

## MONASTIC SITES VISITED BY A. M. POZDNEEV DURING HIS SECOND TRIP TO MONGOLIA (1892–1893)

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The present paper summarises the results of a survey executed in Mongolia in 2010 with the support of the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund of the British Academy (SA100018). The aim of the survey was to study the present stage and heritage of the monasteries visited by the Russian scholar, A. M. Pozdneev (1851–1920) in the area of Mongolia in 1892–1893. The survey included documentation fieldwork and research work in local archives and libraries. Pozdneev visited a total of 47 monastic sites that covered different types of monasteries existent in Mongolia at that time including monastic “villages” or monastic “towns”, imperial monasteries, yurt-temples, and others. The present article describes Pozdneev’s journey in brief and lists the monastic sites he visited. Due to the destructive activities of Soviet ideology not much has remained out of these marvellous monastic sites for today: their majority was ruined in 1937–1938, and only few of them were rebuilt after 1990. Due to the lack of written sources, in many cases Pozdneev’s account is the only source that reports on these sites. Based on the sites he visited and his general definition of monasteries, six different types of monastic sites are determined in the present article that existed in Mongolia at the end of the Manchu period (1691–1911).

*Key words:* Mongolia, Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, Pozdneev, Manchu period of Mongolia.

Aleksei Matveevič Pozdneev’s (1851–1920) publications (Pozdneev 1880, 1980 repr., 1883, 1887a, 1887b, 1980 repr., 1896, 1898 repr., 1900, Pozdneev 1971, 1978) are evidently the most valuable foreign sources on Mongolian Buddhism, administration, trade, city life, and society during the last decades of the Manchu period (1691–1911). Pozdneev made two long journeys (1878–1879, 1892–1893) to Mongolia. Owing to his accurate observations we have detailed data not only about the administrative and commercial centres such as Urga, Xowd, and Uliastai, and the relay stations (*örtöö*) that interlaced Mongolia and connected it with Russia and China, but also about the operations of different kinds of monasteries. Whilst one of Pozdneev’s excellent books (Pozdneev 1887a,b, Pozdneev 1978; cf. Yanjinsüren 2010, Gantuyaa 2010) describes

the special characteristics of Mongolian Buddhism including types and appearances of monasteries, monk hierarchy, saints and reincarnations, rituals, festivals, garments, accessories, contemplation practices, and other significant features; his two-volume book entitled “Mongolia and the Mongols” (Pozdneev 1986, 1988 repr., Pozdneev 1971), which records his observations as a diary of his trip in 1892–1893 to Mongolia and China, is the most detailed source to help imagine what Mongolia was like at the turn of the 20th century. Due to the small number of Mongolian sources providing overviews about the status of the country’s administration at that time (Sonomdagwa 1961) and especially due to the lack of written sources related to certain monasteries, Pozdneev’s work is an essential source regarding what Mongolian Buddhist culture meant before the repression of the Buddhist faith, and the total destruction of the monasteries in 1937–1938.

In the 1990s, after the democratic changes in Mongolia studying the history of the Mongols became an important topic, and as Buddhism has been a vital part of the Mongolian culture since the 17th century, several books have been published about monasteries (Cedendamba et al. 2009, Erdenebileg 2012). Within the framework of the project organised by the Arts Council of Mongolia and Gandantegčēnlin Monastery six teams of the Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries project documented all the old and present-day monastic sites in the present area of Mongolia and collected oral history on them in 2007 ([www.mongoliantemples.net](http://www.mongoliantemples.net)). Maidar’s list (1970) and Rinčen’s atlas (1979) of old monastic sites were used to find the sites. The results of the project confirmed that about 1100 monastic sites existed till 1937 in the present area of Mongolia. Based on the methodology elaborated for that project and the experience of the three-month fieldwork,<sup>1</sup> the author of the present article conducted a four-month survey in 2010 to revisit the majority of the rural monasteries visited by Pozdneev in 1892–1893 in the present area of Mongolia. The research work entitled “Heritage of monasteries visited by A. M. Pozdneev a century ago” was supported by the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund of the British Academy, SA100018. The research work aimed at documenting of the present condition (mostly ruins) of the 47 monasteries seen by Pozdneev as well as surveying their remnants, and the availability of their history (written sources, interviews with ex-monks), remained artefacts, maps, and old photos, and studying their revival and present-day activities of the revived temples.<sup>2</sup>

When starting the survey, first Pozdneev’s descriptions in the two-volume book entitled *Mongolia and Mongols* (English version) was thoroughly studied. To understand the historical background of the period of Pozdneev’s visits it is necessary to be aware that the administrative divisions of Mongolia during the Manchu period (1691–1911) and thus at the end of the 19th century were different from those of today’s Mongolia. The old *aimag* (‘province’) divisions were divided into *xoşuu* divisions

<sup>1</sup> During the project Zsuzsa Majer and Krisztina Teleki documented the old and new monasteries of Ulaanbaatar, and 150 monastic sites in Dundgow’ aimag, Öwörxangai aimag, and in the South part of Töv aimag. For the results see [www.mongoliantemples.net](http://www.mongoliantemples.net); Majer (2009); Teleki (2009); Majer–Teleki (2011).

<sup>2</sup> The results of the survey will be published soon on a DVD.

(‘banner, battalion, administrative unit’), the centre of which were the headquarters or monastic towns (*xüree*) of the princes or nobles (bearing the ranks of *xan*, *wan*, *gün*, *beil*, *beis*, *jasag*). Meanwhile, famous reincarnated lamas (*gegeen* or *xutagt*, ‘saint, majesty, dignified’, or *xuwilgaan* ‘emanation’, reincarnation, incarnated lama) who were acknowledged by the Manchu emperors received seals (*tamga*) to govern their subordinated people (*šaw’nar*) possessed lands, too.

While today *süm xiid* is a general term referring to monasteries, *xiid* means monastery, *Gandan* (T. *dga’-ldan*) means monastery in oral communication, *süm* means temple (also used for Christian churches or Muslim mosques), *dugan* (T. *’du-khang*) means temple building, *xural* means ceremony, and *xüree* is in use only in the names of a couple of monasteries referring to the revival of old sites (e.g. Jüün *xüree* Daščoilin *xiid*, Jayaiin *xüree* Tögs bayasgalant buyan delgerüülex *xiid*), in the old times (until 1938) various types of monastic sites existed: monastic towns or villages (*xüree*) with numerous temple buildings in the centre and with about 500–2000 monks, and usually with a poor lay population living outside the monastic area; monasteries (*xiid*) with some temple buildings usually housing 50–500 monks; small monasteries or temples (*süm* or *dugan*) with some dozens of monks; and assemblies (*xural* or *jas*) operating mainly in a temple or yurts with a couple of monks, or guarded by only one monk. Moreover, small assemblies (*xural*, *jas*) were formed next to the relay stations (*örtöö*) along the commercial routes established about 30 km from each other. Connections between monasteries situated near each other (belonging to the same *xošuu*) were close: monks visited each other’s monasteries, attended special ceremonies or studied there for a period. In every *xošuu*, there was a central monastery which was the biggest of the area, whilst in smaller monasteries the monks were fewer in number, or they were nomadising in the far countryside and gathered in the monasteries only for great festivals.

However, certain confusions may be observed when using a term (*xüree*, *xiid*, *süm*) for certain monastic sites. Pozdneev’s accounts about monasteries give a better understanding of how Buddhism spread in this nomadic land and how different kinds of monasteries operated. Therefore, the present article describes the goals of Pozdneev’s second trip, lists the monasteries he visited, and summarises general data of his books related to certain types of monasteries. Based on his descriptions it became obvious what types of monasteries existed at the end of the 19th century in Mongolia, and what their general features were. The available heritage of the sites will be summarised briefly as well.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Based on the results of the survey carried out in 2010 with the support of the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund of the British Academy (SA100018) the present article was written within the framework of the OTKA PD 83465 Postdoctoral Scholarship of the Hungarian State. Hereby I would like to express my thanks to Mátyás Balogh, research fellow, Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, who helped me identify the Chinese names of certain towns visited by Pozdneev.

### Pozdneev's Goals and Results

During his first trip Pozdneev arrived from Russia, went to the South on the *örtöö* road and visited Urga, Uliastai, and Xowd, and observed monasteries near Urga, Erdene Juu, Oorombo gegeenii xiid (Arxangai province, Öögiinuur sum) and other monastic sites.

During his second trip to Mongolia (1892–1893) Pozdneev, arriving from Xyagt, visited Urga, Uliastai and Xowd, which were the main administrative centres of North-Mongolia of that time. Pozdneev went mainly on the road of the *örtöö* stations which was the road of caravan (*jin*) routes, visiting famous monasteries having multitudes of monks, reincarnated dignities, and 200–300 year histories, as well as small temples with a couple of monks.

Pozdneev's unconcealed goal was to study the Manchu administrative and Chinese trading systems, the *xošuu* administrations and their princes or nobles, the monasteries and the Buddhist faith.

In his second trip he aimed to revisit the most important centres (Urga, Uliastai, Xowd) and to travel on the long relay-station road connecting Sair us and Uliastai. Originally, *örtöö* was an ancient route of messengers, which was systematised in the 13th century. Travelling on the *örtöö* road was easy and fast as at the *örtöö* the travellers got new horses, and could spend the night there. In Pozdneev's time these stations, with the distance of about 30 km from each other, connected the most important administrative and commercial centres with each other and also with Russia and China. He describes these routes as follows: "one of the principal trade routes from Uliastai went to Kalgan. It goes over the post road to Sair us and continues over the post road from Urga to Kalgan. From Uliastai to Xyagt (*baga örtöö jam*) the way is about 40–50 days" (1971, Vol. 1, p. 181).

