*, *wang*, *pe'i-li*, *pe'i-se*, *gung*, *dza-sag*. Although all bigger monasteries and temples had sonorous Tibetan names as well, only the Tibetan name of Zawa Lam Damdin's monastery (Choyon Odsallin) and the Tibetan name of Ninjdolbo (T. *snying-rje sgröl-ba*) are mentioned in the list. Otherwise, the monasteries are listed by their names which were (and are) widely known.

Monastic Schools

The biggest monastic sites had monastic schools or colleges called *datsan* (T. *grwa-tshang*),⁴¹ where monks were trained in different fields. In the monastic schools they studied in classes (T. *'dzin-grwa*) and could take exams (*damjaa*, T. *dam-bca'*) and obtain titles. The following subjects and schools are mentioned in the text:⁴²

chos-grwa ('school for religious study', *Choir* or *Choir datsan* in Khalkha): the term is used in the text for philosophic monastic schools. Such schools belonged to all significant monasteries. The list distinguishes *chos-grwa* and *mtshan-nyid* schools. Accordingly *Choir* belonged to 63 sites and their curricula were based on different manuals (see below in detail). Only 12 sites were without *Choir*, but there were *Tsanid* instead, or were simple hermitages, or dwellings. Strangely, Erdene Zuu's monastic schools are not detailed in the list.

⁴⁰ Kara 1998. I am grateful to Mátyás Balogh, research fellow at Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Inner-Asian Studies, for his useful advises regarding the origins of these ranks.

⁴¹ In Urga the term *grwa-tshang* was used in other sense than the place of education as well, rather as temples with privileges. In Buryatia every monastery were named as *dacan*.

⁴² The following dictionaries were used to translate these terms: Kara 1998, Tibetan-English Dictionary at Nitārtha International (www.nitartha.org/dictionary.html), *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* 1984.

mtshan-nyid (*tsanid*, ‘characteristic’) is mentioned in the cases of the two monasteries led by Yalguusan khutagt, as well as Baruun khüree which had a *Choir* and a *Tsanid* as well. *Tsanid* is a philosophic school where metaphysics is taught.

dus-khor grwa-tshang (*Düinkhor datsan*): the list mention that a Kālacakra monastic school was situated in Urga, and in Tuuliin güinii khüree. The Kālacakra system was studied in these temples, and related ceremonies were performed.

lam-rim grwa-tshang (*Lamrim datsan*): the list mentions Gradual Path schools in the cases of Urga (Gandantegchenlin), Orgiochiin khiid, the hermitage of Choyon Odsallin, Bari lamiin khiid, and Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree.

rgyud-grwa or *rgyud-pa grwa-tshang* (*Jüd datsan*): the list mentions Tantric schools at Urga, Khoshoi chin wangiin khüree (better known as Wangiin khüree), Tuuliin güinii khüree, and Choyon Odsallin.

sngags-grwa (*Agwa/Awag datsan*): it refers to dhārani and mantra practices. The list mentions these *datsans* of Sain noyonii khüree, Yalguusan khutagt’s own monastery, and the monastery in Khowd (called *Shar süm*) led by Yalguusan khutagt (in the time of the preparation of the list).⁴³

smān-grwa or *smān-pa grwa-tshang* (*Mamba/Manba datsan*): the list mentions medical schools in Urga, Khoshoi chin wangiin khüree, Tuuliin güinii khüree, Choyon Odsallin, as well as a special medical training school (T. *smān-gzhung-gi chos-grwa*) in Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree.

rtsis-grwa or *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang* (*Zurkhai datsan*): the list mentions the astrologic schools of Urga, Khoshoi chin wangiin khüree, and Choyon Odsallin.

pad-ma yo-ga (*Badmayogo*) was a school in Urga at Gandan, where healing ceremonies were held.

Though *Choir* school belonged to almost all monastic sites listed by Zawa lam Damdin, he defined other schools only in few cases: monastic schools and temples other than the *Choir* are mentioned in his list as “and others” (T. *sogs*). It seems that monastic schools other than the *Choir* are referred only in the cases of monasteries which were very famous about certain fields of studies such as Ikh khüree, Khoshoi Chin wangiin khüree, Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree, Bari lamiin khiid, and Yalguusan khutagtiin khiid, and some others are detailed in the cases of monasteries Zawa lam Damdin had first-hand information about, such as Choyon Odsallin, Tuuliin güinii khüree, and

⁴³ Yalguusan khutagt, Narowanchin khutagt, and Jalkhanz khutagt were responsible for governing *Shar süm* alternately (Pozdneyev 1971: 271). Determination of the date when Yalguusan khutagt performed this task can help to determine the date of the list.

