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SOURCES, HISTORY, AND REMNANTS OF THE MONGOLIAN MONASTIC CAPITAL CITY

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Abstract

Being the residence of the religious dignitaries of Mongolia, the camp, founded originally by Öndör gegeen Janabajar in the 17th century, moved several times until it finally settled down in 1855 in the present Ulaanbaatar basin. The present article describes the sources regarding the monastic city, gives a short overview about its history, and describes its districts and their temples at the beginning of the 20th century. From the more than 100 temples that existed once in Ulaanbaatar only a few survived the monastery demolition of 1937–1939. The present conditions of the old monastic sites are summarized in the end of the paper.

Introduction¹

From the 17th century until the 1930s Buddhist monasteries (*xiid*) and monastic cities (*xiiree*) were the settled centres among the scattered yurts in Mongolia. The base of the present-day Ulaanbaatar was a camp founded in the 17th century by Öndör gegeen Janabajar, the 1st Bogd or Jêwcündamba xutagt (Tib. *rje-btsun dam-pa*, 1635–1723). Under his successors' lifetimes the camp developed to the biggest monastic city of present Mongolia, a centre of the “Yellow Teaching” of Tibetan Buddhism, Manchu administration, and Chinese and Russian commerce. After twenty-eight re-locations it settled down in 1855 on its present site.

The present article gives an overview about the foundation and development of the city, the capital-forming activities of the Bogds, and presents the districts of the city, their temples and vivid religious life at the beginning of the 20th century. Only a handful of the more than hundred temples survived the monastery demolition of 1937–1938. Their current conditions are summarized at

1 All Mongolian terms are rendered in their modern reading. The Tibetan is transliterated according to Wylie, the transliteration of Sanskrit follows the internationally accepted system.

the end of the paper.² The locations of the temples (being numbered 910–960) are indicated on Jügder's painting which accompanies this paper (fig. 1). The painting was executed in 1913.

I. Sources to study the city's history

Thanks to the distinguished role of the city a wide variety of sources are at the researchers' disposal. As for Tibetan chronicles³ the *Hor chos-byung* contains only a brief description about the 1st Bogd, the *Rosary of White Lotuses* mentions episodes from the lives of the Bogds, and summarizes their temple-building activities, the *Golden Annals* includes detailed data related to the development of the city, and the Bogds' Tibetan and Mongolian biographies⁴ include scattered data, too. The most significant Mongolian source about the foundation of the city is the *Jewel Rosary* published by Pozdneev⁵: it describes the formation of the camp as well as its re-locations in Öndör gegeen's lifetime. Apart from these chronicles, unpublished sources are available in Ulaanbaatar and also in foreign libraries, for example Tibetan documents about consecrations, and Mongolian inventories of ritual objects.

Approximately ten paintings or "maps" of the city are known. They were painted after the 1850s. Jügder's painting from 1913 shows the arrangement of the city in details,⁶ while previous paintings show temples, districts, institutions, and residences of nobles.⁷ Contemporary paintings also show certain parts or events of the old city.

When listing the city's temples Rinčen's list⁸ is the primary source which marks 31 sites (they are referred here and on Jügder's painting as (R-)910–941) including palaces, temples and religious assemblies in the first decades of the

2 The research about the heritage of the old Mongolian capital city is supported by the OTKA PD 83465 Hungarian research grant.

3 BIRA, 1977; HUTH, 1892; LOKESH CHANDRA, 1964; BÜRNEE-ENXTÖR, 2004.

4 BAWDEN, 1961; SZILÁGYI, 2004.

5 POZDNEEV, 1882.

6 Jügder's painting is preserved in the Bogd xaan Palace Museum in Ulaanbaatar.

7 Ulaanbaatar City Museum, National Library of Mongolia (341/96, 19742), Janabajar Museum of Fine Arts.

8 RINČEN, 1979: Map No. 31. (*Xüree, xiid Ulaanbaatar xot*, 'Monasteries and Temples of Ulaanbaatar').

20th century. Maidar's list is also available.⁹ Together with my co-researcher, Zsuzsa Majer, we added 19 new sites to Rinčen's list (they are referred here and on Jügder's painting as (NR-)942–960).¹⁰

The most significant description about the city life was written in the end of the 19th century by Pozdneev.¹¹ Meanwhile, other foreign travellers (e.g. Kozlov, Ramstedt) crossing the city also gave short accounts. Photos taken by them are valuable sources. Though some photos have been already published by Šepetilnikov, Maidar, and Cültem or are available in travellers' books¹², still a lot are hidden in local and foreign collections. The collection of the Film Archives in Ulaanbaatar houses more than 300 pictures of the city.¹³

The Mongolian archives contain thousands of written Mongolian documents. In the National Archives of Mongolia the documents are arranged into approximately 230 catalogues. They include relevant information about the financial affairs of the Bogd, his city, and his subordinated areas such as the treasuries' properties, livestock, agricultural fields, incomes and expenses, and other administratively important questions. These materials, covering more than two centuries, are classified into three basic collections according to their dates of origin, namely the period of the Manchu administration (before 1911), the Bogd xaan's reign (1911–1921), and the so called Modern Period (after 1921). As for the Socialist period (from 1921) further decisions, commands and other sources are kept in the Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party as well as in the State Intelligence Agency's archives.

The first newspapers are available from 1911 (*Mongoliin sonin bičig*). From the 1920s several new newspapers appeared serving information about everyday life and political affairs. In 1936–37 the *Journal of the Lamas* was published, which was a propaganda journal dedicated to monks. It was written in Mongolian language, and Tibetan and Mongolian scripts. Books published later during the Socialist period also contain relevant information: Pürewjaw's book¹⁴ describes the life of the city before the revolution.

9 MAIDAR, 1970.

10 A description of all monastic sites is available at <www.mongoliantemples.net/en> (last visited 2011.10.11) as well as in my dissertation (TELEKI, 2008). My research was supported by the Eötvös Fellowship of the Hungarian Scholarship Board.

11 POZDNEEV, 1986, 1988; POZDNEYEV, 1971.

12 ŠEPETILNIKOV, 1960; MAIDAR, 1972; CÜLTEM, 1988; HALÉN, 1982; FORBÁTH, 1934.

13 Boxes 92, 93, 95, 96, 21, 163. Some of them are available in CEDENDAMBA, 2009.

14 PÜREWJAW, 1961.

Apart from the work of Russian experts, books in English describe the political events of the 20th century.¹⁵ Though in the recent years several Mongolian albums and handbooks have been published about Ulaanbaatar only a few of them contain authentic data about the history of the city: only Sereeter's¹⁶ and Pürew's valuable books¹⁷ describe temples and districts based on their archival research.

