

REMINISCENCES OF S. TÜDEV, MONK OF ZAYAYN KHÜREE

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Sengeegiin Tüdev was born in 1912, in the year of the Ox¹ at a place called Mogoi(t) in Arkhangai Province. From the age of eight to eighteen, he was a novice in Zayayn Khüree. He belonged to the Demchig Datsan of Zayayn Deed Khüree and lived near the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan. Then (in 1930), he was enlisted in the army as many other monks of the time. Later, he married and had children. When Buddhism started to be revived in Mongolia in 1990, along with fifteen old monks, he participated in the reopening of Zayayn Khüree Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerülek Monastery in the remaining building of the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan. However, at the time of the survey, he was the only old monk still alive, thus the only person who could provide authentic information regarding the life of the monastic city in the 1920-1930s. He was interviewed twice in 2009 by the authors, and interviewed again by Krisztina Teleki in 2010, 2011, and 2012 in Tsetserleg.²

We are grateful to this old monk who generously shared his memories with us. We visited him in his house located in the Bor Tolgoi ger (yurt) district of Tsetserleg (fig. 72). He was very happy to answer our questions and also told us stories he thought would be useful for us. His daughter, and sometimes other relatives, also listened to our conversations with great interest. Local painter S. Jünsh (born in 1934) also participated in some of the interviews and used the information provided by S. Tüdev when writing his book³ (fig. 73). S. Tüdev emphasized the strict rules of monks in Zayayn Khüree and



Fig. 72

S. Tüdev. (Ph. K. Teleki, 2010).

he spoke with nostalgia about how nature was untouchable, filled with many flowers and animals. Below is the summary of his valuable reminiscences.

About a thousand monks belonged to Zayayn Khüree, which was a Gelukpa monastery. Monks came here from all over the province. Zayayn Khüree consisted of two parts: Deed Khüree and Dood Khüree, and had eight large temples (*süm*).

1. The year of the Ox was 1913.

2. The interviews in 2009 and 2010 were recorded within the framework of the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition. In 2011-2015 the János Bolyai Research Scholarship (Bolyai János Kutatási Ösztöndíj) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences supported the fieldwork of Zsuzsa Majer, and the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA PD 83465) Post-doctoral Research Fellowship supported the fieldwork of Zsuzsa Majer and Krisztina Teleki. We are grateful to Jérôme Magail, project leader (Museum of Prehistoric Anthropology, Monaco) and Isabelle Charleux (GSRL, CNRS, France) to have made it possible for us to participate in this project and to study the history of Zaya Gegeenii Khüree and its revival. We summarized our research results in a monograph entitled *History of Zaya Gegeenii Khüree, the Monastery of the Khalkha Zaya Pandita*, Ulaanbaatar, 2013.

3. Jünsh 2013.

They all performed daily chanting, and the ninth temple was the Main Assembly Hall itself. All of the eight temples had their own four or five types of livestock (sheep, goats, cattle/yak, horses, camels), and their own staff.

Deed Khüree had six *datsans* (college, monastic school, temple having its own funds and possessions) and other temples: Agva, Günreg, Demchig (Cakrasamvara), Gūshig, Jaarai, Sandui (Guhyasamāja), Zurkhai, Jūd (*tantra*), Choir, and Dūinkhor (Kālacakra). Each had about a hundred monks. The Main Assembly Hall, the Tsogchin Dugan, was located northwest of the Palace (Lavran), where Zaya Gegeen Jambatsereen lived. It was enclosed by a wooden fence. The Main Assembly Hall was the oldest temple of the monastery, and the four Makhranz (*lokapālas*, guardians of the four directions) decorated its entrance. The lunar New Year ceremony that lasted fifteen days (Choimbrel jun aa, Tib. Chos-'phrul bcu-linga) was held there. There were two tall wooden poles in front of this temple as well as two or three *stūpas*. A platform for calling the monks to ceremonies (*büreenii shat*) was also situated nearby. The Demchig Datsan was located northwest of the Main Assembly Hall. The Choir Datsan was situated behind the Main Assembly Hall, next to the Demchig Datsan.⁴ The Gūshig Datsan was situated east of the Choir Datsan and behind the Lavran. The Günreg Datsan was located east of the Gūshig Datsan. The Jūd might have been situated east of the Günreg,⁵ and the Jaarai was also located near the Günreg. The Dar' Ekh Temple (Tārā Temple) was situated in the east. Eight *stūpas* were located south of the Galdan Zuu, in a row on the slope of Mount Bulgan. Monks of Said Vangiin Khüree came to worship at the Galdan Zuu twice a year.⁶ Apart from the Galdan Zuu, there was another place with a sitting Zuu (Tib. Jo-bo [Śākyamuni]). It was located south of the Galdan Zuu,⁷ and north of the Choir Datsan. In Zayayn Khüree there were about ten stone lions: two in front of the Main Assembly Hall, and two in front of each *datsan*.