Pozdneev's trip aimed to visit significant monasteries as well. In 1892 he entered Mongolia from Xyagt/Altanbulag, and intended to go to Urga first. He did not go on the *örtöö* road he had already taken during his first visit, but visited *Ce jasgiin xošuu xüree* (near the Russian border) and the famous Amarbayasgalant Monastery which attracted many Buryad worshippers, and reached Urga from the North. Then, he went to the South on the *Buuxia örtöö* route till Sair us, which was a junction of different commercial routes connecting Russia and China as he was very interested in such routes. From Sair us he headed West on the road of the 35 *Xarčin örtöö* and the 20 *Xalx örtöö* till Uliastai. Then, he continued his way to the West on the *örtöö* route again to revisit Xowd (near the Russian border). He was lucky, as these routes passed several significant monasteries, such as *Duutiin xüree* and *Yaruugiin xüree*, but he omitted Lamiin gegeen's Monastery (today Bayanxongor aimag, Erdenetsogt sum) which was a bit further from his way. When going back from Xowd to Urga, he stayed in Uliastai again, and crossing passes he visited some significant monastic towns such as the residences of Yalguusan xutagt, Xamba xutagt, Dalai wan, and Jayaiin gegeen. He arrived at Erdene Juu, and having visited Baruun xüree came back to Urga. Afterwards, he departed to Inner-Mongolia or China to the South via Jüün Čoir. (Pozdneev's route outside of the present area of Mongolia is not analysed in the present

article although there is a valuable account of South-Mongolian or Inner-Mongolian monasteries.) Arriving from Inner-Mongolia he first visited Yegüjer xutagt's monastery, and continued his trip to Secen xan's monastic town, and arrived in Urga again. When departing to Russia he first went to the East to see Jüün xüree, stopping in the monastery of Xüüxen xutagt which attracted many Buryad worshippers (near the Russian border), and finally departed to Russia.

As it is evident from the list, Pozdneev visited many of the most significant monasteries of Mongolia. Some of them were near the Russian border (Ce jasgiin xošuu xüree, Xüüxen xutagtiin xüree), whilst others were the oldest monasteries of Mongolia connected to Öndör gegegen Janabajar (1635–1723), such as Erdene Juu, the first monastery of Mongolia founded in 1586, Baruun xüree, Jüün xüree, Amarbayasgalant xiid, Dambadarjaa xiid, and also monasteries of famous reincarnating monks (Yalguusan gegeenii xüree, Xamba xutagtiin xüree, Jayaiin xüree, Yegüjer xutagtiin xüree, Xüüxen xutagtiin xüree) as well as the famous noble's monastic towns (Dalai wangiin xüree, Secen xanii xüree). However, as monasteries were the settled centres among the scattered yurts in the country the roads also connected them, so several monasteries Pozdneev saw were just "on the way".<sup>4</sup> Therefore, we have information not only about the biggest monasteries he aimed to visit, but also about smaller ones (e.g. *örtöö* temples) which were situated on the way he went. Apart from his longer or shorter descriptions related to monasteries, the photographs he took are also valuable sources of monasteries, the ruins of which have almost disappeared by today. In Pozdneev's original two-volume Russian book, *Mongolija i Mongoly* photos of 15 of the 47 monastic sites he visited are available.<sup>5</sup> More photos and manuscripts of him might be preserved in the Geographic Society of Russia, in St. Petersburg. Moreover, Pozdneev studied the texts of steles of a few monasteries (e.g. Šar süm, Dambadarjaa) as well as registers or other administrative documents of a couple of monasteries, which sources do not exist any more.<sup>6</sup> In his diaries he wrote down what he saw, and what he researched. When he was just travelling, he also collected information from talks about various routes, trade, Mongolian customs, Buddhism, Chinese and Russians people and monasteries. Therefore, we have authentic information not only about the sites he personally saw but some other monasteries as well (e.g. Myangad xüree, Dörwöd wangiin xüree, Manjšir xiid).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> It is worth indicating that many roads existing today go on the old *örtöö* road (e.g. the railway), and other roads used by Pozdneev.

<sup>5</sup> Amarbayasgalant xiid (Pozdneev 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 3, 4), Urga (pp. 6–22), Sair usnii örtöö (p. 22), Jeerengiin örtöö (p. 23), Uliastai (pp. 36–41), Xowd (pp. 42–43), Yalguusan xutagtiin xüree (p. 48), Dalai wangiin xüree (p. 49), Jayaiin xüree (pp. 52–53), Erdene Juu (pp. 54–57), Baruun xüree (p. 58), Xögnö tarni xiid (p. 59), Dambadarjaa (p. 61), Yegüjer xutagtiin xüree (1971, Vol. 2, p. 51), Xerlengiin Jüün xüree (pp. 52–55).

<sup>6</sup> The National Archives of Mongolia preserves documents related to few rural monasteries.

<sup>7</sup> In Pozdneev's book only very few historical misunderstandings can be detected, such as the confusion of the Oirad Jaya paṇḍita and the Xalx Jaya paṇḍita (1971, Vol. 1, pp. 271–272).

### Pozdneev's Route and Schedule

Pozdneev spent almost a year in the area of Mongolia in 1892–1893. From Xyagt to Urga he travelled for two weeks (27 June–9 July). Today this area belongs to Selenge and Töv provinces. During his trip Pozdneev first visited the temple of *Buuriin xaruul* border guard station, then, having crossed the River Orxon he visited *Ce Jasgiin xüree* (later known as Erdene wangiin xüree) which was situated on the bank of the River Selenge. Passing a temple at *Xanxariin xošuu* (?) where Chinese lived nearby he arrived at Amarbayasgalant Monastery. Continuing his trip he passed *Tariačnii süm* temple of the farmers, and crossed the River Orxon near the present bridge near Xötöl.

He spent two weeks in Urga (9 July–24 July) at the Russian Consulate, and observed the city's life in detail. His description is the most detailed and authentic description of Urga and its temples (cf. [www.mongoliantemples.net/English](http://www.mongoliantemples.net/English); Teleki 2011).

He left his wife in Urga, then he travelled from Urga to Uliastai for more than a fortnight on the *örtöö* route (24 July–11(?) Aug). His route crossed the area belonging today to Töv, Dundgow', Öwörxangai, Bayanxongor, and Jawxan provinces. First he went to the south on the way of the 14 *Buuxia örtöö* (Pozdneev mentions *Sonsgolon* or *Bosog örtöö*, *Büxeg* or *Bayasgalant*, *Doloon* or *Amgalant*, *Ĵargalant*, *Öndör dawaa*, *Tal bulag*, *Naran* or *Nariin*, *Modon*, *Toirom*, *Bayanxošuu*, and *Süj*), and from Sair us (*Daldoloon*) he went to the West first via the *Xarčün örtöö* road (*Modon*, *Šuwuut*, *Luus*, *Ĵirem*, *Menget* (*Dam šagšuurga*), *Cawčir*, *Tögrög* (*Dam xašaata*), *Jeeren*, *Ongi*, *Ünegt*, *Xadat*), then on the 20 *Xalx örtöö* road (*Xar nüden*, *Gar'id*, *Taac*, *Xudag urd*, *Šargaljuut*, *Tüin*, *Urtiin xar tolgoi*, *Olgoi*, *Uut*, *Baidrag*, *Jag*, *Xowol*, (*Ulaan*) *Bumba*, *Öwör Ĵargalant*, *Ar Ĵargalant*, *XuĴirt*, *Daagan del*, *Tömört*, *Šurga*, *Xua šoroot*). He arrived at *Ag'tiin süm*, and at *Duutiin xüree* which was an imperial monastery.

In Uliastai, which is the province centre of Jawxan province today, he spent ten days (11–21 August). He describes the ways of life in the Manchu Fortress as well as the Chinese commercial town (Maimaačen). Mongolian temples were not situated in the city. Pozdneev visited Uliastai during his first trip, thus, could observe the results of the Dungan (*xui xui* or *xoton*) attack of the 1870s.

From Uliastai he travelled five days to reach Xowd (21–25 (?) August) that is today the provincial centre of Xowd province. After departing from Uliastai he visited *Öwgön xüree* (*Yaruugiin xüree*), and travelled on the *örtöö* road (*Aldar*, *Borx*(?), *Xudag ulaan*, *Ix jes* (?), *Baga jes* (?), *Jür xüjüü*, *Bugu* (?); *Argalant*, *Baga nuur*, *Dörgön nuur*, *Xargana*, *Ĵargalant*, *Jax bulag*, *Xar us*).

He stayed in Xowd for a week (25 August–4 (?) September). Apart from describing its Fortress and Chinese Commercial town with their Chinese temples he described the nearby *Šar süm*, which was a Mongolian imperial monastery.