Reminiscences of old people who were monks before the purges have great significance, but only few publications contain their memories.¹⁸ Though it is obvious that the purges decimated the population considerably, and numerous monks disrobed and joined the army, the number of still living old monks of the city is extraordinarily low. They are all over 85 year of age.¹⁹

We can conclude that among the several types of sources Mongolian and Tibetan religious chronicles end in 1931. Paintings of the city are dated from the middle of the 19th century onwards, while photographs were first taken in the second half of the 19th century. The National Archives of Mongolia contains numerous written Mongolian documents about administrative issues. As for oral history only a couple of old monks can still give an account about the vivid life of the city. The study of surviving artefacts, contemporary newspapers, novels, poems and songs can result in a more complex picture about the city.

II. Various names of the city

The capital was known under different names in different periods of Mongolian history, such as Örgöö ('residence', 'dwelling palace'), Xüree ('monastic city'; *xüree* means circle, ring, or a monastic city with its buildings situated in a circle

15 BAWDEN, 1968; RUPEN, 1978; MOSES, 1977.

16 SEREETER, 1999.

17 PÜREW, 1994, 2004.

18 BAWDEN, 1997; NAWAAN, 1961.

19 With Zsuzsa Majer we recorded interviews with Dašceren monk (*Jüün xüree Daščoilin xiid*, Ulaanbaatar, 1921–), Gončig monk (*Daščoimbel dacan*, Ulaanbaatar, 1917–), C. Dorj monk (*Daščoinxorlin xiid*, Juunmod, 1901–2007), C. Cerenpuncog monk (*Daščoinxorlin xiid*, Juunmod, 1914–), Čoisüren monk (*Daščoinxorlin xiid*, Juunmod, 1916–2009?), S. Dagwa monk (*Manba dacan*, Ulaanbaatar, 1910–), P. Luwsandanjan monk (*Jüün xüree Daščoilin xiid*, Ulaanbaatar, 1921–2009), Lxamsüren monk (*Jüün xüree Daščoilin xiid*, 1914–), Š. Bagaajaw (Ulaanbaatar, 1917–).

See <www.mongoliantemples.net/en> (last visited 2011.10.11).

opening to the south), Ix Xüree ('great monastic city', Tib. *khu-re chen-mo*, *hu-re chen-mo*, sometimes *khu-ral chen-mo* 'great assembly'), Nomiin Ix Xüree ('great monastic city of the Teaching'), Daa Xüree ('great monastic city'), Bogdiin Xüree ('monastic city of the Bogd'), Xutagtiin Xüree ('monastic city of the *khutagt*'), Riwogetai Gandanšaddüwlin (Tib. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling*, 'The virtuos and joyous mountain, the monastery for instruction and practice'), Ariin Xüree ('monastic city in the north'). It was called Niislel Xüree ('monastic capital') from 1911, then Ulaanbaatar, *niislel xot* ('Red Hero capital city') from 1924.²⁰ Local written sources mention it as Ix Xüree, and Daa Xüree while western sources refer to it as Urga (i.e. Örgöö). Old monks talking about their old city say Bogdiin Xüree.

III. Short history

Buddhism spread to the Mongol lands in different waves. Due to the activity of Öndör gegegen Janabajar and other eminent monks the Tibetan Yellow Teaching (Tib. *dge-lugs-pa*, literally "the virtuous ones") became widespread in the steppe in the 17th century. Several temples (*süm*, *dugan*, Tib. *'du-khang*), monasteries (*xiid*) and monastic cities (*xüree*) were founded and became centres of Buddhist religion, as well as literacy and the secular arts.

Mongols consider the residence camp (*örgöö*) founded for Öndör gegegen Janabajar in 1639 as the base of the capital city. Following the nomadic lifestyle the camp moved several times,²¹ and in 1778, at its 26th moving, it arrived at the valley of the Selbe River and Tuul River. In 1839 it had moved again to the nearby Tolgoit, but in 1855 it moved back and settled down in its present-day place, i.e. the Selbe and Tuul Rivers' valley surrounded by the four sacred mountains (Bogd xan uul, Songino uul, Čingeltei uul, Bayanjürx uul). During the next centuries, due to the presence of the Bogd, the city became a destination of pilgrimage, and a centre of Manchu administration, Chinese and Russian commerce: the original small camp developed into a centre of religion and commerce, and turned into a monastic capital.

20 According to Dendew (NAWAAN, 1961: 10), the city of the Bogd was called Xaanii örgöö ('palace of the *xaan*') from 1639–1706, Bogdiin Xüree or Ix Xüree from 1706–1911 and Niislel Xüree from 1911–24.

21 See the map of PÜREW, 1999: 12.



Figure 1a: Jügder's painting (left side), 1913 (Bogd xaan Palace Museum in Ulaanbaatar)



Figure 1b: Jügger's painting (right side), 1913 (Bogd xaan Palace Museum in Ulaanbaatar)