Orgiochiin khiid. Strangely neither the *Choir* nor any other *datsans* are listed in the case of Erdene zuu, the oldest monastery of Mongolia, founded in 1578.

Philosophic Monastic Schools and their Handbooks

Mongolian monks studied philosophy in the monastic schools of famous Tibetan monasteries (monastic universities) such as Drepung, Sera, Ganden, Kumbum, Labrang, and Tashilhunpo. Philosophical education means the study of the five main fields (T. *gzhung po-ti lnga*) including logic (T. *tshad-ma*), Madhyamaka (T. *dbu-ma*), Prajñāpāramitā (T. *phar-phyin*), Abhidharma (T. *mngon-pa mdzod*), and Vinaya ('*dul-ba*). To support the proper interpretation of the root-texts written by famous Indian and Tibetan scholars in these five topics, handbooks or manuals (*igchaa*, T. *yig-cha*) were compiled by eminent monks. Three famous handbooks used in different Tibetan philosophical monastic schools became popular in Mongolia, namely *Günchin igchaa*, *Losalin igchaa*, and *Serjee igchaa*. The most famous one, *Günchin igchaa* (T. *kun-mkhyen yig-cha*) was written by Kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyang bzhad-pa (1648-1721). In the list it is mentioned as *Goman igchaa* referring to Gomang monastic school (T. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*) of Drepung monastery, where this handbook was in use. *Wanchin igchaa* (T. *pan-chen yig-cha*) written by Pan-chen Bsod-nams grags-pa (1478-1554) is referred as *Losalin igchaa* in the list (T. *blo gling* or *blo gsal gling yig-cha*) named after Losalling monastic school of Drepung monastery where it was in use. *Serjee igchaa* (T. *ser byed yig-cha*) is the manual of Ser-byed monastic school of Sera monastery, written by Rje-btsun-pa Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1469-1546). These handbooks were used in several Tibetan monasteries as well.⁴⁴

The view of a monastic school focuses only on one of these manuals. After studying in a monastic school in Tibet, Mongolian monks returning to their homeland brought or ordered the handbooks they had studied before, and founded a philosophical school (*chos-grwa*) in their monasteries to teach the views of the given handbooks. Philosophy could have been adopted in other ways, too.

A philosophic monastic school (*Choir*, T. *chos-grwa*) belonged to almost each bigger monastic site. The list provides data about the *Choir* of 63 monasteries: *Günchin igchaa* (*Goman*) was used in Ikh khüree, in 15 monastic sites of TüsHEET khan aimag (namely Baruun khüree, Amarbayasgalant khiid, Züün khüree, Khoshoi chin wangiin khüree, Tuuliin güni khüree, Erdene khambiin khüree, Züün güni khüree, Baruun güni khüree, Ninjdolbiin khiid, Zasag noyonii khüree, Choyon Odsallin khiid, Olon khüree, Ölgii khüree, Tüshee güni khoshuu khüree, Noyon khutagtiin khiid), 11 sites in Setsen khan aimag

⁴⁴ Regarding the manual books of other Tibetan monasteries see Lodrö 1974: 339.

(Setsen khanii khoshuu khüree, Khurts lamiin khiid, Bereewen khiid, San beisiin khüree, Dalai beisiin khüree, Khardal beisiin khüree, Akhai güni khüree, Akhai zasgiin khüree, Borjigin beiliin Baruun Choir, Borjigin beiliin Züün Choir, Khölönbuiiin jün wangiin khüree), seven in Sain noyon khan aimag (Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree, Chin süjigtiin khüree, Choizod (?) lamiin khüree, Ilden beiliin khüree, Dalai (Daichin) güni khüree, Khoshuuch beisiin khüree, Yaruugiin khüree), ten in Setsen khan aimag (Zasagt khanii khüree, Uriankhai (?) chin beisiin khüree, Tegshiin khüree, Dүүeregch wangiin khüree, Awisha (?) güni khüree, Jalkhanz lamiin khiid, Dalai güni khüree, Delgermöröngiin khüree, Görööchnii khüree, Darkhadiin khüree).