From Xowd he travelled back to Urga for one month and two weeks (4 September–17 October). This long trip crossed the present area of Xowd, Jawxan, Arxangai, Öwörxangai, Bulgan, and Töv provinces. First, he travelled back to Uliastai on a difficult route north of Lake Xar us. Departing from Uliastai he watched the Geser Temple built by Solon soldiers encamped there during the Dungan attack of the

1870s. Afterwards, he visited *Yalguusan xutagtiin xüree* and *Xamba gegeenii xüree*. Having descended from Jagastiin dawaa pass he saw the temple of *Jagastiin dugan*, and two yurts belonging to Yalguusan xutagt, and visited *Dalai wangiin xüree*, which was a real town according to him (known also as *Tariatiin xüree*). Going to the Southeast he saw a small monastery, *Arcatiin süm*, and crossing Cagaan dawaa pass he arrived at *Jaya gegeenii xüree*. From there going to the Southeast he saw *Cagaan süm* from afar, then passing *Juugiin lamiin süm*, the temple complex of the head lama of Erdene Juu, he arrived at Erdene Juu. He visited *Baruun xüree* and the picturesque *Xögnö Tarni xiid*, and finally arrived at Urga.

In Urga he stayed for 4 weeks (17 October–12 November) to prepare for his trip to China. During this time he visited Dambadarjaa Monastery, which was an imperial monastery situated about eight kms North of Urga. When his wife joined him in Urga again he aimed to travel to Beijing (12 November–5 December). He left Urga in the East crossing the bridge of the River Tuul, and passing *Modčiniin süm*, turned southwest. Passing *Aduučnii süm* of horse herders, and visiting the famous monastery of *Jüün Čoir*, he saw *Ders bulangiin süm* before leaving the area of today's Mongolia. His trip crossed the area of the present Töv, Dornogow', Gow'-Sümer, and Ömnö-gow' provinces.

In Inner-Mongolia and China he went on the following route: Beijing, Kalgan (Zhangjiakou Guihua Cheng (Xöxxot), Kalgan, Chengde fu/Jehol, Doloon nuur, and Byaruu xot.

In the next year, in 1893 from China he travelled back to Urga. His road crossed the present area of Süxbaatar, Xentii, and Töv provinces. During his way he visited *Yegüjer xutagtiin xüree* on the “border” (14 June), *Öndör Maidariin xiid*, and *Secen xanii xüree*, which was the centre of Secen xan aimag. He turned to the East and passing *Xurc lamiin xiid*, and *Jaraa jülegtiin süm* on his way, and crossing the River Xerlen, he arrived at Urga, where he stayed from 27 June to 12 July.

From Urga he left for Russia going to the North-East visiting *Jüün Xüree* on the bank of the River Xerlen, *Xüüxen xutagtiin xüree*, and *Dalaat süm*. Today these belong to Töv and Xentii provinces. He reached the Russian border at *Ulخان* guard post (*xaruul*) on 26 July.

### List of Monastic Sites Visited by Pozdneev

Including Urga Pozdneev describes 47 monastic sites he visited or saw. What follows here is the different names of these monasteries (Rinčen 1979; Cedendamba et al. 2009), their GPS co-ordinates, old locations (based on mainly O. Pürew's unpublished map), and new locations, monastery types, Pozdneev's arrival date, and page numbers of Pozdneev's description. After the destruction of the monasteries in the 1930s only a few of the 47 sites temple buildings were saved (Amarbayasgalant, Urga, Jayaiin xüree, Erdene Juu, Baruun xüree, Dambadarjaa), and a couple of sites temples were rebuilt after the democratic changes. The list includes the current state of the monastic sites, too.

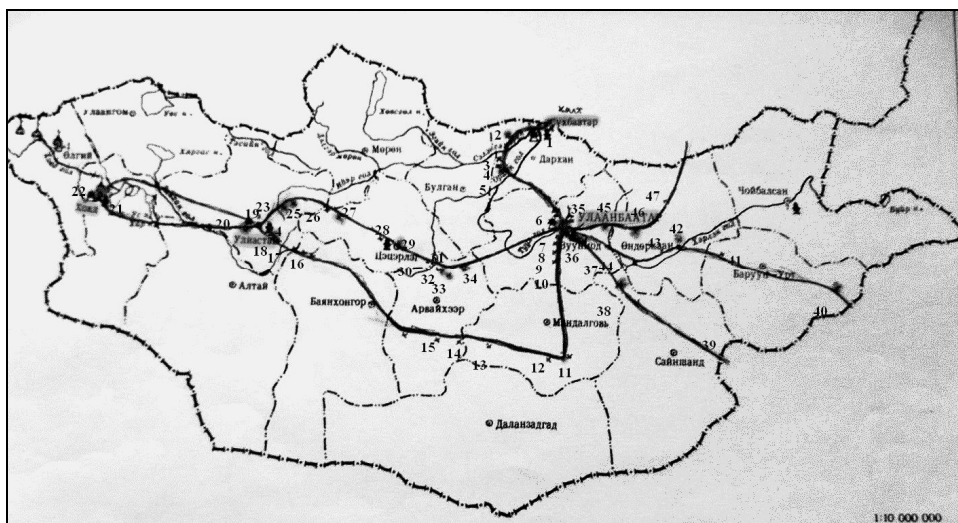


Figure 1. Monasteries visited by A. M. Pozdnev marked on a map of Mongolia (Rinčen 1979)

1. Gandandašilin temple at Buur guard post: Buuriin xaruuliin xural / Buuriin xural / Gandandašilin dugan (T. dga'-ldan bkra-shis gling) / Dečinčoinxorlin (T. bde-chen chos 'khor gling). GPS: N 50°15.646', E 106°23.917'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Buur xaruul; Selenge aimag, Altanbulag sum. Type: border guard assembly (*xaruuliin xural*). Description: 27 June 1892, Vol. 1, p. 4. Current state: ruins.
2. Monastic town of Ce jasag's banner: Ce jasgiin xošuu xüree/ Erdene wangiin xüree / Erdene wangiin xošuu xüree / Xotol čuulganii xüree / Baruun xiid / Gandančoinxorlin (T. dga'-ldan chos-'khor gling). GPS: N 49°55.791', E 105°26.396'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Ce jasgiin xošuu later Erdene wangiin xošuu, Selenge aimag, Cagaannuur sum. Type: monastic town of a banner (*xošuu xüree*). Description: 30 June 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 9–14. Current state: ruins.
3. Temple at Xanxariin Xošuu Mountain: Xanxariin xošuuunii dugan. GPS: cc. N 49°41.324', E 105°15.775'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Ce jasgiin xošuu later Erdene wangiin xošuu; Selenge aimag, Jüünbüren/Baruunbüren/Xušaат sum (?). Type: temple (dugan). Description: 1 July 1892, Vol. 1, p. 15. Current state: exact site was not found.
4. Amarbayasgalant Monastery: Amarbayasgalant xiid / Öндөр gegeenii xiid. GPS: N 49° 28.785', E 105° 05.120'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Erdene wangiin xošuu (Ix šaw'); Selenge aimag, Baruunbüren sum. Type: Manchu imperial monastery (*xiid*). Description: 2 July 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 16–32. Current state: remained temples, ruins, revived.
5. Temple of the Farmers: Tariačnii süm. GPS: cc. N 49°13.593', E 105°15.086'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Erdene wangiin xošuu or Jorigt wangiin xošuu or Axai beisiin xošuu (Ix šaw' otag); Selenge aimag, Baruunbüren/Sant/Orxon



- sum (?). Type: temple/monastery (*süm*). Description: 5 July 1892, Vol. 1, p. 34. Current state: exact site was not found.
6. Urga: Örgöö / Riwogejigandanšaddüwlin (T. ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling) / Ix xüree / Daa xüree / Bogdiin xüree / Xutagtiin xüree / Niislel xüree / Ariin xüree / Nomiin Ix xüree. GPS: N 47°55.583', E 106°55.030'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Ix xüree; Ulaanbaatar. Headquarter of the Manchu said/amban, Mongolian administration (*amban*), Chinese merchant town (Maimaačen), Russian consulate. Type: monastic town (*xüree*), residence of the Bogd jëwčündamba xutagt lineage. Description: 9 July 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 42–95. Current state: remained temples, revived.
  7. Assembly at Būxeg station: Būxeg örtöonii xural / Būxeg örtöonii dugan / Bayasgalant örtöö. GPS: cc. N 47°38.259', E 106°43.470'. Tüšeet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu; Töw aimag, Sergelen sum (?). Type: assembly at a relay station (*Buuxia örtöö*). Description: 24 July 1892, Vol. 1, p. 99. Current state: exact site was not found.
  8. Assembly at Doloon station: Doloon örtöonii xural / Doloon örtöonii dugan / Amgalant örtöö. GPS: N 47°31.141', E 106°43.413'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu; Töw aimag, Sergelen sum (?). Type: assembly at a relay station (*Buuxia örtöö*). Description: 25 July 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 99–100. Current state: exact site was not found.
  9. Assembly at Jargalant relay station: Jargalant örtöö xural / Jargalant örtöonii dugan. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu; Töw aimag, Sergelen sum (?). Type: assembly at a relay station (*Buuxia örtöö*). Description: 26 July 1892, Vol. 1, p. 101. Current state: not visited.
  10. Assembly at Tal bulag relay station: Tal bulgiin örtöö xural / Tal bulgiin örtöonii dugan. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Daičin beisiin xošuu; Töw aimag, Bayancagaan sum. Type: assembly at a relay station (*Buuxia örtöö*). Description: 26 July 1892, Vol. 1, p. 105. Current state: not visited.
  11. A Chinese and a Mongolian temple at Sair us station: Sair usnii örtöö süm (Geser süm and Gandanpuncoglin, T. dga'-ldan phun-tshogs gling). GPS: N 44°40.164', E 106°59.688'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Daičin beisiin xošuu; Dundgow' aimag, Öljiiit sum. Type: assembly at a Xarčin station (*Xarčin örtöö*). Description: 28 July 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 112–117. Current state: ruins.
  12. Monastery at Cagaan xad station: Cagaan xadnii süm / Cagaan süm. GPS: N 44°57.614', E 106°22.003'. Tüšeet xan aimag, Tüšeet čin wangiin xošuu; Dundgow' aimag, Öljiiit sum. Type: assembly at a Xarčin station (*Xarčin örtöö*). Description: 30 July 1892, Vol. 1, p. 118. Current state: ruins.
  13. Monastery at Menget station: Mengetiin xiid / Mengetiin xural. GPS: N 45°25.869', E 105°05.979'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Tüšeet čin wangiin xošuu; Dundgow' aimag, Xuld sum. Type: assembly at a Xarčin station (*Xarčin örtöö*). Description: 31 July 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 121–122. Current state: ruins.
  14. Monastery at Jeeren station: Jeerengiin xiid / Jeeren örtöö süm. GPS: N 45°49.447', E 103°54.753'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Ilden beiliin xošuu; Öwörxangai aimag, Sant sum. Type: assembly near a Xarčin station (*Xar-*