Nr	Name	Nr	Name
910	Rebogeŋai Gandanšaddublin	936	Daščoinxorlin xiid
911	Bogd xaanii nogoos süm (Bogd xaanii öwliin ord, Šarawpeljeelin süm, Deed süm)	937	Šaddublin xiid (Šaddüwlin)
912	Gandantegčenlin xiid	938	Bogdiin xiid / dugan (Cecee gүнii xural)
913	Migjid Janraisegiin süm (Janraiseg dacan)	939	Dambadarjaagiin xiid (Dambadarjalain)
914	Baruun Geser süm	940	Jüün salaanii xural
915	Čoiŋin lamiin süm (Janxan, Jepellin süm)	941	Bayanjürxiin dugan
916	Nartad Daginiin xural (Damdin lamiin xural, Nartad dagnangiin xural)	942	Jüün xüree
917	Dar' exiin xural	943	Norowlin (Norowlinxai)
918	Töwdiin xural (Unjai lamiin xural)	944	Rašaanii xural (Lusiin jalwaa, Lümbümgaraw, Lusiin süm)
919	Tantonjalbiin xural (jodiin xural)	945	Odon süm
920	Oidowiin xural (Yutawiin xural)	946	Baruun salaanii xural
921	Erdmiin dalai buyan čuulgan süm (Bogd xaanii serüün ord)	947	Yonjon xambiin süm
922	Cagaan süm (Güngaadejidlin, Dood süm)	948	Erlig nomun xaanii süm 2
923	Naroxafidiin süm (Pandelin, Baldanxaŋidlin)	949	Manŋ ambanii xurliin dugan
924	Dünŋingarwiin süm (Dünjongarwiin süm)	950	Ĵagarmolomiin xural (Dečinčoilin tawši sünbrellin, jodiin xural)
925	Dečingalawiin xural (Düinxor dacan)	951	Dagwa jodčiin xural/süm
926	Ex daginiin aimgiin xural	952	Dorŋjodwiin xural
927	Ix šawiin xarčuudiin xural (Saixan Gombiin süm)	953	Agwa dacan (Axu dacan, Awag dacan)
928	Xutagt Troiciin süm	954	Sanjain uuliin xiid (Sanjaidorŋiin xural)
929	Erleg nomun xaanii süm	955	Čoinxorlin süm/xural
930	Amgalangiin Geser süm (Guan-di šüteen)	956	Deŋidlin süm/xural
931	Dar' exiin süm	957	Puncoglin süm/xural
932	Určuudiin süm, Muŋaaniin süm	958	Dagdanlin süm/xural
933	Kunjiin süm (Kunj bogdiin süm)	959	Ulaanii šašnii jodoč nariin xural (Maimaačen)
934	Cagaan malgaitiin süm / Laliin süm	960	Cagaan suwragiin xural (Ĵaranxašariin suwraga)
935	Dašsamdanlin dacan		

IV. Foundation, moving and development

Öndör gegeen Janabajar or Luwsandambiiĵalecan (Tib. Blo-bsang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1635–1723) was born as a descendant of Činggis xan. In 1639 his residence (*örgöö*) was founded near Šireet cagaan nuur (today Öwörxangai aimag, Bürd sum), and it moved to Xöšöö caidam in 1640. According to the *Golden Annals*²² he studied in Tibetan monasteries, and received initiations from the 5th Dalai Lama and the 4th Panchen Lama. The 5th Dalai Lama recognised him as the reincarnation of the Tibetan scholar-monk Tāranātha (1575–1634), and acknowledged him with the title *jewcündamba xutagt* (Tib. *rje-btsun dam-pa*, 'venerable saint'). Returning home from Tibet in 1651 he revitalized his camp²³, and established seven districts (*aimag*) for his retinue. The *aimags* were named after their activities: *Sangiin aimag* ('district of the treasury'), *Joogiin aimag* ('district of food'), *Ĵasiin aimag* ('district of administration', Tib. *spyi-gsog*), *Darxan emčiin aimag* ('district of the honoured doctor'), *Anduu nariin aimag* (Tib. *a-mdo*, 'district of people coming from Amdo', i.e. Tibetan monks settled there), *Örl(ög)üüdiin aimag*²⁴, and *Xüüxen noyonii aimag* ('district of the noble lady', Öndör gegeen's muse). Öndör gegeen moved to Xentii Mountain in 1654 (*Sardagiin xiid* or *Jüün xüree*), where he established the first assembly hall (*cogčün dugan*, Tib. *tshogs-chen 'du-khang*). His residence or yurt palace was called Yellow Palace (*šar ordon* or *šar büs*). According to Pürew²⁵ the camp moved to Ögöömör (1688), Inner-Mongolia (1690), Cecerlegiin Erdene Tolgoi (1700), Daagandel (1719), Usan Seer (1720), Tamir (1722), and Ĵargalant (1723). During Öndör gegeen's old age four *aimags* were added to the original seven, namely *Šüteenii aimag*, *Secen toinii aimag*, *Bargiin aimag*, and *Bandidiin aimag* (Skr. *paṇḍita*). Pozdneev details the development of the camp (1971: 45–46), and claims that in the time of Öndör gegeen's passing away Urga was one of the most significant Mongolian monasteries.

In 1724, the camp moved to Ughtaal Ĵargalant near the Iween River. Pozdneev claims (1971, 45–46) that the 2nd Bogd, Luwsandambiidonme (Tib. Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i sgron-me, 1724–1758) was enthroned in 1729, and Urga became his residence. The camp moved to Xuĵirtbulan (1729), Burgaltai (1730), Sögnögör (1732), Terelĵ (1733), Uliastai (1734), and Xüi Mandal (1736).

22 LOKESH CHANDRA, 1964: 79r–93r.

23 POZDNEEV, 1971: 44.

24 A term with controversial meaning: district of the nanny (*örlög ex*) or the generals (*örlög*).

25 PÜREW, 1999: 12.

According to the *Golden Annals*²⁶ the 2nd Bogd founded a tantric (*ḡūd*, Tib. *rgyud*) congregation in 1739 bearing the name *Dečín sanaglin* (Tib. *bde-chen gsang-sngags gling*). The camp moved further to Xuncal (1740), Üdleg (1742), Ögöömör (1743), Selbe (1747), and Uliastai (1756). The first philosophical congregation (*canid*, Tib. *mtshan-nyid*) was founded in 1756. It followed the views of Drepung monastery's Gomang (*Goman*, Tib. *sgo-mang*) philosophical school. During the time of the 2nd Bogd the number of the *aimags* increased from 11 to 22 with *Erxem toinii aimag*, *Mergen nomon xanii aimag*, *Wangiin aimag*, *Nomčiin aimag*, *Mergen xambiin aimag*, *Erdene xuwilgaanii aimag*, *Ĵadariin aimag* (Tib. *kye rdor*), *Lam nariin aimag*, *Bij'yaagiin aimag* (Skr. *Uṣṇīśavijayā*), *Dugariin aimag* (Tib. *gdugs dkar*), and *Düinxoriin aimag* (Tib. *dus-'khor*). Moreover, the Ministry of Administration of Ecclesiastical Estate (*Erdene šanjodwiin yaam*, Tib. *phyag-mdzod-pa*) was established to administer the Bogd's subordinated areas (*ix šaw'*). All the further reincarnations of the Bogd were born in Tibet, and arrived in Mongolia after their acknowledgement by the Manchu emperor.²⁷

According to the *Golden Annals*²⁸ the 3rd Bogd, Išdambiinyam (Tib. *Ye-shes bstan-pa'i nyi-ma*, 1758–1773) founded a medical monastic school in 1760 (*Erdene emč*, *manba dacan*, Tib. *sman-pa grwa-tshang*). The camp moved to Selbe (1762) and Xüi Mandal (1772). A Mongolian and a Manchu governor (*amban*) were appointed in the camp.