Fig. 73

S. Jünsh and S. Tüdev. (Ph. K. Teleki, 2011).

All the *datsans* had their own function in the life of the monastery. For instance the Jee⁸ and Jaarai were responsible for the weather and environmental issues, whilst the Zurkhai Datsan was responsible for rain, wells, and other waters. In the Jaarai Datsan, monks dealt with astrology, drought and the protection of livestock. Other *datsans*, possibly the Jūd or Agva, were responsible for well-being, and the fertility of livestock.

The monks' residential courtyards were located to the east and west of the central temples, near Mount Bulgan and Jamgany Gol Brook. Monks lived in different quarters depending on which *datsans* they belonged to, but their quarters were not called *aimags* ("division") (as was the case in other Mongol monasteries). Usually there were two monks per yurt: a master (*bagsh*) and his disciple (*shav'*). There was a well west of the Galdan Zuu, from where monks drew their drinking water. The temples had their own kitchens, and the main kitchen was located behind the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan, where special cakes (*boov*) as large as a cubit (about 30 centimetres long) were baked. Monks ate one meal in the morning, had some tea and cakes for lunch, and in the evening ate a share of the food offered by donors during the ceremony. Monks mostly ate rice and vegetables, dairy products, and drank kumis and milk. They did not eat meat at all.⁹

Refuse was taken to three places called after the name of a *datsan*: the refuse dump to the west of Jamgany Gol was

4. What S. Tüdev claims to be Choir was rather the Agva Datsan.

5. Here according to another source stood the Shagdaryn Dugan (Vajrapāṇi Temple): Ölzi 1992: 60-61.

6. The Galdan Zuu was a subordinate temple of Said Vangiin Khüree or Khan Öndriin Khüree, a monastery once situated in the present-day area of Ikh Tamir District, Arkhangai Province.

7. This may refer to the Bulgany Dugan, the place of worship of Mount Bulgan.

8. Tüdev did not mention Jee Datsan in his list of *datsans*. K. Teleki assumes that Jee and Choir are one and the same.

9. Or perhaps occasionally, as is suggested below.

called *Demchigiin khog* (“litter of the Demchig Datsan”), the refuse dump to the south of Dund Gol, in the southeast part of the monastery, was called *Sanduin khog* (“litter of Sandui”), and there was another dump in the east of the monastery. There were no toilets at that time: one could go to the toilet in the courtyards or on the refuse dump.

The *datsans* had their own financial units (*jas*) as well, such as the *jas* of Düinkhor, Demchig, Gūshig, Jee, and Jaarai. The *jas* financial units had their own buildings (*baishin*), and they handled the livestock of the given temple. The livestock of each temple was herded in different pastures, and every *jas* had their own herders in the countryside. The livestock was named after the name of the temple it belonged to, such as *Shüngiin mal* (*shün*, Tib. *gzhung* “scripture”—Shün Datsan was situated in Dood Khüree, see below) or *Choiryn mal* (“livestock of the Choir”).

The monks venerated different *ovoos* (sacred cairns) on mountains also according to their *datsans*; for instance the Sairyn Ovoos was worshipped near the present-day Tsenkher District centre. The monks of the Demchig Datsan venerated Shalsh (four-faced Mahākāla) at Jargalantyn Ovoos, located in present-day Erdenemandal District.¹⁰

The Lavran Palace had a yellowish stone wall in the 1930s. The Güden included the *stūpas* with the relics of Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei and three of his reincarnations. The last *gegeen*, Jambatseren, was arrested, so his relics were not placed there. In front of the Palace there was a large square for *tsam* dances and a wooden fence (*shörgön khashaa*).