- čin örtöö*). Description: 1 August 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 124–126. Current state: ruins under province protection.
15. Monastery at Xadat relay station: Xadat örtöonii süm / Xadatiin örtöö xural / Xadatiin xüree / Baruun xural / Ulaan lamiin xiid / Uulan lamiin xiid. GPS: N 46°00.860', E 102°39.270'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Üijen wangiin xošuu; Öwörxangai aimag, Taragt sum. Type: assembly at a Xarčin station (*Xarčin örtöö*). Description: 2 August 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 127–128. Current state: ruins, rebuilt temple.
  16. Assembly at Öwörjargalant relay station: Öwörjargalant xural / Öwörjargalant xiid. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Jonon güinii xošuu; Bayanxongor aimag, Gurwanbulag sum. Type: assembly at a Xalx station (*Xalx örtöö*). Description: 24 August 1892, Vol. 1, p. 144. Current state: not visited.
  17. Monastery at Ag't: Ag'tiin süm / Agitiin xiid / Agitiin xüree / Ag'tiin xiid / Rašlin (T. bkra-shis gling). GPS: N 47°30.027', E 096°49.212'. Location: Jasagt xan aimag, Xošuuč mergen beisiin xošuu; Jawxan aimag, Cagaanxairxan sum. Type: monastery (*süm*). Description: 10 August 1892, Vol. 1, p. 152. Current state: ruin, revived temple out of operation
  18. Monastic town of the 80 Voices: Duutiin xüree / Nayan duutiin xüree / Sain itgemjit süm / Gandandečlin (T. dga'-ldan bde chen gling). GPS: N 47°30.925', E 096°54.494'. Location: Jasagt xan aimag, Xošuuč mergen beisiin xošuu; Jawxan aimag, Cagaanxairxan sum. Type: monastic town (*xüree*), Manchu imperial monastery. Description: 10 August 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 152–155. Current state: ruins.
  19. Chinese temples in Uliastai: Guan-di Temple (Geseriin süm), Mañjuśrī Temple (Mañjšir süm), White Tara Temple (Cagaan Dar' exiin süm), Amitāyus Temple (Ayuušiiin süm), Temple of the Lord of Death (Erlig xanii süm), Tara Temple (Dar' exiin süm), etc. GPS: N 47°44.821', E 096°52.199'. Location: Jasagt xan aimag, Uliastai; Jawxan aimag, Uliastai. Type: Headquarter of the Manchu *jan-jin* ('admiral'), Manchu fort (Sangiin xot), Chinese Merchant town (Maimaačen), Mongolian administration (*jas*). Description: 11–21 August 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 155–182. Current state: ruins, new Mongolian temples.
  20. Monastic town at Yaru River: Yaruugiin xüree / Öwgön xüree / Dašpuncoglin (T. bkra-shis phun-tshogs gling). GPS: N 47°42.002', E 096°37.105'. Location: Jasagt xan aimag, Ix šaw'; Jawxan aimag, Aldarxaan sum. Type: monastic town (*xüree*). Description: 21 August 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 184–185. Current state: ruins, and a revived temple which moved later to Uliastai.
  21. Chinese temples in Xowd: Geser Temple (Geseriin süm), Mosque (Laliin süm), Temple of the White Old Man (Cagaan öwgönii süm), Temple of Water Spirits (Usan süm), Temple of the Lord of Death (Erlig xanii süm), Tai wan miao. GPS: N 48°00.761', E 091°38.582'. Location: Xowd; Xowd aimag, Xowd. Type: Headquarters of the Manchu said/amban. Manchu fort (Sangiin xot), Chinese Merchant town (Maimaačen), Mongolian administration (*jas*). Description: 25 August–4 September (?), 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 198–222. Current state: ruins. A new mosque operates nearby.

22. Yellow Monastery: Šar süm / Xowdiin Šar süm / Ööldiin Šar süm / Ööldiin Tü-geemel amarjuulagč. GPS: N 48°01.315', E 091°36.927'. Xowdiin xyajgaar, Ööldiin Üijen güngiin xošuu; Xowd aimag, Xowd sum. Type: imperial monastery (*süm*). Description: 25 August–4 September (?), 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 214–222. Current state: ruins, revived monastery in Xowd.
23. Geser Temple of the Solons near Uliastai: Geser süm. GPS: cc. 47°47.131', 096°53.314'. Location: Jasagt xan aimag, near Uliastai. Jawxan aimag, Yaruu sum. Type: temple (*süm*). Description: 21 September 1892, Vol. 1, p. 244. Current state: exact site was not found.
24. Yalguusan xutagt's monastic town: Yalguusan xutagtiin xüree / Yalguusan geegenii xüree / Jasagt xan aimgiin Yalguusan xutagtiin xiid / Ideriin xüree / Yalguusan xutagtiin xiid / Xoldsoniig togtogöč / Gandančoižilin (T. dga'-ldan chos-kyi (?) gling) / Gandantegčenlin (T. dga'-ldan theg-chen gling). GPS: N 48°07.127', E 097°29.070'. Location: Jasagt xan aimag, Yalguusan xutagtiin šaw'; Jawxan aimag, Ider sum. Type: monastic town of a *xutagt* with seal (*tamgatai xutagtiin xüree*). Description: 24 September 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 247–255. Current state: memorial, revived temple near Ider sum centre.
25. Xambiin geegen's monastic town: Xambiin xüree / Xambiin geegenii xüree / Ariin xüree / Gandandarjaalin (T. dga'-ldan dar-rgyas gling) / Dašgandanlin (T. bkra-shis dga'-ldan gling) / Buyanbayasgalant. GPS: N 48°15.530', E 97°34.857'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Xamba geegenii šaw'; Jawxan aimag, Ider sum. Type: monastic town of a *xutagt* with seal (*tamgatai xutagtiin xüree*). Description: 25 September 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 255–256. Current state: ruins.
26. Temple at Jagast River: Jagastiin dugan / Jagastain dugan / Jagastiin xiid. GPS: N 48°04.352', E 098°51.381'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Dalai Čoinxor wangiin xošuu; Arxangai aimag, Caxir sum. Type: temple (*dugan*). Description: 28 September 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 260–261. Current state: ruins.
27. Dalai wan's monastic town: Dalai wangiin xüree / Tariatiin xüree / Dalai Čoinxor wangiin xüree / Tariatiin Deed xüree / Dalai Čoinxor wangiin Baruun xüree / Üürd xögjüülegč xiid / Tariatiin Dood xüree / Tariatiin Jüün xüree / Dalai Čoinxor wangiin Jüün xüree / Sainaar sudlagč xiid / Sančüwlin (T. bzang chub gling). GPS: N 48°22.036', E 099° 40.183'. Sain noyon xan aimag, Dalai čoinxor wangiin xošuu; Arxangai aimag, Tariat sum. Type: monastic town of a banner (*xošuu xüree*). Description: 29 September 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 261–266. Current state: ruins, the revived temple was moved to the *sum* centre.
28. Monastery at Arcat: Arcatiin xiid / Arcatiin xural. GPS: cc N 47°32.773', E 101°20.850'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Said wangiin xošuu; Arxangai aimag, Ix Tamir sum. Type: monastery (*xiid* or *süm*). Description: 4 October 1892, Vol. 1, p. 271. Current state: ruins.
29. Jaya geegen's monastic town: Jayaiin xüree / Jaya geegenii xüree / Jayaiin Deed xüree (Buyaniig delgerüülegč / Gandangejeelin / T. dga'-ldan dge rgyas gling), Dood xüree (Öljiig badruulagč). GPS: N 47°28.503', E 101°27.049'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Jaya geegenii šaw'; Arxangai aimag, Cecerleg.