During the time of the 4th Bogd, Luwsantüwdenwančugḡigmedḡamec (Tib. *Blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug ḡjigs-med rgya-mtsho*, 1775–1813), in 1778 the camp moved from Xüi Mandal to its present site. According to the *Golden Annals*²⁹ after returning from Tibet he founded an astrological monastic school (Tib. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*) in 1789. He was an eminent, highly educated monk, having obtained the highest tantric degree (*agramba*, Tib. *sngags-rams-pa*). In 1806 he founded *Dečingalaw* temple (Tib. *bde-chen bskal-pa*), where the system of Kālacakra (*düinxor*, Tib. *dus-'khor*) was taught. He re-named the tantric school, which had been founded by the 2nd Bogd, into *Badma yogo* (Tib. *pad-ma yo-ga*). In 1807 he founded a meditation retreat called *Šaddüwlin* (Tib. *bshad-sgrub gling*) north of the city, and in 1809 he established the second philosophical monastic school of the city (*canid* or *čoir*, Tib. *chos-grwa*) on Gandan

26 LOKESH CHANDRA, 1964: 98r–99v.

27 For details of their lifestyles see BAWDEN, 1961 and SZILÁGYI, 2010.

28 LOKESH CHANDRA, 1964: 99r.

29 LOKESH CHANDRA, 1964: 101v–116v.

hill. Its philosophical view was based on Drepung monastery's Losalling (*Losalin*, Tib. *blo-gsal-gling*) monastic school. Pozdneev claims that the camp became an administrative and commercial centre at that time.³⁰

According to the *Golden Annals*³¹ the 5th Bogd, Luwsancülm̐jigmeddam-biiᠵalcan (Tib. Blo-bzang tshul-khrims 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1815–1841) renewed and gave the names *Daščoimbel* (Tib. *bkra-shis chos-'phel*) and *Güngaačoilin* (Tib. *kun-dga' chos-gling*) to the two monastic schools (*canid dacan*, Tib. *mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang*) in 1837. In 1839 he moved the city to Tolgoit and his residence to Gandan hill, where his palace and assembly hall were built (*Gandantegčēnlin*, Tib. *dga'-ldan theg-chen gling*). In 1840 he founded the White Palace (*Cagaan sūm* or *Güngaaadeᠵidlin*, Tib. *kun-dga' bde-skyid gling*, R-922) and *Pandellin* Palace (Tib. *phan-bde gling*, R-923) on the bank of the Tuul River.

The 6th Bogd, Luwsanbaldanᠵalcan or Luwsandambiiᠵalcan (Tib. Blo-bzang dpal-ldan rgyal-mtshan or Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1843–1848) passed away young.

During the time of the 7th Bogd, Agwaančoiᠵiwančugprinleᠵame (Tib. Ngag-dbang chos-kyi dbang-phyug 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho, 1849–1868 or 1850–1870), the camp moved back to the bank of the Selbe in 1855, and settled down. At the time of the 7th and 8th Bogds the number of the *aimags* reached 30. The 8 new *aimags* were: *Maxamayaagiin aimag* (Skr. Mahāmāyā), *Dondowlingiin aimag* (Tib. *don-grub gling*) *Toisomlingiin aimag* (Tib. *thos bsam gling*), *Namdollingiin aimag* (Tib. *rnam-grol gling*), *Süngiin aimag* (Tib. *'jam-dbyangs bsrung/gsung?*), *Čoinxorlingiin aimag* (Tib. *chos-'khor gling*), *Dašdandarlin aimag* (Tib. *bkra-shis bstan dar gling*), and *Ex daginiin aimag* (founded in 1903 as the last one).

V. The 8th Bogd's city

The 8th Bogd, Agwaanluwsančoiᠵinyimadanjanwančug (Tib. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma bstan-'dzin dbang-phyug, 1870–1924) built his new palaces on the bank of the Tuul River: the Green Palace together with the Winter Palace (*Bogd xaanii nogoon sūm* and *Bogd xaanii öwliin ordon*). In 1911, after the collapse of the Manchu empire, he became the theocratic leader of the

30 POZDNEEV, 1971: 45–46.

31 LOKESH CHANDRA, 1964: 117r–120r.

country, bearing the title *bogd xaan*. He assumed political power, declared independence and founded his government and ministries. The city's name became Niislel xüree.

During the *Bogd xaan*'s reign (1911–1921) the treasuries of the capital city's temples were extremely rich. He founded the third philosophical monastic school (*Idgaačoinjinlin*, Tib. *yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling*), and a temple housing the statue of Avalokiteśvara (*Migjid Janraisegiin dacan*, Tib. *mig 'byed spyan-ras-gzigs*). Moreover, the temple complex of his brother, the State Oracle, Čoiĵin Lama (Tib. *chos-skyong bla-ma*) was built (*Čoiĵin lamiin süm*). The Bogd supported the foundation and enlargement of rural monasteries, and made efforts to keep the monks' ethic and moral pure. His city was famous for the oath-taking period of ten thousand fully-ordained monks (*tümen gelengiin khailen*, Tib. *khas-len*), the 10 temples with privilege (*dacan*, Tib. *grwa-tshang*), three philosophical monastic schools with exams, the statues of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. The daily, monthly and annual ceremonies, and commercial possibilities attracted thousands of people to the city. Every year the *Cam* masked dance (Tib. *'chams*) was held in front of the Yellow Palace, and a ceremony for the Bogd's longevity (*bat oršil örgöx* or *danšig*, Tib. *brtan-bzhugs*) was performed together with a sports' festival (*naadam*). The Maitreya circumambulation (*Maidar ergex*) was held in spring: at that occasion the future Buddha's statue was carried around on a green horse-headed chart. Ceremonies of the Lunar New Year (*Cagaan sar*) were held in each temple. Monks strengthened their vows in summer during the 45-day oath-taking period (*xailen*, Tib. *khas-len*).

Devotees from the countryside visited their children and relatives and gave donations to the temples. The monasteries and temples had several financial units (*ĵas*, Tib. *spyi-gsog*). Their income covered the catering of monks, necessities of ceremonies, renovations of temples, and other expenses. Most of the temples had their own livestock increased by devotees, and tea property, which was used as means of payment. Several temples gave tea, and later on also money loans with interest.