The main objects of worship in Zayayn Khüree were images of Tsongkhapa, Lkham (Lha-mo), Ochirvaan’ (Vajrapāṇi), and other wrathful protectors. All of the eight *datsans* had their own main objects of worship (*shüteen*), which were mostly brass sculptures. The protector of the Tsogchin was Lha-mo. The most worshipped deity in the Demchig Datsan was Four-faced Mahākāla. The Demchig Datsan had about fifty monks in the 1920s. The Zuu statue of the Galdan Zuu was 70-80 centimetres tall. The image of Tsongkhapa painted on the cliff above the monastery is not very old; it was painted during the [end of the] Manchu period, and was surrounded by a white border. The Mörgöliin Dörvöljin was situated east of the Tsogchin Temple, and there were about eighty statues inside it.¹¹ The Choir Datsan housed a gilded sculpture that was as tall as a man. The Choir had twenty to forty monks, or possibly up to a hundred, as with all the other *datsans* of the monastery. The philosophical exams *gavjiin damjaa* (Tib. *dka’-bcu’i dam-bca’*, “ten hardships”) and *domyn damjaa* (Tib. *sdom-pa’i dam-bca’*) were organised there.

The Shaviin Yaam or Shanzaviin Yaam “Ministry,” also called Tamgyn Gazar (Place where the Seal Is Kept) was situated behind the Sandui Dugan [possibly the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan]. It was a “place of erudition”¹² and had a huge courtyard, where lamas and laypeople worked until 1937-1938. It also served as a court of law. People of the Zayayn Shav’ area found guilty of theft or other crimes were sentenced there.

Several monks copied books at home, and there was also a printing house in the northeast part of Deed Khüree. A clerk (*bicheech lam*) worked there.

Zayayn Khüree had strict rules. Women were not allowed to enter to the monastic area, but could go around on the *goroo* (Tib. *skor-lam*), the circumambulation path, to make prostrations and worship (*mörgökh*). Monks were not allowed to drink spirits, and only adult monks could drink *airag* (fermented mare’s milk). Firewood and coal were used for cooking and heating. Trees were never felled [around the monastery], as Mongols and monks protected nature and the environment, the woods and waters, and their spirits (*lus savdag*). About four hundred types of medicinal herbs grew in the vicinity of Zayayn Khüree, but today it is almost impossible to find them. There were several types of wild animals, such as white antelopes (*tsagaan zeer*), ibex (*yangir*), deer, marmots, etc. There was no agricultural land in the surrounding area.

When inhabitants¹³ of Deed Khüree died, their bodies were placed (*il tavikh*) near Gants Modny Rashaan (fig. 98), a spring by which a lone tree stood, in the direction of Maan’t Khad at a place called Khanangiin Enger.

There was no marketplace within the *khüree*, but shops (*püüs*, Ch. *puzi* 鋪子) were situated at a certain distance from the monastery. There were about four or five shops, such as Yamaany Püüs (“Goat shop”), Asgai Batyn Püüs (“Asgai Bat’s shop”), and Būdūün Khooloin Püüs (“Bull-throat shop”). Cakes (*boov*), silk (*torgo*), saddle-cloths (*gölöm*), caps (*malgai*) and other articles were sold there. Mongols paid with mushrooms (*möög*) or wool (*noos*). Silver coins of the Tsarist Russia were also in use. The Chinese *baayuu* or kiln and the Chinese quarter were situated in the west, in the area near the present-day Second Primary School, southwest of the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan. The Chinese did not give loans [anymore] to the Mongols in the 1920s-1930s, and the behaviour and customs of the Mongols and the Chinese were different. Geseriin Süm (Gesar Temple) was situated near the present-day Second Primary School in the Chinese quarter. The consecration of horses (*ziitlekh, seterlekh*), decorated with silken scarves and offered to the deities, was related to Geseriin Süm. Statues of heroes (*baatar*) stood inside Geseriin Süm. It

10. The Shav’ area of Zaya Gegeen was divided into eight parts based on the eight *datsans* (fig. 29). Thus, in the present-day area of Erdenemandal District there was a temple bearing the same name as the Demchig Temple.

11. Old photos show Mörgöliin Dörvöljin to the north of the monastery with a clay statue on its top.

12. Tüdev here means the central administration of the monastery that kept account books, letters, etc. People who worked there could write in Mongolian.