Wanchin igchaa (Losalin) was used in Ikh khüree, in three monasteries of Tүsheet khan aimag (Amarbayasgalant khiid, Dewsen bulagiin khüree, Choyon Odsallin khiid), in four monasteries of Setsen khan aimag (Bereewen khiid, San wan zasgiin khüree, Khartsag chin wangiin khüree, Orloi mergen khutagtiin khiid), one in Sain noyon khan aimag (Jamiyaan wangiin khüree (?) in the Gow'), three in Zasagt khan aimag (Setsen (?) zasgiin khüree, Darkhadiin khüree, Bii bulagiin khiid).

Ser igchaa (Serjee) was used in two monasteries of Setsen khan aimag (San beisiin khüree, Yegүzer lamiin khiid), eight monasteries in Sain noyon khan aimag (Sain noyonii khüree, Zayaiin khüree, Said wangiin khüree, Shiwaa shireetiin khüree, Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree, Darwa bandidiin khiid, Khamba khutagt nomon khanii khüree, Jamiyaan wangiin khüree (?) in Khangai), and four in Zasagt khan aimag (Yүүн/Yүnden beisiin khüree (?), Galuutain khüree, Eljigen khoshuu khüree, Selengiin güni khüree)

It seems that in the monasteries listed by Zawa lam Damdin the most popular view was that of the *Goman* monastic school (44 cases), mainly in the area of Setsen khan aimag, in the eastern part of Mongolia. Philosophy of *Losalin* was studied in 12 monasteries, but it was not spread in Sain noyon khan aimag at all. Philosophical views of *Serjee* was followed in 14 monasteries and was very popular in Sain noyon khan aimag, but was not spread in Tүsheet khan aimag. According to the list seven monastic complexes had two monastic schools based on the study of two different handbooks, namely Ikh khüree, Amarbayasgalant khiid, Choyon Odsallin khiid, Bereewen khiid, and Darkhadiin khüree where both *Goman's* and *Losalin's* philosophy were taught, whilst in Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khüree and San beisiin khüree both *Goman's* and *Serjee's* views were taught.

Zawa lam Damdin himself learnt in two different philosophical monastic schools in Urga: in *Gүngaachoilin datsan* which followed the views of *Wanchin igchaa (Losalin)*, and in *Dashchoimbel datsan* (T. *bkra-shis chos-'phel grwa-tshang*) which followed the views of *Gүнchin igchaa (Goman)*. He founded two different philosophical monastic schools in his monastery, Choyon Odsallin. Though the

list mentions only two monastic schools in Urga, a third one, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* was founded in 1911, based on the manual of *Serjee*. Thus, Urga became the only place in Mongolia where all the three manuals were studied. Several monasteries which were not included in the list had monastic schools as well, but the views of the listed ones should have considered as mainstreams.

Number of Monks

The list provides data about the number of disciples (T. *grwa-pa*) in all cases. These are the numbers of residential monks of the monasteries. The most, about 10,000 monks lived in Ikh khüree (at the time of the preparation of the list). 2000 monks belonged to four monasteries: Amarbayasgalant in TüsHEET khan aimag, and Sain noyon khanii khüree, Dalai choinkhor wangiin khüree and Khamba nomon khanii khüree (i.e. Lamiin gegeenii khüree) in Sain noyon khan aimag. More than 1000 monks lived in 12 monasteries: Amarbayasgalant khiid, Khoshoi Chin wangiin khüree, Borjigin beiliin Züün khüree, Zaya bandidiin khüree, Said wangiin khüree, Ilden beiliin khüree, Dalai (Daichin) güniin khüree, Zasagt khanii khüree, Uriankhai (?) chin beisiin khüree, Dүүregch wangiin khüree, Dalai güniin khüree, and Delgermöröngiin khüree. About 1000 monks lived in 17 monasteries, 500 monks lived in 8, and some hundred monks (it might be 200-400, but definitely less than 500) lived in 26 monasteries. Hermitages served for meditation and contemplation with only a few hermits with ordination. In the text different terms are used for these numbers such as *stong-du nye-ba* ‘almost 1000’, *nyis stong* ‘2000’, *lnga brgya skor* ‘about 500’, etc.

The number of monks confirms that the majority of the sites were described in the 19th century. For instance Urga is said to have 15,000 monks in its Golden Age, Wangiin khüree had more than 3000 monks as well as Lamiin gegeenii khüree, Zaya bandidiin khüree had 1500 monks, etc. Though the number of monks has increased in several cases for the time Zawa lam Damdin added the name of Choyon Odsallin, these numbers were not corrected. Although it is supposed that the majority of the numbers refer to the monk population of the second half of the 19th century, the numbers can be used well as tendencies to compare the measure of the sites with each other.