VI. City districts and their temples

Ĵügder's painting, executed in 1913 at the request of the *Bogd xaan*, accurately presents the arrangement of the city. The city consisted of the following main parts: (1) the principal monastic districts of *Jüün Xüree* and (2) *Gandan* or

Baruun Xüree (Gandan and the area behind Gandan); (3) the quarters inhabited by lay people (*xarčuud*), that is *Ix šaw*, *Jüün xarčuud*, *Jüün ömnöd xoroo* and *Baruun ömnöd xoroo*; (4) the temple complex of Čoiĵin Lama; (5) the Bogd's palaces on the bank of the Tuul River; (6) the Russian quarter called *Konsuliin denĵ*; (7) the Chinese merchant town called *Maimaačen*; (8) the trade quarters *Jüün damnuurčin* and *Baruun damnuurčin*, and (9) the suburban areas.

1. *Jüün Xüree* (Eastern monastic district)³²

Jüün Khüree was the biggest district in the city. The Bogd's Yellow Palace (*Šar ordon*), and the main assembly hall (*Cogč'in dugan*, Tib. *tshogs-chen 'du-khang*) called *Rebogeĵai Gandanšaddublin*, or *Bat cagaan* ('massive white' designed by Öndör gegeen) stood in its centre. Old monks and novices chanted in the main assembly hall every day, while other monks spent their days in the monastic schools of Gandan. According to Dašceren monk permanent ceremonies were held on the 8th, 15th, and 30th days of the month. Other ceremonies were held on the request of donators (*ĵandag*, Tib. *sbyin-bdag*).³³

Pürew's book describes the other temples, which stood in the centre (2004: 9–10): Within the yellow fences of the Yellow Palace the three-storey, golden roofed *Dečingalaw* (Tib. *bde chen bskal-pa*) stood, with the Temple of the Three bodhisattvas (*Rigsümgombiin süm*, Tib. *rigs gsum mgon-po*) on its east side. East of that the octagonal Vajra Palace (*Dorĵ powran*, Tib. *rdo-rje pho-brang*) initiated by the 3rd Bogd, and the Vajradhara Temple (*Očirdariin süm*, Tib. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*) stood among yurt palaces (*ger tugdam*). The assembly of the Deity of Birth (*Tünlxagiin xural*, Tib. *'khrungs lha*) aimed at praying for the Bogd's long life, while the participants of the *Vaiśrava/Kuvera* assembly (*Namsrain xural*, Tib. *rnam-(thos)-sras*) recited texts for the increase of income and property of the monastic treasury.

32 This is the area of present-day *Süxbaatar düüreg*. Its centre was on the site of today's Mongolian Art Centre for Children's Creativity (*Xüüxediin urlan büteex töw*) and the area of the 4th building of the National University of Mongolia.

33 The *ĵandags* gave donations to temples. In almost all the families was a monk, thus visiting him in the monastery the rural relatives gave donations such as livestock, kumis and other dairy products, animal skin, felt. Due to their donations the ceremony of the given day was dedicated to the benefit of all sentient beings and the well-being of the supporting family.

Northeast of the main assembly hall was the Maitreya Temple (*Maidariin süm*)³⁴, housing the 16 meter high statue of the future Buddha. East of the main assembly hall the Medical monastic school (*manba/mamba dacan*, Tib. *smān-pa grwa-tshang*, founded in 1760) was situated, as well as *Noyon šüteenii süm* including the famous Medicine Buddha (*Manal*, Tib. *smān-bla*) sculpture built by Öndör Gegeen. Tārā Temple (*Dar' exiin süm*, Tib. *sgrol-ma*) was situated behind it.

Pürew claims³⁵ that directly behind the main assembly hall the Kanjur Temple was located (*Ganjuuriin dugan*, Tib. *bka'-'gyur-gyi 'du-khang*), together with the Temple of Protecting healing rituals (*Gürmiin dugan*, Tib. *sku-rim-gyi 'du-khang*), and the *Solgiin dugan* (Tib. *gsol-gyi (?) 'du-khang*). Moreover, the Rear Palace (*Xoid örgöö*) was there, where the the monastic committee made its decisions.³⁶

West of the Yellow Palace the Astrological monastic school (*jurxain dacan*, Tib. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*, founded in 1789) and the Tantric monastic school (*jüd dacan*, Tib. *rgyud-kyi grwa-tshang*, founded in 1759) were situated. In front of them, in the “non-stop assembly” (*duu tasraxgüi xural*) ceremonies were held day and night.

Among the yurt palaces the huge palace of *Awtai sain xan* (1534–1589), also called the Western Palace (*Baruun örgöö*), was located to the west of the Yellow Palace. The fireplace (*golomt*) of the Mongolian State was preserved there.³⁷

This central part of Jüün xüree was surrounded by 30 (*aimag*) in \square shape (*xüree deg*, Tib. *sgrig*). Monks coming from the same rural area lived in the

34 SEREETER, 1999: 69.

35 PÜREW, 2004: 19.

36 According to SEREETER, 1999: 55, and DARIIMAA, 2003: 18, seven monks decided all the religious questions of the city. The seven monks were appointed by the Bogd. Its head was the main abbot (*xamba nomon xan*) being the highest ranked monk in the city, his deputy (*ded xamba*) and the five *corj* (Tib. *chos-rje*, ‘lord of religion’). All of them were fully ordained monks (*gelen*, Tib. *dge-slong*) and had received the highest tantric degree (*agramba*, Tib. *sngags-rams-pa*). The committee was called “committee of the seven lords of religion of Ix xüree”. Its last members were executed in 1937. The four disciplinary masters (*gesgüi/gebküi*, Tib. *dge-bskos*) and the four chanting masters (*umjad/unjad*, Tib. *dbu-mdzad*) of the main assembly hall also participated in decision making.

37 The fireplace has manifold symbolic meanings in the Mongolian culture: it is the symbol of the family, the unit, the well-being and maintenance of the offspring. The preservation of the fireplace of the Mongolian State symbolizes the preservation of the Mongolian spirit, land, and descendants.

same *aimag*. The *aimags* were named after their function, objects of worship, or famous monks. Every *aimag* had some hundreds of residents (300–1000 monks). They gathered in ceremonies in their *aimag* temple, and also visited monastic schools, and the main assembly hall. Though the majority of the *aimag* temples were yurt-shaped wooden temples, there were quadrangular wooden temples, too. In the *aimags* several famous masters, astrologers, fully-ordained monks, famous painters and sculptors lived. The lay population did not live inside Jüün xüree at all.