- Type: monastic town of a *xutagt* with seal (*tamgatai xutagtiin xüree*). Description: 4 October 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 270–277. Current state: remained temples, ruins, revived.
30. Monastic town at Cagaan süm: Cagaan sümüin xüree / Jorigt güngiin xüree / Gombo güngiin xüree / Santiin xüree. GPS: N 47°04.414', E 102°04.793'. Location: Sain noyon xan aimag, Jorigt güngiin xošuu. Arxangai aimag, Xotont sum. Description: 7 October 1892, Vol. 1, p. 280. Type: monastic city of a banner (*xošuu xüree*). Current state: ruins.
  31. Monastery of the head of Erdene Juu: Xuwilgaan Dagwadarjaagiin süm / Juugiin lamiin süm / Juugiin xuwilgaan lamiin süm / Juugiin xuwilgaanii xiid / Juugiin süm / Yonjon lamiin xiid. GPS: N 47°12.409', E 102°47.789'. Tüšeet xan aimag, Tüšeet xanii xošuu; Öwörxangai aimag, Xarxarin. Type: monastery (*süm*). Description: 8 October 1892, Vol. 1, p. 281. Current state: ruins.
  32. Erdene Juu: Erdene Juu xiid / Bat Erdene Juu. GPS: N 47°12.137', E 102°50.598'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Tüšeet xanii xošuu (Ix šaw'); Öwörxangai aimag, Xarxarin. Type: monastery (*xiid*). Description: 8 October 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 281–302. Current state: remained temples, ruins, revived.
  33. Western monastic town: Baruun xüree / Ribogejigandanšaddüwlin (T. ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling) / Tüšeet xanii xüree / Šanxiin xüree / Öndör bogdiin öwgön xüree. GPS: N 47°03.058', E 102°57.258'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Tüšeet xanii xošuu xüree (Ix šaw'); Öwörxangai aimag, Xarxarin sum, Šanx bag. Type: monastic town of a banner (*xošuu xüree*). Description: 10 October 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 302–304. Current state: remained temples, ruins, revived.
  34. Monastery at Xögnö Tarni: Xögnö tarni xiid / Damčoiijančüwlin (T. dam chos byang-chub gling) / Xögnö tarniin öwgön xiid / Xögnö tarnii xüree. GPS: N 47°42.498', E 103°69.323'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Üijen güngiin xošuu; Bulgan aimag, Rašaant sum. Type: monastery (*xiid*). Description: 12 October 1892, Vol. 1, p. 307. Current state: ruins, revived.
  35. Dambadarjaa monastery: Dambadarjaalin / Dambadarjaag(iin) xiid (T. bstanpa dar-rgyas gling) / Šašniig badruulagč xiid / Šajniig badruulagč xiid. GPS: N 47°58.953', E 106°56.263'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu (Ix šaw'); Ulaanbaatar. Type: imperial monastery (*xiid*). Description, 29 October 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 387–392. Current state: remained temples, ruins, revived.
  36. Temple of Woodsmen: Modčiniin süm / Xöliin modčiniin süm / Bayanjürxnii dуган (?). GPS: cc N 47°52.753', E 107°04.972'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu; Ulaanbaatar. Type: temple/monastery (*süm*). Description: 12 November 1892, Vol. 1, p. 396. Current state: exact site was not found.
  37. Temple of Horse Herders: Aduučnii süm. GPS: cc N 47°28.130', E 107°20.651'. Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu; Töv aimag, Erdene sum. Type: temple/monastery (*süm*). Description: 13 November 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 398–399. Current state: exact site was not found.

38. Eastern Čoir monastery: Jüün Čoir / Jüün Čoiriin xiid / Čoiriin xiid / Čoiriin xüree / Borjignii Jüün Čoir / Borjignii Jüün Janjin Čoir xiid / Borjigin beiliin Jüün Čoir / Jüün Janjin Čoir xiid / Čoidoičēnbobaldandašigomanlin (T. chos-sde chen-po dpal-ldan bkra-shis sgo-mang gling). GPS: N 46°12.967', E 108°46.008'. Location: Secen xan aimag, Borjigin Secen wangiin xošuu; Gow'-Sumber aimag, Sumber sum. Type: monastery/monastic town of a banner (*xošuu xüree*). Description: 18 November 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 408–411. Current state: ruins, new chapel, revived in Čoir.
39. Monastery at Ders bulag: Ders bulangiin süm / Dersen bulagiin süm / Xondogiin xiid. GPS: N 45°16.937', E 110°16.937' (Cedendamba et al. 2009, pp. 353–354).<sup>8</sup> Location: Tüšeet xan aimag, Gow'-mergen wangiin xošuu; Dornogow' aimag, Altanširee sum. Type: monastery (*süm*). Description: 23 November 1892, Vol. 1, p. 420. Current state: not visited.
40. Monastery of Yegüjer xutagt: Yegüjer xutagtiin xiid / Yegüjeriin xiid / Erdene mergen bandidiin xüree / Güsewdečen süm (T. ? bde chen) / Önö öglögt. GPS: N 46°15.507', E 114°36.336'. Location: Secen xan aimag, Yegüjer xutagtiin šaw'; Süxbaatar aimag, Erdeneagaan sum. Type of monastic site: monastery of a *xutagt* with seal (*tamgatai xutagtiin xiid*). Description: June 14 1893, Vol. 2, pp. 281–282. Current state: remained buildings, ruins, revived.
41. Monastery of the High Maitreya Statue: Öndör Maidariin xiid. GPS: N 47°08.230', E 112°25.376'. Location: Secen xan aimag, Dalai wangiin xošuu; Süxbaatar aimag, Mönxxan sum, Bayanterem bag. Type of monastic site: monastery (*xiid*). Description: 19 June 1893, Vol. 2, p. 287. Current state: ruins, new stupa.
42. Monastic town of Secen xan: Cecen xanii xüree / Secen xanii xüree / Secen xanii altan örgöö / Öndörxaanii xüree / Šoloi Cecen xanii xiid / Gündgarawlin xiid (T. kun-tu dga'-bar gling). GPS: N 47°18.436', E 110°39.022'. Location: Cecen xan aimag, Cecen xanii xošuu; Xentii aimag, Öndörxaan. Type: monastic town of a local feudal lord (*xošuu xüree*). Description: 21 June 1893, Vol. 2, pp. 289–291. Current state: remained buildings, ruins, revived.
43. Monastery of Xurc lama: Xurc lamiin süm / Xurc lamiin xiid / Xurc lamiin suwraga / Suwraga xiid / Dašgenpilin (T. bkra-shis dge 'phel gling). GPS: N 47°14.602', E 110°35.127'. Location: Secen xan aimag; Secen xanii xošuu; Xentii aimag, Mörön sum. Type: monastery (*süm*). Description: 22 June 1893, Vol. 2, p. 290. Current state: ruins, new stupa.
44. Monastery at Jaraa bulan: Jaraa bulangiin süm / Jaraa bulangiin xiid / Ix gačin otgiin xural. Old location: Cecen xan aimag, Axai güngiin xošuu (?); Xentii aimag, Delgerxaan sum. Type: monastery (*süm*). Description: 24 June 1893, Vol. 2, pp. 294–295. Current state: not visited.
45. Eastern monastic town on the bank of the River Xerlen: Xerlengiin Jüün xüree / Jüün xüree / Xerlen goliin Jüün xüree / Šaddüwdarjaalin (T. bshad-sgrub dar

<sup>8</sup> Pozdneev mentions one temple but according to the description of this book it was the name of a big monastery. It might not be the same site.

- rgyas gling)/ Šaddüwčoinxorlin (T. bshad-sgrub chos-'khor gling) / Xögš'in xüree / Öwgön xüree. GPS: N 48°00.831', E 108°29.998'. Location: Tüšcet xan aimag, Darxan čin wangiin xošuu (Ix šaw'); Töw aimag, Möngönmor't sum. Type: monastic town (*xüree*). Description: 15–16 July 1893, Vol. 2, pp. 302–309. Current state: ruins, revival in Baganuur.
46. Xüüxen xutagt's monastery: Xüüxen xutagtiin xiid / Xüüxen xutagtiin xüree / Öwörbulangiin Xüüxen xutagtiin xüree / Rinčentegčenlin (T. rin-chen theg-chen gling), Damčoijürmedlin/Damčaaajürmedlin (T. dam chos 'gyur-med gling). GPS: N 47°45.385', E 109°35.738', and N 47°45.863', E 109°35.485'. Location: Secen xan aimag, Mergen güniü xošuu; Xentii aimag, Ömnödelger sum. Type: monastery of a *xutagt* with seal (*tamgatai xutagtiin xüree*). Description: 27 July 1893, Vol. 2, pp. 315–317. Current state: ruins, new stupa.
47. Dalaat süm (or Dalaad süm?). Old location: Dalai beisiin xošuu; Xentii aimag, Description: 24 July 1893, Vol. 2, pp. 320–322. Current state: not visited.

### Types of Monasteries

The different names of the monastic sites indicate that there was some confusion in the use of the term 'monastery' (*xüree*, *xiid*, *süm*, etc.). Pozdneev claims in his book devoted to Mongolian Buddhism (1978, p. 25) that in Mongolia three kinds of monasteries existed originally: *xüree*, *süm* and *xiid*. He defines *xüree* as a sort of camp, where the monks lived permanently and their dwellings were arranged around the temples in a circle. In a *süm* monks did not live permanently, but led a nomadic life in the steppe, and assembled at the monastery only on festivals and fixed-date ceremonies. *Xiid* served as a place of residence for hermit-monks, or *dayanč*. However, Pozdneev emphasises that these distinctive names might have been in use when these monastic sites were first founded, and by the time of his visit all these names had been mixed up and had lost their significance.