Instructions for the Translation

The present article ends with the English translation of the Tibetan list which was written as a text without special punctuations. The translation is more systemised. Terms used in the list are marked in () brackets. T. means Tibetan, but as the whole text was written in Tibetan crowded by transliterated Mongolian words, after a certain time it was realised that distinguishing T. as a real Tibetan word, and Tt. as the Tibetan transliteration of a Mongolian word

has not much sense. The majority of the names and locations of the monasteries are all transliterations, which can be easily realised by anybody who knows Tibetan or Mongolian. Some comments and the present locations of the (ruined) monastic sites in current provinces (*aimag*), and sub-provinces (*sum*) were added in [] brackets. Usually monasteries in the area of the same *khoshuu* are listed first, and their number of monks are written later (e.g. 500 monks each). In the translation these data are also indicated by [] brackets. The exact locations of a few sites marked with question marks are uncertain at the present stage of research and requires further studies. Once the names of local nobles and their *khoshuu* areas will be realised the exact date of the original list can be determined. In 2012 monks of the Research Centre at Gandantegchenlin Monastery (Erdem Soyoliin Khüreele) in Ulaanbaatar started to work on the Mongolian translation of the whole chronicle. Hopefully, their translation will clarify the uncertain names of monasteries. The translation is advised by Sh. Soninbayar monk, who was born in Dundgow' province, and who has been researching the life and heritage of Zawa lam Damdin for many years.

In spite of the facts that the date and other circumstances of compiling the list are uncertain, it is undoubtedly an extremely valuable source, which should be used as an authentic database when studying the history of the main Mongolian monasteries.

Translation of the Text

Who is able (160a⁴) to list all the countless holy places that have been existed in different times and in different sizes, and the ones which have been being established even today in this great Mongol land supported by the gratitude of the Manchu emperors who rule the Mongol areas according to the Buddhist laws? Hereby only the bigger monastic estates are roughly listed, where the rules of the three methods (T. bgyi sgo bsgrub) of the three cycles of the Buddha's teaching (T. 'khor-lo gsum, renunciation, study and work) are practiced.

1. (160a⁶-) In the central area of [Outer-] Mongolia (T. hor yul), in the area of the Khalkhas the major monastic centre of the Bogd Jewtsündamba's lineage (T. skyabs-mgon rje-btsun dam-pa sku-'phreng rim byin-gyi gdan-sa) is located, called Riwojeji Gandanshaddüwlin (T. ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub-gling, 160b) widely known as Daa khüree [or Ikh khüree] (T. tā hural chen-mo). The number of its monks exceeds 10,000.

Within the [enclosure of the] Yellow Palace (T. bzhugs-sgar ser-po) of His Eminence the Bogd, the majestic Kālacakra datsan (T. sku-zhabs dus-'khor grwa-tshang) is situated. The Tantric school (T. rgyud-grwa), the Medical

school (T. sman-grwa), the Astrologic school (T. rtsis-grwa), the Maitreya datsan (T. byams chen grwa-tshang) and other temples are situated near to it and near the main assembly hall (T. tshogs chen 'du-khang chen-po). These [central temples] are surrounded by large, medium and small sized regional divisions (aimag, T. khams-tshan).⁴⁵ [Today: Ulaanbaatar.]

At Gandantegchenlin "dwelling" (T. bsti-gnas dga'-ldan theg-chen gling), within the [enclosure of the] Yellow Palace (T. bzhugs-sgar ser-po) the gold covered body reliquary stupa (T. gser gdung) of the Fifth Bogd is situated as well as Didinpowran dormitory (T. gzims-chung bde-ldan pho-brang),⁴⁶ and the majestic Gandantegchenlin datsan (T. sku-zhabs grwa-tshang dga'-ldan theg-chen gling). Behind [the enclosure of the Yellow Palace] the two big Choir philosophic schools of Goman igchaa and Losalin ighcaa are located (T. sgo blo'i yig-cha'i chos-grwa chen-po rnam gnyis) as well as the Gradual Path datsan (T. lam-rim grwa-tshang), and the Badamyogo datsan (T. padma yo-ga'i grwa-tshang), etc. It is the most superior place, famous thorough the country for its teaching and learning practices and the practice of following the instructions of spiritual teachers.⁴⁷ [Ulaanbaatar]