Pozdneev claims³⁸ that within Jüün xüree the streets and lanes were narrow and twisting with only a few gardens and trees. Within the courtyard fences (*xašaa*) there were usually two Mongol yurts, one used as a (winter) residence of the monks and one as the kitchen. The better-off monks also built wooden houses where they spent the summer. The entrance of all the buildings and yurts faced to the south. Bricks were used only for temple construction. Pozdneev adds³⁹ that one saw hardly any signs of life in the streets of Jüün xüree. The Bogd gave blessings in the morning and pilgrims wandered from one temple to another until 11am, and afterwards they gathered in their monk friends' yurts or spent the whole day in the open-air market place.

Religious books were made by block prints in the printing house (*barxan*, Tib. *par-khang*). There were some stupas as well, and prayer wheels surrounded the monastic quarter on the peripheral road (*goroo*, Tib. *skor*, 'circumambulation, circumambulate'), where hundreds of pious pilgrims made their bowings.

During the reign of the *Bogd xaan* the city life livened up. According to Daščeren monk in daytime devotees were allowed to enter Jüün xüree, but only old ladies and children could stay for the night. In the 1930s small shops opened in spite of the previous strict disallowance of commerce.

2. Gandan

The Gandan hill (Tib. *dga'-ldan*)⁴⁰ was the place of monastic education. Philosophical education (*canid*, Tib. *mtshan-nyid*) was introduced in the city by the 2nd Bogd in 1756. The 4th Bogd founded another monastic school on Gandan hill in 1809. Since that time they stood next to each other. The 5th Bogd named

38 POZDNEEV, 1971: 64.

39 POZDNEEV, 1971: 64.

40 The area of the present Gandan hill.

them *Daščoimbel dacan* and *Güngaačoilin dacan*.⁴¹ East of *Daščoimbel Badma yogo dacan* (Tib. *pad-ma yo-ga*, founded in 1806) was located, where healing rituals (*gürem*, Tib. *sku-rim*) were performed. The 5th Bogd moved his center to Gandan hill, where his palace and the *Gandantegčenlin* main assembly hall were built in 1838. West of *Güngaačoilin* another temple, *Lamrim dacan* (Tib. *lam-rim grwa-tshang*) was built in 1844. The Palace of Blissful Emptiness (*Didinpowran* Palace, Tib. *bde-stong pho-brang*) was built in honour of the 13th Dalai Lama who lived there in 1904/1905. Behind the two philosophical monastic schools the third one, *Idgaačoinjinlin dacan* (Tib. *yid-dga' chos 'dzin gling*) was built in 1910, with the *Migjid Janraiseg* Temple on its west side in 1911, which housed the 26 meter high statue of Avalokitēśvara. Gandan also held the relics stupas of the 5th, 7th, and 8th Bogds. Daščeren monk claims that Gandan symbolized the high ethical standards of Buddhist monasticism: women were not allowed to enter Gandan at all. Four policemen kept an eye on the monks' morals. Though Pürew claims that 22 *aimags* existed around the temples of Gandan,⁴² old monks state that Gandan, like Jüün xüree, possessed 30 *aimags*. When the *aimags* of Jüün xüree were full, the newcomer monks moved to the *aimag* with the same name in Gandan. Several stupas stood behind Gandan, such as the huge white Bodhnāth or *Ĵaranxašar* stupa (Tib. *bya-rung kha-shor*), in which ceremonies were held from time to time.

3. The lay quarters

According to Dügersüren the Mongolian lay population (*xarčuud*) lived outside the monastic quarters.⁴³ Lay people living in the *xoroo* ('district', i.e. *xoroonii xarčuud*) stayed in the south-western district (*Baruun ömnöd xoroo*) and the south-eastern district (*Jüün ömnöd xoroo*), whilst the lay population belonging to the *xüree* (i.e. *xüreenii xarčuud*) lived east of Jüün xüree (*Jüün xarčuud*) and in the district called *Ix šaw* (as they were subordinated of the Bogd). Residences of nobles and princes were also located in the *xoroos*, but they usually were empty as their lords came to the city only occasionally.

41 Gandan monastery is in operation today. Until the 1930es there were three monastic schools there training 3–5–7000 monks. They were rebuilt from 1994–2004 and today are still in their original places.

42 PÜREW, 2004: 18.

43 DÜGERSÜREN, 1999: 52.

The south-west quarter (*Baruun ömnöd xoroo*)⁴⁴ had smaller sub-districts such as the Tibetan quarter, the Buryad quarter (with Buryad-Mongols from the northern border), the Dariganga quarter (with Dariganga-Mongols from the south-eastern border) or the quarters of the three of the four major administrative divisions (*aimag*) of Mongolia (Tüšeet xan aimag, Sain noyon xan aimag and Jasagt xan aimag). Dašceren monk states that during the reign of the Bogd xaan the monks of Gandan were prohibited to visit the *xoroo*, where they could have met merchants and women. The temples and assemblies of this district were not acknowledged by the city's religious committee. Here, the assemblies of the Red Teaching (mainly Nyingmapa) were located. Their monks were allowed to marry, thus they could not live in the two monastic quarters. Those Yellow Teaching monks who were interested in women were chased out of the monastic districts as they acted against the rules of the Vinaya. Therefore, they also settled down in the *xoroo*. However, pure Yellow Teaching assemblies also existed here, such as the Tārā assembly (*Dar' exiin xural*), the Vajracchedikā assembly (*Dorjzodwiin xural*), and the Tibetan assembly (*Töwdiin xural*). The last mentioned consisted of the temple of Tibetan monks who had come to the city in the entourage of the 13th Dalai Lama in 1905. Meanwhile, as Dariimaa claims shamans, sorcerers, fortune-tellers, oracles, yogis and yoginis also lived in this district.⁴⁵ The *Nartad Daginiin xural* (or *Damdin lamiin xural*) was also situated here. In this quarter commerce flourished. At the southwest edge of the quarter the Badarčnii dow ('hill of itinerant monks') was located, where the poorest and homeless people lived. They were frequently prone to various illnesses.⁴⁶ Nyingmapa assemblies were located in this area such as *Tantonjalbiin dugan* (*jodiin xural*) and *Ĵagarmolomiin xural* (*Dečinčoilin tawši sünbrellin, jodiin xural*) situated within the same courtyard. Their monks practiced *jod* (Tib. *gcod*) and *lüijin* (Tib. *lus-sbyin*) tantric practices. According to Pürew a stupa stood here where the monks going to pilgrimage used to pass by.⁴⁷

In the southeast quarter⁴⁸ (*Jüiin ömnöd xoroo*) the former quarters of the Manchu and Mongolian governors were located (*Amban xanii xoroo*). Pürew claims (2004: 37) that San-duo (the last Manchu amban, living in the city until 1911) moved his house to the left bank of the Eastern Selbe River, and also founded a temple called *Manĵ ambanii xurliin dugan*. In this quarter other

44 Today this is the area between *Töw šuudan* and *Baruun dörwön jam*.

45 DARIIMAA, 2003: 41.

46 POZDNEEV, 1971: 73.

47 PÜREW, 1994: 45.

48 Today this is the area west and southeast of *Arslantai güür*.

districts such as *Ce wangiin xoroo* and Secen xan's district were also located as well as the archives and a prison. Between the southwest and southeast quarters the residences of politicians and nobles stood, such as the palace of Čin wan Xanddorġ, minister of Foreign Affairs in the *bogd xaan*'s government.