Regarding the origin of the monasteries Pozdneev defines four categories (1978, p. 28). There were imperial monasteries built at the expense of the Manchu imperial treasury; the monasteries of reincarnated monks (*xutagt* or *gegeen*, *xuwilgaan*) built mostly financed by nobles and dedicated to an eminent monk who prayed for national welfare (e.g. Jaya *gegeen*); *xošuu* and *sum* monasteries also existed in the areas of local nobles, as well as private monasteries built by individuals, such as rich nobles or famous lamas. As it is not evident which category the *örtöö* and *xaruul* temples belonged to, according to Pozdneev it will be mentioned in the fourth category. Chinese temples which are out of categorisation having no relationship with Mongols will be mentioned below, too. In the following part some characteristics of these five types of monasteries based on Pozdneev's statements and travel experiences are summarised.

### 1. *Geegen or Xutagt Monasteries*

Pozdneev's book includes two lists of Mongolian *xuwilgaans* (1978, pp. 318–331).<sup>9</sup> The *xutagts* were reincarnating lamas dating back to the time of Śākyamuni Buddha (BC 560–480) having several rebirths in India, Tibet and in Mongolia.<sup>10</sup> They were the most prominent characters of Mongolian Buddhism, often known for their great knowledge, miracles, lifestyles, or writing activities. Many of them studied in Tibet, whilst in other cases a Tibetan monk came to Mongolia, and after passing away he was reborn locally.<sup>11</sup>

Pozdneev claims (1978, p. 34) that in every *xutagt* monastery, be it called *xüree*, *süm* or *xiid*, the monks lived permanently and performed their ceremonies (*Cogčin*, T. *tshogs chen* everyday chanting, etc.). They had current offerings from the worshippers. According to Pozdneev's description these monasteries were the richest, most extensive ones, built mainly by nobles who presented the temple to a monk (usually of noble descent) and detached territories with families of their tributaries, who became subordinated people or 'disciples' (*šaw' nar*) of the *xutagt*. The *xutagts* acknowledged by the Manchu emperor had their own seals (*tamga*) to rule and administer its subordinated people and area, if the number of their subordinates reached 700. These *šaw' nar* paid tax to the monastery to maintain its operation, and to cater for the monk community. Pozdneev claims that these monasteries were the richest in cattle (1978, p. 31) herded by the *šaw' nar*. He mentions that if a Chinese merchant needed a caravan of 50 or 60 camels, a monastery supplied it as well as its leaders. Every *šaw'* who wanted his camels to join the monastery caravan had to pay to the monastery for permission. Another source of income for monasteries was the contracts about the maintenance of the local post-stations (*örtöö*), as it was the responsibility of all four *aimags* in the whole country and they contracted local monasteries for this task (1978, pp. 33–34). The payment for the maintenance of post-stations was calculated in various ways based on the traffic and the distance of one station from the other. The wealth of *xutagt* monasteries, the great number of monks, and the large number of worshippers attracted Chinese merchants. For the right to trade at a monastery the *xutagt's* treasuries signed a contract with the Chinese. Some wealthy monasteries lent out money at interest to *xošuus* (1978, p. 34; it was usual in Uрга), but it also happened that a *gegeen* had huge debts to Chinese bursars (e.g. Jayaiin *gegeen*, Pozdneev 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 276–277). Some of the richest *xutagts* established new monasteries to spread Buddhist teaching in this way.<sup>12</sup> Actually, monasteries where

<sup>9</sup> Among the reincarnating monks we need to underline the 13 *xutagts* possessing seals (*tamgatai xutagt*), and the 7 *xutagts* possessing seal. Cf. Laagan (2004); Dašbadrax (2004).

<sup>10</sup> For instance, Pozdneev describes the previous incarnations of the Bogd jewcündamba *xutagt* (1971, Vol. 1, pp. 321–322), and Xüüxen *xutagt* (1971, Vol. 2, pp. 320–322).

<sup>11</sup> The religious and political connection of Tibet, Mongolia, and the Manchu empire was confirmed vice versa. For example, after several rebirths in India and in Tibet, Öндөр *gegeen* Zanabazar was acknowledged as the 1st Mongolian reincarnation of the Bogd jewtsündamba *xutagt* (T. rje-btsun dam-pa), and after his next incarnation, all the other rebirths happened in Tibet.

<sup>12</sup> Hereby it is important to note that in the 1920–1930s, when the repression of religion started, properties of monasteries were confiscated and *xutagts* and high-ranking monks were cap-

*xutagts* lived were the most prominent and highly respected ones among believers. They also served as important centres of monastic education.

Usually an office called *yaam* (today ‘ministry’) or *tamga* (‘seal’) led by the *šanjodwa* (T. *phyag mdzod-pa*) was responsible for the administration. The nomadising lands of the *šaw’ nar* were in the vicinity of the monasteries of the *xutagts*. The *šanjodwa* had other duties as well. For instance, Pozdneev met the governor of the *šaw’ nar* jurisdiction of Jayaiin *gegeen* on his way from Xowd to Uliastai (1971, Vol. 1, p. 238), who had been ordered to Xowd to receive and bring home certain vagrants belonging to their *šaw’* area. The Bogd *jewcündamba xutagt* possessed several subordinated people and lands, called *lx šaw’*, not only near *lx xüree*, but throughout Mongolia. In *lx xüree* the *Erdene Šanjodwiin Yaam* was responsible to administer them. Of the monasteries visited by Pozdneev, Amarbayasgalant, Yaruugiin *xüree*, Erdene Juu, Baruun *xüree*, Dambadarjaa, Jüün *xüree* were *lx šaw’* monasteries. As the National Archives of Mongolia inherited the documents of the *Erdene Šanjodwiin Yaam* more documents related to these monasteries are available than on other monasteries.

The *xutagt’s* monasteries usually included not only temples of ceremonies and worship, but also *dacans* (T. *grwa-tshang*), monastic schools. As for special remarks of *xutagt* or *gegeen* monasteries, according to Pozdneev the main gate of the *gegeen’s* monasteries faced south, and there was a large square with red *xais* wooden fence in each monastery (1971, Vol. 1, p. 254). This was the mark of distinction and prerogative of all *gegeens*, who had been elevated to become independent rulers (*tamgatai xutagt*). Of the sites visited by Pozdneev, Jayaiin *xüree*, Yalguusan *gegeenii xüree*, Xamba *xutagtiin xüree*, Yegüjer *xutagtiin xüree*, Xüüxen *xutagtiin xüree* were headed by *xutagts* with seals. All of them had their *šaw’ nar*. As an obligation several *gegeens* went to visit the Manchu emperor in Beijing (1978, pp. 351–357) to receive their seals and other privileges (such as sedan chairs and pillows, and give presents to the emperor. It was also usual that they asked the emperor to give a name to newly built temples which they offered to the benefit of the emperor. These trips cost a lot for the subordinated areas and caused huge debts (for instance in the case of Jayaiin *xüree*, Pozdneev 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 276–277). Some of the *gegeens* used Chinese furniture and decorations (e.g. Jaya *gegeen*, Yalguusan *gegeen*), and Yalguusan *gegeen* worshipped Geser to show his respect of the emperor. The *gegeen* usually had a palace (*lawran*, T. *bla-brang*) in the *xüree*.

## 2. Imperial Monasteries

Imperial monasteries were built by the order and with the support of the Manchu emperor (Amarbayasgalant *xiid*, Duutiin *xüree*, Šar *süm*, Dambadarjaa *xiid*). The imperial monasteries were usually divided into three parts (Pozdneev 1971, Vol. 1, p. 152). The enclosure wall of imperial monasteries was painted in red and was built from

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tured. Pozdneev’s books might have been sources of ideas which the Soviet advisors and the MPRP Party used to accuse, sentence or execute monks.



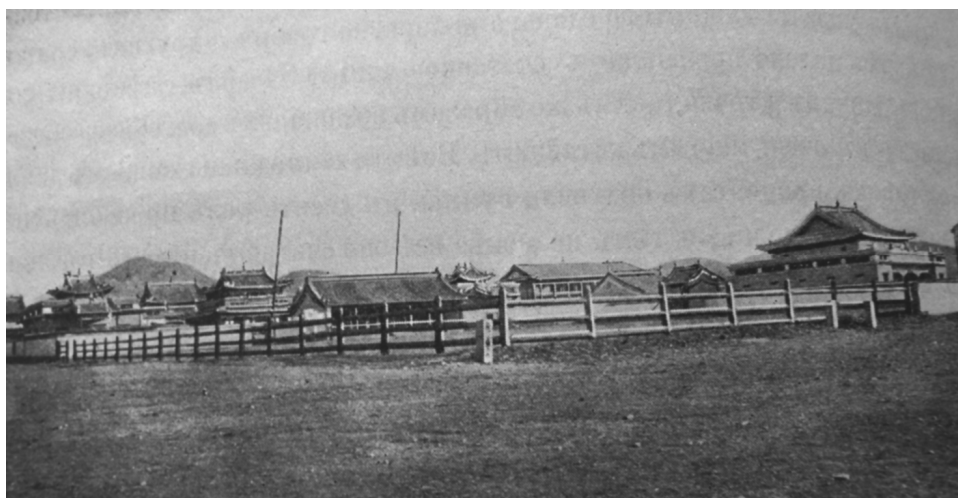


Figure 2. Photo of Jayaiin Deed xüree taken by A. M. Pozdneev in 1892 (Pozdneev 1896, p. 420)

bricks. A square was constructed for *Cam* dance, or wrestling, or games during the monastery festivals in front of them. Their history of foundation was written on bilingual steles in Mongolian, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu scripts, usually housed by the *Tüüxiin süms* ('Temple of History'). In the beginning the Manchu court maximised the number of monks belonging to these monasteries and financed the building of the temples as well as gave salaries to monks, but later the monasteries maintained themselves from the propagation of the livestock lent by nearby nobles (Pozdneev 1978, p. 37). Dormitories for monks were built with support from the Manchu treasury as Pozdneev saw near *Šar süm* (1978, p. 41). Pozdneev claims that these monasteries were not so rich at the time of his visit as the *xutagt* monasteries. Several Chinese temples and imperial monasteries had *ejnii süld* tablets or "pien-e" tablets with Chinese, Mongolian or Manchu sayings written on them (Pozdneev 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 153–154; 1978, pp. 103–104). Some monasteries (Amarbayasgalant, Dambadarjaa) later belonged to the Bogd directly (*Ix šaw*). Their temples were mainly built in Chinese style.