Dambadarjaalin monastery (T. dgon-sde bstan-pa dar-rgyas-gling) is situated North of Daa khüree, and was founded in order to the Manchu emperor (T. *gong-ma chen-po'i bkas*). It is famous for its sandalwood Zuu statue (T. jo-bo),⁴⁸ known as Logshir, and has different *datsans* and regional divisions. [Ulaanbaatar]

Shaddüwjanchüwlin hermitage (T. ri-khrod bshad-sgrub byang-chub-gling) is situated North of Daa khüree in a valley of Chingeltei Mountain. It was founded as hermitage (T. dben gnas) of the Fourth Bogd. The principal chapel (T. dri gtsang-khang) includes [the idols of] the eightfold pure retinue of Tsongkhapa.⁴⁹ There is a dormitory (khong-gi gzims-chung), and cells (T. spyil-bu) (161a) of 16 fully-ordained discipled elder monks (T. gnas bla-ma) as renunciates (T. bya-btang-ba tsho) as well as a kitchen (T. rung khang) run by four servants (T. zhal-ta-pa) with novice vows. [Shaddüwlingiin am, North of Ulaanbaatar]

In the South, in the foreground of Khan Uul (Tt. han o'u-la) a hermitage (T. ri-khrod) founded by Donkhor khuwilgaan (T. stong-'khor sprul-sku), the tutor

⁴⁵ T. *khang-tshan*, 'regional divisions or units with monks' dwellings.' A smaller unit is T. *mi-tshan*.

⁴⁶ T. *gzims chung*

⁴⁷ T. *bshes-gnyen bsten tshul dang mdo-sngags rig-gnas-kyi 'chad-nyan bzang shos-su mtha' dbus kun-tu grags-pa*

⁴⁸ Its epithet needs further research: T. *rang-byung 'phags-pa mched bzhi'i ya-rgyal-du grags-pa'i tsan-dan jo-bo*

⁴⁹ T. *rje bla-ma 'khor dag-pa rnam brgyad-bcas-kyi dri gtsang-khang*

(T. yongs-'dzin) of the Second Bogd is situated, which was enlarged later, and became known as Manzsir lamiin khiid (T. Manyzu-shrī bla-ma'i dgon-sde). [Töw aimag, Zuunmod]

2. In the area of TüsHEET khan aimag (Tt. Thu-she-ye-thu han-gyi sa-cha). (161a²-)

Outside of the chapel of Erdene zuu (T. er-te-ni jo-bo'i gondha (?))⁵⁰ Darjaa, known also as Nomch tsorj lam (T. nom-chi tsho-rje bla-ma), and others, and the TüsHEET khans founded the main assembly hall, and various datsans and aimags. Together with the nearby Zuugiin lamiin süm (T. bsti-gnas jo-bo'i bla-ma'i dgon-pa) these two "brother" monasteries (T. dgon ma bu gnyis) has about 1000 monks. [Öwörkhangai, Khorkhorin khot]

Baruun khüree (T. g-yas-ru'i hu-re): a main assembly hall, datsans, and aimags, and its Noyon lamiin süm (T. bsti-gnas no-yon bla-ma'i dgon-pa), these two has about 1000 monks together, and apart from Choir with Goman igchaa, studies of characteristic (T. mtshan-nyid-kyi 'chad-nyan) took place. [Öwörkhangai, Kharkhorin sum]

Amarbayasgalant monastery (T. dgon-sde a-mar ba-ya-su-ka-lan-thu) near Bürenkhan Mountain (Tt. pu-rin han) was founded by the Manchu emperor (T. 'jam-dbyangs mgon-pa) in honour of the [1st] Bogd. It includes the gold covered body reliquary stupas (T. gser gdung) of the 1st and 4th Bogds, and has a Choir with Goman igchaa, and a Choir with Losalin igchaa, as well as other datsans and aimags. It has more than 1000 monks. (161b) [Selenge, Baruunbüren]

In the [khoshuu] area of Darkhan chin wan, Züün khüree or Khögshin khüree (T. dar-han ching wang-gi sa-char g-yon ru'i hu-re 'am hug-shin hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, aimags, about 1000 monks. [Töw, Möngönmor't]

Khoshoi Chin wangiin khüree (Tt. khor-sho ching wang-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, Tantric, Medical, Astrologic datsans, aimags, more than 1000 monks. [Bulgan, Bulgan khot]

Tuuliin güniin khüree (Tt. thwa'o-la'i gung-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, Tantric, Kālacakra, Medical schools, 500 monks. [Töw, Öndörshireet]