A quarter for the lay population⁴⁹ (*Jüün xarčuud*) was situated in the northeast of Jüün xüree. It was founded in 1883,⁵⁰ and monks and lay people of Jüün xüree, and the two suburban monasteries (namely *Daščoinxorlin* and *Dambadarġaa*), and the tailors and bonnet-makers of the Bogd and other high-ranking monks lived there.

Southeast of this quarter the bounded-labour people (*ix šaw*)⁵¹ of the Bogd lived coming from the countryside. Their assembly was called *Ix šawiin xarčuudiin xural* or *Saixan Gombiin xural*. South of the *Ix šaw*' area American shops were set up from the beginning of the 20th century. Thus this area became known as American's hill (*Amerikan denġ*).

4. Čoiġin Lama's Temple Complex and its surroundings

*Čoiġin lamiin süm*⁵² was built from 1904–1908 south of Jüün xüree for Luwsanxaidaw (Tib. Blo-bzang mkhas-grub), the state oracle. The *Cam* dance was performed here three times. A tantric assembly, *Agwa dacan* (Tib. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang*) belonged to it. East of the temple complex *Yonjon xambiin süm* (Tib. *yongs-'dzin mkhan-po*) was situated, which was built for the Tibetan tutor of the 8th Bogd and Luwsanxaidaw. Two small assemblies, *Oidowiin xural* and *Dagwa jodčiin xural*, might have been situated north of *Čoiġin lamiin süm*.

5. Palaces on the bank of the Tuul River

The Bogd's palaces were located on the right bank of the Tuul River, in the area called *Öndgiin sürgiin nutag*,⁵³ where the herds and flocks of the Bogd and his relatives were herded. The Green Palace and the Winter Palace (*Bogd xaanii ногоон süm*, *Bogd xaanii öwliin ord*),⁵⁴ and a zoo (*Norowlin/Norowlinxai*) stood

49 Today this is the north part of *Sansar* district on the left bank of the Selbe River.

50 PÜREW, 2004: 90.

51 Today this is the south part of *Sansar* district on the left bank of the Selbe River.

52 Today it is a museum.

53 PÜREW, 2004: 24.

54 Today it is a museum.

there. Furthermore, there were two summer palaces: the *Erdmiin dalai buyan čuulgan süm* or *Bogd xaanii serüün ord*, which was located east of the Green Palace, and the White Palace (*Cagaan süm* or *Güngadejidlin*), which was located west of the Green Palace. Ceremonies were held there occasionally. The *Pandellin* Palace, founded by the 5th Bogd, moved to the left bank of the river during the reign of the 8th Bogd, and became known as *Naroxajidiin süm* or *Baldanxajidlin*.

6. *The Hill of the Russian Consulate*⁵⁵

Due to the increase of Russian commerce a Russian consulate opened in 1861. It was surrounded by the Russian colony. They ran the operation of the post in 1873. A cemetery and military barracks stood there. On the right side of the Consulate an Orthodox Church, *Xutagt Troiciin süm* was built in 1869–1870.

7. *Maimaačen, the Chinese merchant town*⁵⁶

From the turn of the 17–18th century, more and more Chinese arrived in the city.⁵⁷ In 1778 the 4th Bogd forced them to move out of the city. Thus, they settled down seven kilometres away, in present Amgalan where they built their walled-off city, Maimaačen (*Maimaa xot*, *Naimaa xot*, Chinese: *maimaicheng*). Inside its walls only Chinese lived, while outside Mongols also settled. Temples of the Chinese town ran their operations until the 1920s.

According to Pozdneev (1971: 77–89) the Chinese town totally differed from the Mongolian districts. Chinese lived in one or two-storey wooden or stone houses. There were flowers in their courtyards. In their huge, beautifully decorated stores (*püüis*, Chinese: *pu zi/ pu li*) silk, brocade, and other materials, tea, tobacco, cookies, grains, and religious articles were sold. Chinese restau-

55 Today this is the area of *Kino üildwer*.

56 Today's *Amgalan*.

57 RUPEN, 1957: 162–164. Rupen claims that despite the Manchu emperor's dictate that forbade Chinese trading and acting as money-lenders in Mongolia more and more Chinese came to the city (162). However, BAWDEN, 1968: 96 claims that the Colonial Ministry in Beijing (Li Fan Yüan) gave to Chinese traders licences that determined the duration of their stay (usually one year), the number of their employees, and the measure and kinds of products they were allowed to trade. Thus, trade was not forbidden, but its conditions and terms were strictly controlled.

rants, taverns, a theatre, and a school were there, too. However, the narrow streets, the wastewater, dirt and smell caused unpleasant feelings.

There were 14 temples: 8 Chinese and 6 Mongolian ones. 7 Chinese temples stood inside the walls. Chinese blue hat monks (*xöx malgaitan* or *xuušaan*, Chinese: *he shang*) belonged to them. Entering the main gate of the city to the south, the main street led to the temple of Guan-di, also called *Amgalangiin Geser süm*. Three streets crossed the main street, thus the city had a total of seven districts. West of *Geser süm* the Manchu administrative office was housed as well as a huge store, *Nomtiin püüis*, the ruins of which are still visible. Pürew claims that the other Chinese temples were located in the southeast district (*xoroolol*).⁵⁸ In the southeast corner of the city an Astrological temple stood (*Odon süm*), with *Kunjiin süm* or *Künj bogdiin süm* dedicated to Confucius. On its left a Chinese Muslim Mosque (*Laliin süm*) was situated, called the Temple of White Hat monks (*Cagaan malgaitiin süm*). North of the Astrological Temple the Tārā Temple (*Dar' Exiin süm*) was located, which has survived the purges. To the west the Temple of the Lord of Death (*Erleg xaanii süm*) was located as well as the Temple of Craftsmen (*Mužaanii* or *Určuudiin süm*). Pozdneev adds⁵⁹ that the Chamber of Solicitors (*Jargačnii yaam*), which was founded in 1742 in order to handle the affairs of the Chinese, was situated east of the mosque, and west of the other temples⁶⁰. There was a prison on the southwest.