13. Tüdev does not indicate whether monks and laypeople were buried in the same place.

was a grey square-shaped temple, a little different from the Mongol temples. Apart from Geseriin Süm, there were no other temples in the Chinese quarter. There was a big gate with a roof.¹⁴

About fifty monks belonged to Dood Khüree, where five temples and the Mamba Datsan (Medical College) were situated. Dood Khüree occupied the area of the present-day Technical School. The Palace (Lavran), built by the Third Gegeen [probably the Fourth or the Fifth Gegeen], was located in the centre, and there were four *stūpas*. The Manba Datsan was situated next to the Palace. Behind the Palace stood temples and *stūpas*, as well as eight or nine prayer wheels. Dood Khüree did not have a main assembly hall (*tsogchin*), only a “temple for preparation” called Shün or Süngüi (Tib. *gzhung*, “scripture,” or possibly *gzhung-lugs*, scriptural tradition). In Dood Khüree, *niḡnee* fasting (Tib. *smiyung gnas*, Skt. *upavasatha*, fasting ritual, fasting practice or retreat) was held in the Mamba Datsan or in the Nügnee Süm. The Maitreya procession of Dood Khüree, called Khuuchin Maidar (“Old Maitreya [procession]”), was held on the 15th day of the last autumn month. *Tsam* dances were probably not held there. The monks had their living quarters around Dood Khüree. When monks from Dood Khüree died, their bodies were taken to a place called Khuurai, which is today a refuse dump. On the road connecting Deed Khüree and Dood Khüree there were five or six *stūpas* near the source of Naran Bulag. Water for the *gegeen* was delivered from Gegeenii Bulag, northeast of Naran Bulag. The names of three people were written on a nearby rock in Mongolian script.

In the year of the sheep (1907),¹⁵ the (Thirteenth) Dalai Lama stayed in Zayayn Khüree and acknowledged Jambatsereen as the new incarnation of Zaya Gegeen. Jamgan Rinpoche (Tib. Skyabs mgon rin-po-che, i.e. the Dalai Lama) created the Jamgany Bulag spring by tapping the ground with his stick¹⁶ (fig. 74). There were many goldfish in Jamgany Bulag in the old days. Three Tibetan lamas resided in the monastery in the 1920-1930s and at least one of them participated in the ceremonies in the Main Assembly Hall. One of them was called Lodoi Tövd (“Lodoi, the Tibetan,” Tib. Blo-gros). These three Tibetans were similar to modern-day ambassadors, acting as kinds of representatives of the Dalai Lama.

Ceremonies were held non-stop in Zayayn Khüree, all the way through the night. Monks were appointed to chant day or night; different monks chanted in the daytime and at night. They used various musical instruments, such as drums (*khengereg*), trumpets (*büree*), gongs (*kharanga*), conch

shells (*dün lavai*), and others. If someone was late, and the ceremony was interrupted, he had to make three prostrations as punishment. As for monthly rituals, on the 15th day of each lunar month the monks of Zayayn Khüree circumambulated Mount Bulgan on the circumambulation path, carrying in their arms or on their backs two or three of the 108 heavy volumes of the *Kanjur*. This was done as an offering to the local spirits of Mount Bulgan. This *Kanjur* procession (*Ganjuur ergek*) was held separately in Deed Khüree and Dood Khüree on special feast days (*düitsen ödör*).

Many people came from the countryside on horseback—men, women, as well as children—to attend the Maitreya procession (*Maidar ergek*) held in Deed and Dood Khüree. The Maitreya procession of Deed Khüree was called Shine Maidar (“New Maitreya”). From the cart carrying Maitreya, monks gave blessings (*adis*) holding a string (*oosor*). The last Maitreya procession was held in 1933 or 1934. It started in front of the Lavran Palace, where the wooden fence was situated. Then, the procession went to the south and circled the *khüree* from west to east. In Deed Khüree, the Maitreya procession and *tsam* were performed together on the 15th of the first summer month. The *tsam* dance took place in front of the Palace. About thirty to forty masked monks participated in it, embodying Lha-mo, the Old Men, Bat Amgalan,¹⁷ the butterflies (*erveekhi*), the Black Hat dancers (*shanag*, Tib. *zhwa-nag*), the Bull-masked dancer,¹⁸ and the skeletons (*khokhimo*). The aim of the *tsam* was to protect the environment and the livestock from wolves and other dangers. In addition to the *tsam*, other dances were also performed in the monastery, since all the temples had their own dances. For instance, the dance of the four *dogshids* (Tib. *drag-gshed*, “wrathful protector”) was also performed. Monks from Deed Khüree and Dood Khüree visited each other for the *tsam* since both belonged to the same Zayayn Khüree. The *sor* (Tib. *zor*, a wooden construction with a sacrificial cake inside) was not burnt during the *tsam* as is the usual practice, but at another time. It was then carried by laypeople and was burnt south of the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan on the south bank of the Dund River.¹⁹

Originally monks did not practice wrestling in Zayayn Khüree. The *danshig naadam* was held when people from several provinces—Arkhangai, Zavkhan, Bayankhongor—gathered in one place. There were many wrestlers, and in the end monks also started wrestling. Bürkhen Dendev (?) was a famous wrestler monk. Monks played *shagai* (ankle-bone games) on ice during winter.