Erdene khambiin khüree (T. er-te-ni mkhan-po'i hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, and others, some hundreds of monks] [Bulgan, Khishig-Öndör] and

Züün güniin khüree (T. g-yas g-yon ru'i gung-gi hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, and others, some hundreds of monks] [Bulgan, Büregkhangai] and

Baruun güniin khüree (T. g-yas g-yon ru'i gung-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa and others, some hundreds of monks. [Bulgan, Khishig-Öndör]

Noyon nomon khan lamiin khiid (Tt. no-yon no-mong han bla-ma'i dgon-pa) called Ninjdolbo khiid (T. snying-rje sgrol-ba'i gling) is situated in the

⁵⁰ This word cannot be made out. Maybe *gonkhon*, Tibetan *mgon-khang*.

foreground of Towkhorkhan Mountain (Tt. tob-hor-han) on the bank of the River Selenge (Tt. ze-ling-gi klung) [Choir with Goman igchaa (?), and others, some hundreds of monks] [Selenge, Tsagaannuur] and

Zasag noyonii khüree (Tt. za-sag no-yon-gyi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, and others, some hundreds of monks. [Selenge, Tsagaannuur]

Orgiochiin khiid (?) (T. or-ke-chi'i dgon-pa) in the area of Tuuliin baruun wan (T. thwa'o-la'i g-yas-ru'i wang-gi sa-cha) [Lamrim datsan, 500 monks] [Töw, Erdenesant] and

Dewsen bulagiin khüree (?) (T. dri bzang-gi hu-re). Choir with Losalin igchaa, 500 monks. [Töw, Erdenesant]

In the area of Üizen gün (Tt. us-dzing gung-gi sa-char), Choyon Odsallin khiid (T. chos-sde chos-dbyings 'od-gsal gling): five datsans, namely Choir with Goman igchaa, Choir with Losalin igchaa, Tantric, Medical, Astrological datsans; five aimags, some hundreds of monks. [Dundgow', Delgertsogt]

In the [nearby?] hermitage (T. ri-khrod): Lamrim datsan (162a) and dayanch (T. dhyān-chi) meditators, i.e. 10 fully ordained monks and 10 novices. [Dundgow', Adaatag?].

In the area of Mergen wan (T. mer-gen wang-gi sa-cha) Olon khüree (Tt. o-lon hu-re) [with Choir with Goman igchaa, many other datsans, 1000 monks] [Dornogow', Saikhandulaan] and

Ölgii khiid (Tt. u-lu-ge'i dgon-pa): Choir with Goman igchaa, many other datsans, 1000 monks. [Dornogow', Mandakh]

In the area of Tüshee gün (T. thu-shi-ye gung-gi sa-cha) Khoshuu khüree (T. ho-shu hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks] [Dundgow', Delgerkhangai] and

Noyon khutagtiin khiid (Tt. no-yon hu-thag-thvo'i dgon-pa): Choir with Goman igchaa, others [some hundred monks]. [Dundgow', Saikhan-Owoo] and

Bari lamiin khiid (T. brag-ri bla-ma'i dgon-pa) with Lamrim datsan. In this monastery different mandala offering practices, and the line of reading transmission of the Kanjur, the Tanjur, and many collected works are highly developed (T. dkyil-'khor sgrub mchod mi 'dra-ba mang-po bgyid-la bka' bstan-'gyur dang gsung-'bum mang-po'i lung rgyun spel-bar byed-de). Each of the three monasteries has some hundreds of monks. [Dundgow', Saikhan-Owoo]

3. Setsen khan aimag, the Eastern area of the Khalkhas (T. hal-ha g-yon-ru tshe-tsheng han-gyi sa-cha). (162a³-)

Setsen khanii khoshuu khüree (Tt. ho-shu'i hu-re): [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, 1000 monks]. [Khentii, Öndörkhaan]

Khurts lamiin khiid (Tt. hvor-tsha bla-ma'i dgon-pa): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, 500 monks. [Khentii, Mörön (?)]