### 3. *Xošuu* and *Sum* Monasteries

Pozdneev claims (1978, p. 42) that 86 *xošuus* existed by the time of his visit. The monasteries did not receive fixed amount subsidy from the *xošuu* banner, but when a new temple was built or when repair was needed funds were raised in the entire *xošuu*. The *xošuu* monasteries were built not far from the headquarters of the *xošuu* prince, or his administrative office (*yaam*), as they attracted a great number of devotees, who became donators (*andag*, T. *sbyin-bdag*) giving brick tea, dairy products, livestock, flour, wheat, silk, etc. People who wanted to become monks were registered in the



Figure 3. Ruins of Šar süm in Xowd province, 2010

*xošuu*.<sup>13</sup> As for *sum* monasteries Pozdneev defines them as solitary steppe temples, around with three or four yurts (1978, p. 43). Sometimes the *sum* monasteries consisted of only a wooden temple and some buildings. Its operation was not guaranteed, so at first ceremonies were started enthusiastically, then, monks left for their nomadic lands, and finally gathered only at great ceremonies for a couple of days of the year. The monks were self-supporting.

Pozdneev visited *Ce jasgiin xošuu xüree*, *Dalai wangiin xošuu xüree*, and *Cecen xanii xüree*. These nobles ruled their own areas, and needed to be acknowledged by the Manchu emperor. Pozdneev mentions an example: when he was visiting *Ce jasgiin xošuu xüree* (1971, Vol. 1, pp. 9–14): after the passing away of *Ce jasag* in December 1891. At the time of Pozdneev's visit Cerendondow's (*Ce jasag*) 15-year-old grandson was considered as the successor to his government, but as the successor would have been confirmed in his position by the Manchu emperor in 1893, and at that time the new name of the *xošuu* would have been known, the monastic site was without name at the time of Pozdneev's visit. If the *xošuu* noble lived in the *xošuu xüree* he had his own palace (*örgöö* or *lawran*), and usually had *xutagt* or other monk relatives.

<sup>13</sup> Pozdneev describes this procedure in detail (1978, pp. 174–175).

The *xošuus* composed the *aimag* divisions, and the princes needed to participate in the annual *aimag* committee assemblies (*čuulgan*). Pozdneev visited Baruun xüree (Tüšeet xan) and Cecen xanii xüree which were two of the four Xalx aimag's leader princes' *xošuu* monastic towns.

#### 4. *Private Monasteries*

At Pozdneev's time these private monasteries were deserted and unpopulated (1978, p. 44). Tariačnii süm, Aduučnii süm, Xurc lamiin xiid can be mentioned as examples for the monasteries visited by Pozdneev. Their residential monk communities consisted of a few members when Pozdneev visited them.

#### 5. *Örtöö and Xaruul Temples*

In the *örtöö* system Sair us was the central headquarters of the post road network in Mongolia: from the station of Sair us, the Xyagt–Urga–Kalgan–Beijing post road joined the Kalgan–Uliastai post road. As Pozdneev travelled on different *örtöö* roads his accounts clearly show the formations of *örtöö* temples. Depending on their measure, population, and wealth several *örtöö* had their own monasteries or temples, or a couple of monks held ceremonies in a yurt seasonally. Pozdneev mentions temples in the case of four *Buuxia örtöö* (Büxeg, Doloo, Ĵargalant, Tal bulag), four *Xarčın örtöö* (Sair us, Menget, Jeeren, Xadat), and a *Xalx örtöö* (Öwör Ĵargalant). From the ruins found at these sites it is obvious that nothing has remained from the temples of *Buuxia örtöös*, even their sites are not known by local people today, which might mean that in the 1920s some *örtöös* were no longer parts of the main *örtöö* road going from Urga to the south. As for the *Xarčın örtöös*, several have ruins with more buildings made of mainly clay as usual in the Gow' (Sair us, Menget, Jeeren), and some dozens of monks belonged to them (about 50–100). Apart from the temples Pozdneev mentioned other *örtöös*, for example Šuwuut, Luus, Ongi, Ünegt also had temples by the 1930s ([www.mongoliantemples.net](http://www.mongoliantemples.net)) which Pozdneev might have not seen or, more probably, these temples came to existence after 1892. Pozdneev claims that the *Xalx örtöös* were smaller than the *Xarčın örtöös*. He claims that all the stations of the Kalgan–Uliastai post road, from “Šürük” (Šurag?) to Jag, moved south every year for the winter to a distance of from thirty-five to forty versts (one verst = 1066 m) south of the road he travelled. Pozdneev also used the term *suur* ' (base) in the case of the *Buuxia örtöö* road (e.g. Büxeg, Doloon), which may indicate that certain stations moved in summer.

It is not clear from Pozdneev's accounts whether the monks of an *örtöö* came from the vicinity, or were sent from the responsible *aimag* or monastery, or were relatives of people running the *örtöö*'s operation. Pozdneev mentions (1971, Vol. 1, p. 191) that at Bugu (Buga?) *örtöö*, Luwsan *gelen* fully-ordained monk lived with his two brothers and two nephews in two yurts as it was common among the Mongols. Luwsan

*gelen* and his family performed the duties of hired leaders who received their salaries from the government.

Meanwhile, there were certain guard posts on the border of Mongolia, such as *Jüün cereg* and *Buur*, which also had small assemblies with a couple of monks.

### **6. Temples of Manchus, Chinese and Russians**

In the country there were very few Muslim, Orthodox and Chinese temples (cf. Rinčen 1979, Map No. 44). These belonged mainly to the administrative centres with foreign population (Xyagt, Urga, Uliastai, Xowd), or monasteries where a certain foreign diaspora lived (e.g. Sair us). Pozdneev mentions Chinese temples in Sair us, Urga, Uliastai, Xowd, and a Geser Temple of the Solons near Uliastai, as well as the Orthodox Church in Urga.

First of all, Chinese trading quarters (Maimaačēn) were parts of bigger towns such as Xyagt-Altanbulag, Urga, Xowd, and Uliastai. Chinese *püüs* stores (Chinese *pu zi*) operated in the Maimaačēns, and in bigger monastic sites (e.g. Jayaiin xüree). The caravans sold articles and some traders wandered as individual merchants and stopped by monasteries. These merchants sold silk, flour, fruits, hats, garments, candies, comb, and other products, and bought and changed them for animal products (wool, leather, etc.) mainly. The means of payment was brick tea or coins. In these Maimaačēns and in the Manchu fortresses (Ulistai, Xowd) and also in monasteries where Chinese lived nearby Geser Temple and Erlig xan's temple (near the cemetery) definitely existed, and there were other temples as well. Muslim mosques also existed where Chinese Muslims (Dungans) lived (Xowd, Urga), and Russian Orthodox Church was located where Russians were large in number (Urga, Xyagt). The Mongols called Chinese monks Blue/Grey Hat (*Xöx malgaitan*) monks, and Muslims *Lal* (T. *kla-klo*) or White Hat monks (*Cagaan mailgaitan*).

### **Life in Monasteries**

Pozdneev details everyday life, hierarchy, vows and ranks of monks in his book (1978). Here some features are shortly described based on his description and the observations of the survey in 2010 to demonstrate how vivid monastic life was at the time of Pozdneev's visit.

The establishment of monasteries (Pozdneev 1978, p. 48) had to be permitted by the Manchu governments' foreign ministry (Li fan yüan) and Buddhist practice prescribed its other rules. The monastery foundation was a complex procedure.

As it is clear from the situation of sites monasteries were set up on sites near water, mainly in the foreground of hills, which protected them from the wind. They usually faced the South. Bigger monasteries had a main assembly hall and other temples in the centre. Some monastic complexes stood in a fenced-off area (*Yaruugiin*

*xüree*, imperial monasteries). Monks were dwelling in yurts or buildings in courtyards, or buildings made of clay (in the Gow’).

The monasteries were and are known under different names, such as places names, the Tibetan name, the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan name, the name or title of a famous lama or prince, the number of the monks, or named after a deity. Several monasteries and temples were given names by the Manchu emperor, the Bogd or local *gegeen*’s.

Some bigger monastic sites (Yalguusan *gegeenii xüree*, Dalai *wangiin xüree*, Jayaiin *xüree*) consisted of two parts, upper (*deed*) and lower (*dood*), or eastern (*jüün*) and western (*baruun*). In the case of large monasteries monks were divided to *aimag* divisions (Amarbayasgalant, Erdene Juu, Baruun *xüree*, Jüün *xüree*, etc.), which usually had their own temples, and gathered at the main assembly hall (*Cogčün dugan*) for common services. Temples in Mongolia were built in Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian or mixed style. Pozdneev emphasises a form which was unique among other temples (1971, Vol. 1, p. 253). Temples were built of bricks and mud, clay, wood or stone.<sup>14</sup>

In the area of Mongolia, the Gelug Stream (*šariin šašin*, ‘yellow religion’) was dominant, and only a few Sakya, Nyingma, and Kagyü monasteries (*ulaan malgaitan*, ‘with red hat’). As for the Red Stream monasteries Pozdneev visited several important ones of these such as Erdene Juu (Sakya), Yegüjer *xutagtiin xiid*, and Xüüxen *xutagtiin xiid* (Nyingma and Kagyü features).