Many monks (actually, novices) had wives, but there were several fully-ordained monks (*gelen*, Tib. *dge-slong*). The *khailen* (Tib. *khas-len*, oath-taking period) was held as well

14. Probably a *pailuur* (Ch. *pailou*), a kind of Chinese-style triumphal arch.

15. It is generally considered that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama visited Zayayn Khüree in 1906.

16. According to another oral version Jamgan Rinpoche relieved himself there, making the spring appear.

17. More accurately: Enkh Amgalan, also known as Khashin Khan representing the Manchu Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1722).

18. It refers to Chojoo (Tib. Chos-rgyal, Skt. Dharmarāja, Yama).

19. *Sor* may have been burnt before the lunar New Year.



Fig. 74

Jamgany Bulag. (Ph. K. Teleki, 2013).

as *nügnee* fasting. About fifty monks practiced the *khailen* for 45 days in the Tsogchin Temple, though later, only about ten monks participated in the *khailen*, since all the monks would go to Ikh Khüree [Ulaanbaatar] to participate in the *tümen gelengiin khailen* (oath-taking period for ten thousand monks) there. In the Nügnee Süm or the Mamba Datsan (in Dood Khüree), monks fasted (*nügnee sakhikh*) for different periods, for example for five days, only eating vegetarian food. Lamas would meditate for example on Asagt Khairkhan Mountain. They meditated for ten years without eating meat, then with eating meat for another ten years. They practiced meditation for sixteen to twenty years, often in caves, praying for the health and well-being of all sentient beings.

Sandui (or Sanduin) Khuvilgaan was a Mongol monk, about forty or fifty years old in the 1930s. He was arrested in 1937 or 1938. Other high-ranking monks included the main and the assistant teachers (*ikh shunlaiv* and *deed shunlaiv*, Tib. *gzhung lugs-pa/gzhung las-pa*, name of the head in *datsans*), the “lama of the College of Philosophy” (*Choir lam*), the

“lama of the Tantric College” (*Agva lam*), the *geshe* (*gevsh*, Tib. *dge-bshes*, “virtuous friend,” high academic degree), the disciplinary masters (*gesgüi*, Tib. *dge-bskyos*), and the chanting masters (*umzad*, Tib. *dbu-mdzad*). All eight *datsans* had their own *khamba* (Tib. *mkhan-po*, abbot) or *lam* (lama), disciplinary master(s) and chanting master(s). Sandui Khuvilgaan, Gүj Lam [i.e. the *shanzodva*], and other ranked monks such as *zaisans* and *donirs* also belonged to Zayayn Khüree. Famous *gavj* monks of the Choir Datsan in the 1930s included Avirmed *gavj*, Gorzyn Rintsendorj (?) *umzad*, and three monks from Erdenemandal District: Balganjav *gavj*, Dovdonnyam *gavj*, and Urtaa *gavj*. There were two famous singers in the monastery: monk O. Baatar²⁰ and Amgaabazar (?). Tsagaan Janchiv was a famous clerk (*bicheech*). Monk Sonomdorj was responsible for the other Zuu temple [possibly the same as the Bulgany Dugan].

20. Monk O. Baatar was one of the monks who revived Zayayn Khüree Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Monastery in 1990.



Fig. 75

Home altar of S. Tüdev with the photos of Zaya Gegeen Jambatseren and Byamba zoch. (Ph. K. Teleki, 2010).



Fig. 76

The stone image of Maitreya (Maidaryn chuluu) on the left bank of the Urd Tamir. (Ph. I. Charleux, 2009).