In the area of Khöwchiin beis (T. hub-chi'i pe'i-se'i sa-cha) Bereewen khiid (T. 'bras-spungs dgon-pa): Choir with Goman igchaa, Choir with Losalin igchaa, others, 1000 monks. [Khentii, Ömnödelger]

San wan zasgiin khüree (?) (T. gsang-dbang dza-sag-gi hu-re) [Choir with Losalin igchaa, some hundreds of monks]. [Sükhbaatar/Dornod/Khentii?] and Khartsag chin wangiin khüree (?) (T. har-tsag ching wang-gi hu-re): Choir with Losalin igchaa, and some hundreds of monks in both. [Sükhbaatar/Dornod/Khentii?]⁵¹

San beisiin khüree (T. tshangs pe'i-se'i hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, Choir with Goman igchaa [1000 monks] [Dornod, Kherlen] and

Dalai beisiin khüree (T. tá-las pé-si'i hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, 1000 monks. (162b) [Sükhbaatar, Mönkhkhan]

Khardsal beisiin khüree (T. har-dal pe'i-se'i hu-re): [Choir with Goman igchaa, some hundreds of monks]. [Khentii, Galshar] and

Akhai güinii khüree (T. a-has gung-gi hu-re): [Choir with Goman igchaa, some hundreds of monks]. [Khentii, Darkhan] and

Akhai zasgiin khüree (T. a-has dza-sag-gi hu-re): these three have Choir with Goman igchaa, and some hundreds of monks. [Sükhbaatar/Dornod/Khentii?]

Borjigin beiliin Baruun Choir (T. por-ci-gin pe'i-li'i g-yas g-yon-ru'i chos-sde)⁵² [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, almost 1000 monks] [Dundgow', Tsagaandelger] and

Borjigin beiliin Züün Choir: Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Gow'-Sümer, Sümer]

Khatagiin Yegüzer lamiin khiid (T. ha-thi-gen yo-ga tsa-ri bla-ma'i dgon-pa): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, 1000 monks. [Sükhbaatar, Erdenetsagaan]

Orloi mergen khutagtiin khiid (T. or-los mer-ken hu-thag-thwo'i dgon-pa): Choir with Losalin igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks. [Sükhbaatar, Bayandelger]

Khölönbuiiriin jün wangiin khüree (?) (T. khu-lung-pvo-ri'i jun-vang-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, 1000 monks. [Sükhbaatar/Dornod? It might be also in China today]

4. Sain noyon khan aimag, the central area of the Khalkhas (T. hal-ha dbus-ru sa'in no-yon-gyi sa-cha). (162b³-)

Sain noyonii khüree (T. sa'in no-yon-gyi hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, Agwa (T. sngags grwa), and others, 2000 monks [Öwörkhantai, Uyanga]

⁵¹ The location of these two monasteries are unknown.

⁵² Baruun and Züün Choir are referred together with this name.

Zaya bandidiin Deed khüree and Dood khüree (T. dza.ya paṇḍita'i hu-re stod smad gnyis): more than 1000 monks together, Choir with Serjee igchaa, others. [Arkhangai, Tsetserleg khot]

Said wangiin khüree (T. sa'id wang-gi hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Arkhangai, Ikh Tamir]

Shiwaa shireetiin khiid (T. zhi-ba shi-re-thu'i dgon-pa): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks. [Arkhangai, Chuluut]

In the area of Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khoshuu [khüree] (T. tā-las chos-khur wang-gi sa-cha): 2000 monks, Choir with Serjee igchaa, Choir with Goman igchaa, Medical school (T. sman gzhung-gi chos-grwa), Lamrim school (T. lam-rim chos-grwa), others, altogether 2000 monks. [Arkhangai, Tariat]

Darwa bandidiin khiid (T. dar-ba paṇḍita'i dgon-sde): Choir with Serjee igchaa (163a), others, some hundreds of monks. [Khöwsgöl, Rashaant]

Khamba khutagt nomon khanii khüree (T. mkhan-chen chos-rgyal-gyi hu-re), Choir with Serjee igchaa, and many other datsans, more than 2000 monks. [This monastic city is better known as Lamiin gegeenii khüree, Bayankhongor, Erdenetsogt]⁵³

Chin süjigtiin khüree (T. ching su-tshug-thu'i hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks] [Bayankhongor, Galuut] and Choizod (?) lamiin khüree (T. chos mdzad bla-ma'i hu-re), Choir with Goman igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks. [Bayankhongor?]⁵⁴

Ilden beiliin khüree (T. yil-ten-pe'i-li'i hu-re) and [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks] [Öwörkhongai, Ölziit] and Dalai (daichin) güinii khüree (T. ta-las da'i ching gung-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Öwörkhongai, Yesön-Züül]