Apart from the main assembly hall (*Cogčün dugan*, *Gol dugan*) and other temples dedicated to different peaceful and wrathful protector deities, monastic schools (*dacan*, T. *grwa-tshang*) belonged to the bigger monasteries. The most common was the philosophical monastic school (*Čoir*, T. *chos-grwa*, or *Canid*, T. *mtshan-nyid*), where exams could be taken regularly (*domiin damjaa*, T. *sdom-pa’i/ston-mo’i* (?) *dam-bca*, *gawjün damjaa*, T. *dka’-bcu’i dam-bca*). Other monastic schools, such as medical (*Manba/Mamba dacan*, T. *sman-pa grwa-tshang*), astrological (*Jurxai dacan*, T. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*), Gradual Path (*Lamrim dacan*, T. *lam-rim grwa-tshang*) and Tantric (*Jüü dacan*, T. *rgyud grwa-tshang* or *Agwa*, T. *sngags-pa*) also existed. Some of these schools organised exams in their own subjects for example the Tantric schools (*agramba*, T. *sngags-rams-pa*) and the medical schools (*maaramba*, T. *sman-rams-pa*). Among the monasteries described by Pozdneev, *Ce jasgiin xošuu xüree*, *Amarbayasgalant*, *Urga*, *Duutiin xüree*, *Yaruugiin xüree*, *Šar süm*, *Yalguusan gegeenii xüree*, *Xamba xutagtiin xüree*, *Jayaiin xüree*, *Erdene Juu*, *Baruun xüree*, *Dambadarjaa*, *Jüün Čoir*, *Yegüjer xutagtiin xüree*, *Secen xanii xüree*, *Xerlengiin Jüün xüree*, *Xüüxen xutagtiin xüree* definitely had monastic schools.

The surrounding hills and mountains were worshipped: on their peaks *owoos* (stone or wooden heaps for the worship of local spirits) were erected and annually worshipped by the monks. Holy springs of water; special rocks were also worshipped. Very few monasteries had rock paintings of saints and deities (e.g. *Jayaiin xüree*, *Manjšir xiid*).

<sup>14</sup> Pozdneev does not mention kilns (*baayuu*) where bricks were burnt mostly by Chinese.

When defining the number of monks in a monastery, it should be considered that there were monks on list (*danstai*) who resided in the monastery permanently, and monks who lived in the countryside with their families (parents, wife, and children) and visited the monastery only on big festival days. Therefore, for example about 1500 monks lived in *Jayaiin xüree*, but about 4000 monks participated in big festivals (1971, Vol. 1, p. 274). Pozdneev mentions in the case of Šar süm near Xowd that “they dispersed to the countryside to their own homes, assembling at Šar süm only three times a year, as is the established custom in the majority of the *dugans* of the plains.” However, later, during the theocratic reign of the Bogd xaan (1911–1921) the number of monks increased almost everywhere.

The most important annual festivals of big monasteries were the *Cam* religious dance, the circumambulation of the sculpture of the future Buddha, Maitreya, and the volumes of the Kanjur, the summer retreat (*xailen*) lasting for 45 days, the commemoration days of Buddha, and Tsongkhapa, and the New Year Festival.

The lay population did not reside in the monastic area, and monks kept their vows strictly, especially in *Jüün Čoir* and *Jüün Xüree* which were afar from lay population. According to the monastic rules, monks were forbidden to make any relationship with women. Pozdneev did not mention many *joč* tantric masters or *dayanč* who wandered in the countryside to engage in their meditation practices. However, he mentions trading activities of monks (1971, Vol. 1, p. 239), as, for instance, he met a monk from the *xošuu* of Luu güniü xüree (today Arxangai aimag, Batcengel sum) who rode with three pack camels loaded with cedar nuts to sell them to the Chinese at Uliastai. Pozdneev’s accounts clearly show how practical monks were at that time.

To Pozdneev the “cemeteries” (*xün taw’dag gajar*) looked very strange (1971, Vol. 1, p. 275). Usually, relics of highly esteemed monks were housed in stupas (in *Güden süm* or *Šariliin süm*), but corpses of other people were put out to certain places (“cemeteries”) to feed animals as their last beneficial deed. Pozdneev mentions the mausoleum of Cecen xan (1971, Vol. 2, p. 289) which exemplifies graves of noble lineages. However, Pozdneev describes Chinese cemeteries which were even stranger than the plateau where the Mongolian corpses were placed.

Though some monasteries had libraries (e.g. *Jayaiin xüree*), the monks brought their liturgical books for the ceremonies. Pozdneev does not mention separate printing houses (*barxan*, T. *par-khang*) related to monasteries he visited.

It is worth mentioning that *Yaruugiin xüree* was founded within an old fortress wall by Yalguusan gegeen, who later moved to the Northeast, therefore, the name of the previous monastery became *Öwgön xüree* (‘Old monastery’). Meanwhile, Pozdneev mentions *Ewderxii xiid* (1971, Vol. 1, p. 134), which was the old monastery of Nomon xan in the present area of Bayanxongor aimag. It indicates that in the beginning monasteries moved around mainly because of illnesses before they finally settled down.

Pozdneev analyses the lama hierarchy deeply: monks could have different vows (*genen*, *barmarawjün*, *gecel*, *gelen*), different occupations (*gewš*, *gawj*, *agramba*, *maaramba*, *jurxaič*, etc.) various ranks (*xamba*, *corj*, *lowon*, *šunlaiw*, *gesgüi*, etc.), and administrative responsibilities (*daamal*, *demč*, *nyaraw*). Financial units (*jas*, T. *spyi-*

*sa*) belonged to each temple in the bigger sites, but there were just a few or only one in small monasteries or temples (*ix jas*). These were responsible for financial issues, such as the requirements of ceremonies, catering for monks, handling donations, and the reparation of temples. Other characteristics of monasteries and Buddhism are available in detail in Pozdneev's various books. He also stated that apart from pious belief, and the wish of the family, the hope of a better, cheerful and eventful life within the monastery walls encouraged men to become monks at that time.

### Heritage of the Monastic Sites

As Pozdneev observed different kinds of monasteries in the present area of Mongolia, we have a complex picture about what kinds of monasteries existed in Mongolia. Large monasteries and small assemblies developed further under the reign of the Bogd xaan (1911–1921), the Golden Age of the Buddhist Church, which ended with the Soviet era. As not much remained of the buildings and the history of monasteries, Pozdneev's accounts and photos have great significance.

Regarding the current states of the monasteries he saw, some buildings of some large monasteries partly survived the destruction. During the socialist period, some remaining buildings were used as warehouses or offices of agricultural co-operatives (e.g. Baruun xüree, Jayaiin xüree, Öndör Maidariin xiid). In the 1990s some of them were renovated and are currently used as monasteries (Erdene Juu, Amarbayasgalant, Baruun xüree, Jayaiin xüree). On other instances, a new temple was built on exactly the same site where the old one was situated (Xögnö tarnii xiid, Yegüjer xutagtiin xiid) or in the nearby sum centre (or moved from the site to the sum centre such as Dalai wangiin xüree, Jüün Čoir, etc.). From other, small monastic sites (*Buuxia örtöö*) not much has remained, even their exact locations are almost unknown by today as they operated in yurts or wooden temples. However, in almost all places there are visible remains of the former buildings: foundations, scattered stones and bricks. Some places are covered with beautifully ornamented bricks and small objects (e.g. Juugiin lamiin süm, Jüün Čoir). In a few cases shrines, monuments, stupas or stones with *xadag* silken scarves have been erected as memorials drawing attention to the historical heritage (e.g. Jüün Čoir, Yalguusan xutagtiin xüree). At several larger sites there are fragments of various, mainly metal, articles for personal use, such as vessels and scissors (e.g. Duutiin xüree). Shockingly few ruins remained from Jüün xüree and Yalguusan gegeenii xüree, which were extended *xürees* and were located at isolated sites, but as their temples were made of wood almost nothing is left from them.

As for the artefacts of the monasteries Pozdneev visited, apart from the revived or newly built monasteries, local museums, and some individuals possess a few old artefacts which were hidden in 1937.<sup>15</sup> The National Archives in Ulaanbaatar contains documents related to few monasteries, and the Film Archives and the Photo Collection

<sup>15</sup> The complete catalogue of sculptures from Pozdneev's collection, and archive documents related his life have been published by Voitov – Tikhmenova-Pozdneeva (2001).

of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences preserve photos of 8–10 old sites.<sup>16</sup> Elderly locals can provide oral history to complement certain parts of Pozdneev's accurate descriptions which can serve historical facts for present-day monks and researchers to study the history of monasteries. Today, Pozdneev can be considered as a courier who connects old and present-day Mongolian Buddhism.

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<sup>16</sup> Descriptions from the aspect of architecture and some old photographs appeared in print, such as in the books on Mongolian architecture by Ščepetil'nikov (1960); Maidar (1972); Cültem (1988).



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