*Zoch*²¹ monks lived outside of Zayayn Khüree in a courtyard, at a place called Lüijin Üzüür Ulias, south of the Urd Tamir River. Among the *zoch* practitioners near Zayayn Khüree were two *khandmaas* (Tib. *mkha'-'gro-ma*, female *zod* specialists), and three men. These *lüjinch* monks (Tib. *lus-sbyin*, tantric body offering rite) sometimes went to the monastery with their *jogdar* tents²² to perform astrological rituals (*zurkhai zurdag*). The *zoch* practitioners were responsible for pacifying the local land and water spirits (*lus savdag*). There were two temples near the Donoi Bulag Spring in the east, where local spirits were worshipped. In the 1920s, Byamba *zoch* was a famous *zoch* of Zayayn Khüree. He did not have a separate temple, but had a *jogdar* tent. His wife's name was Sesren. Byamba *zoch* held *lüjin* rituals near Khyasaa Khad. In Deed Khüree, he performed services east of the Tsogchin, and near Jamgany Bulag. Tserenkhüü was another *zoch*. These two *zoch* masters frequently visited the Donoi temples, where a guard lived permanently. There was a very famous *choijin* (Tib. *chos-skyong*, oracle transmitting the words of a deity while in a trance) called Luvsandalai *choijin*. These *zochs* and *choijins* knew exactly how to handle and pacify the *lus savdags* in order to protect the monastery. There were real snakes near the monastery, for example a seven-metre-long snake (*avraga mogoi*) which Tüdev saw himself.

The stone image of Maitreya (*Maidaryn chuluu*) was erected to protect Dood Khüree from the danger of flooding of the Urd Tamir, which is why it was placed on the river bank (fig. 76). The stone itself is said to have floated down the river from Donoi to that spot.

The name of Maan't Uul is related to Dünjüür Maan'.²³ The pictures of the Green Tārā (Nogoon Dar' Ekh) and the White Tārā (Tsagaan Dar' Ekh) are still visible on Mount Bayanzürkh.

21. *Zod* (or *jod*, Tib. *gcod*, "cutting") is a tantric ritual based on the Prajñāpāramita, established by Indian siddha Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas (d. 1117) and his consort, a Tibetan female master, Ma-gcig lab sgron-ma, 1055-1143) for the purpose of cutting through the four Māras and ego-clinging. Its practitioners, called *zoch*, *zodoch* or *joch* (either men or women) practice the tantric ritual of cutting ego-clinging.

22. Small white tent often used by *zoch* practitioners.

23. *Dünjüür maan'* is a prayer wheel with the mantra *om mani padme hūm* written on it.

Mount Suvarga Khairkhan was venerated by local people every year, and Zaya Gegeen Jambatseren also visited the mountain to worship it.

There was a white *stūpa* (Tsagaan Suvarga) on the right bank of the Urd Tamir River, south of the bridge (south of Zayayn Khüree). Artsatyn Khural Monastery, also called Tsagaan Lamyn Khiid (Monastery of the White Lama) was located behind Tsagaan Davaa (White Pass), near Artsat Uul, east of the road. It had three lamas and two temples, and was said to be older than Zayayn Khüree. Until 1930, a wooden temple (*dugan*) stood there, hence the pass being called Tsagaan Davaa.

Artyel' and *khoroos* cooperatives were established in Tsetserleg in the 1930s. The temples of Zayayn Khüree started to be closed after 1921, and the monastery became almost empty as the monks were progressively arrested. The first monks were taken away in the 1920s and ceremonies ceased in the 1930s. Zayayn Khüree was destroyed in 1937-1938, the temples being demolished one after another by the Mongol soldiers of the 31st military unit (*tsergiin khoroos*) of the Arkhangai Army. The soldiers wore green caps and were therefore called *nogoon malgaitan*, "green capped ones" (fig. 2). Several monks also joined the army, some of them in Tsetserleg, others in Ulaanbaatar; in this way ex-monks arrested those who were still monks. In 1937-1938, about 800 monks of Zayayn Khüree were arrested, and only two came back: Damchaabadgar and Urtaa *gavj*. The property of the *gavj* monks of the monastery was confiscated and delivered to Ulaanbaatar. Even life-size Buddhist statues were confiscated. Although monks hid *sūtras* and statuettes or even buried them before they were captured, the hidden artefacts could not be found after 1990 since those who had hidden them had passed away, and no-one remained who could remember their location. Mount Bulgan and all the surrounding area, the streets, and the monks' courtyards, were covered by pages from Tibetan books and their cloth coverings (*barintag*). The hillside of Mount Bulgan was filled with Buddhist items and books, and children played with them. Then these items slowly disappeared. Not only monks, but all the relatives of the Shaviin Yaam's attendants were arrested, as well as people who had rosaries, lit butter-lamps, or worshipped the Buddha. The young novices were sent to state school. In 1940, nothing remained of the old monastery, and all the other large monasteries of Arkhangai Province, about forty in number, were similarly destroyed.