Jamiyaan wangiin khüree in Khangai (T. 'jam-dbyangs wang-gi hang-ka'i hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa [some hundreds of monks] [Bayankhongor/Arkhangai?] and Jamiyaan wangiin khiid (?) in the Gow' (T. gho-bi dgon-pa): Choir with Losalin igchaa, some hundreds of monks. [Bayankhongor/Gow'-Altai]

Khoshuuch beisiin khüree (T. ho-shu-chi pe'i-si'i hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, about 500 monks] [Zawkhan, Tsagaankhairkhan] and Yaruugiin khüree (T. yi-rva'i chos-sde), Choir with Goman igchaa, about 500 monks. [Zawkhan, Aldarkhaan]

⁵³ Lamiin gegeen or Luwsandanzanjantsan (T. blo-bzang bstan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan, 1639-1704) was known as Khanchinchoijil (Erdenebileg 2012: 115). See also the history of Ewderkhii khiid regarding the moving of the monastery of Khamba khutagt nomon khan khüree around 1840 (Zawkhan aimag, Ider sum) (Pozdneyev 1971: 134).

⁵⁴ This expression might refer to Khachin lamiin süm.

5. [Zasagt khan aimag] The Western area of the Khalkhas (T. hal-ha g-yas ru dza-sag-thu han-gyi sa-cha). (163a4-)

Zasagt khani khüree (T. dza-sag-thu han-gyi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Zawkhan/Gow'-Altai/Khowd?]⁵⁵

Yalguusan khutagt's own monastery (T. yil-gva-san bla-ma'i rang-gzhis dang hob-ta'i dgon-pa gnyis) [Tsanid and Agwa, 500 monks]. [Zawkhan, Ider]

Yalguusan khutagt's monastery in Khowd (T. yil-gva-san bla-ma'i rang-gzhis dang hob-ta'i dgon-pa gnyis), Tsanid and Agwa, 500 monks. [Zawkhan, Ider]

Uriankhai (?) chin beisiin khüree (T. u-rin has-tas ching pe'i-si'i hu-re), Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Khowd?]

Yünden beisiin khüree (T. yung-drung be'i-si'i hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks. (163b) [same as Yüün beisiin khüree (?), Bayankhongor, Bayan-Öndör]

Sechen (?) zasgiin khüree (T. gsang-chen dza-sag-gi hu-re): Choir with Losalin igchaa, some hundreds of monks. [Khowd/Zawkhan/Gow'-Altai?]

In the area of Sartuul gün (T. sar-thu-la gung-gi sa-cha) Galuutain khüree (T. ka-lu-tha'i hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, 1000 monks. [Zawkhan, Tsetsen-Uul] and

Tegshiin khüree (T. theg-zhi'i hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks. [Zawkhan, Tsetsen-Uul]

Eljigen khoshuu khüree (T. il-je-gin ho-shu'i hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, almost 1000 monks. [Uws, Öndörkhantai]

Düüregch wangiin khüree (T. tu-reg-chi wang-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Khöwsgöl, Tsetserleg]

Awishaa (?) güinii khüree (T. a-bhi-sha gung-gi hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks] [Khöwsgöl?] and

Jalkhanz lamiin khiid (T. rgyal-khang-rtse bla-ma'i dgon-pa): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, some hundreds of monks. [Khöwsgöl, Tsagaan-Uul]

Dalai güinii khüree (T. tā-las gung-gi hu-re) [Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than (?) 500 monks] [Khöwsgöl, Büregkhan sum]

Delgermöröngiin khüree (T. del-ger mu-ring-gi hu-re): Choir with Goman igchaa, others, more than 1000 monks. [Khöwsgöl, Mörön khot]

Görööchnii khüree (T. gu-re-chin-gyi hu-re) [500 monks, Choir with Goman igchaa] [Khöwsgöl, Tarialan] and

Darkhadiin khüree (T. dar-had-gyi hu-re): 1000 monks, Choir with Goman igchaa, and Choir with Losalin igchaa. [Khöwsgöl, Rinchenlkhümbe]

Bii bulagiin khiid (Bii bulagiin zuugiin khiid?, T. bhi-bu-lag-gi jo-bo'i dgon-pa): Choir with Losalin, some hundreds of monks. [Bulgan, Khutag-Öndör]

⁵⁵ Though Zasagt khan was one of the four Khalkha khans, the location of his monastic site is not known.

Selengiin güinii khüree (T. ze-ling-ke'i gung-gi hu-re): Choir with Serjee igchaa, others, almost 1000 monks. [Khöwsgöl/Selenge/Bulgan?]

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