Outside of the town wall Mongolians and half-casts⁶¹ lived. According to the oral communication of O. Pürew its only Chinese temple was located next to the cemetery, to the north. This was another temple of the Lord of Death (*Erleg nomun xaanii süm*). Besides, all of the Mongolian temples were situated outside the wall. The area was separated into a Western (*Baruun xoroo*) and an Eastern district (*Jüün xoroo*). Both had agricultural fields and artificial lakes. Sereeter claims (1999: 82) that during Manchu overlordship and the Bogd xaan's reign several temples were founded here. Pürew says that *Čoinxorlin* Temple (Tib. *chos- 'khor gling*), and the *jod* (Tib. *gcod*) tantric assembly (*Ulaanii šašnii jodoč nariin xural*) existed here.⁶² East of them the Mongolian-Chinese style *Dašsamdanlin dacan* (Tib. *bkra-shis bsam gtan gling*), or *Erlijiin süm* (Temple

58 PÜREW, 2004: 102.

59 POZDNEEV, 1971: 89–90.

60 PÜREW, 2004: 102.

61 Chinese were not allowed to bring their wives to Mongolia, neither to marry Mongolians. Many, however, took temporary local wives.

62 PÜREW, 2004: 104–105.

of the half-casts) was located. To its east *Dejidlin xural* (Tib. *bde-skyid gling*) operated in a yurt shaped temple. Southeast of the Chinese protection wall (*yampai*, Chinese: *yang pai*) the big *Dagdanlin xural* (Tib. *rtag brtan gling*) temple stood. Sereeter adds that *Puncoglin süm* (Tib. *phun-tshogs gling*) was also located outside the wall.⁶³ Around these temples *aimags* were formed (*Čoinxorlin*, *Dejidlin*, *Dagdanlin*, *Puncoglin*), and the monks from the respective *aimag* gathered here for ceremonies (40–90 monks per *aimag*). *Dašsamdanlin dacan* was subordinated to the Bogd, while the other temples had their own financial units.

Baron Ungern, and later the Mongolian government chased out the Chinese in the 1920s. From that time, Maimaačēn was not a Chinese administrative and commercial centre anymore, but inhabited by Mongols.⁶⁴ Later, the area was used as Russian military barrack. *Dašsamdanlin dacan* operated until 1937, but the closing date of the other Mongolian temples is unclear. They were demolished or used for other purposes.

8. The merchant districts (*Damnuurčin/Damnuurgačin*)

In 1877 new Chinese stores (*püüs*) opened between the Chinese town and Jüün xüree, and in the beginning of the 20th century between Jüün xüree and Gandan. Later, they were called Eastern porters (*Jüün damnuurčin*) and Western porters (*Baruun damnuurčin*), because initially Chinese merchants delivered their articles from Maimaačēn, but soon local stores opened here.

The Eastern merchant district⁶⁵ was built in the beginning of the 20th century east of Jüün xüree.⁶⁶ Mongolians grew vegetables and sold food, but Chinese shops were located here, too. The district had one long road with 27 stores.⁶⁷ The Manchu military barrack (*šinxua*, Chinese: *sien khua*) was to the south of it.

The Western merchant district⁶⁸ was a typical Chinese merchant district, situated west of Jüün xüree. Nine streets crossed the long main road. In the

63 SEREETER, 1999: 82.

64 FORBÁTH, 1934: 224.

65 Today this is the central part of *Sansar* district on the left bank of the Selbe River.

66 PÜREW, 2004: 91.

67 PÜREW, 2004: 66.

68 This area was situated north of Tenggis Cinema.

1920s the majority of the Chinese stores moved here from Maimaačēn.⁶⁹ Moreover, in 1927 *Geser süm* was also moved here, and renamed as Western *Geser süm* (*Baruun Geser süm*). In the beginning of the 1900s 217 stores operated here with about 495 attendants, as well as a Chinese theatre.⁷⁰

The market where the inhabitants and the visitors spent their leisure time was situated between Gandan and Jüün xüree, in the southern part of the Western merchant district (*Baruun damnuurčin*). Pozdneev gives an account of its vivid life, where about 25 stores from Beijing and other Chinese cities sold their articles, and carpenters, smiths, boot-makers, butchers and other craftsmen worked.⁷¹ Apart from Chinese and Russian merchants Mongolian retailers also sold products. Several people came from the countryside: women sold milk, kumis, and other dairy products, while men sold livestock, firewood and hay. Pozdneev tells us that brothels operated here, too.⁷²

9. Monasteries and chapels at the outskirts

In the area of Čingeltei Mountain, north of the city, there were two big monasteries: *Dambadarjaa(giin xiid)* with 12 *aimags*, 4 monastic schools, several temples, philosophical exams and Maitreya-circumambulation; and *Daščoin-xorlin xiid*, where the *Cam* dance was performed annually. Moreover, *Šaddiüwlin xiid* meditation retreat was situated nearby, where 16 fully-ordained monks and 4 novices lived. These three monastic sites belonged to the *Ix šaw'* area.

On the top of Bogd xan Mountain *Bogdiin xiid (dugan)* or *Cecee gүнii xural* was situated. Rituals were held there annually to worship the local spirit of the mountain and to pray for the spiritual strength of the Mongolian state. Monks delivered the necessary staff there from *Dünjingarwiin süm*, which stood southeast of *Čoijin lamiin süm*.

In the outskirts small temples were scattered, where nomads worshipped the spirits (*lus sawdag*, Tib. *klu sa-bdag*) of springs, sources, hills, and mountains. These small temples were *Bayanjürxiin dugan*, *Jüün salaanii xural*, *Baruun salaanii xural*, *Lowon Jalbiin süm*. In *Sanjain uuliin xiid* or *San-jaidorjin xural*, there lived a doctor monk.

69 PÜREW, 2004: 82.

70 PÜREW, 2004: 83–84; 1994: 51.

71 POZDNEEV, 1971: 64–73.

72 POZDNEEV, 1970: 75.

VII. Monastery demolition and destruction

Although the Bogd and his city survived the cruelty of Baron Ungern von Sternberg, and the declaration of independence in 1921, the gradual oppression of religion started from 1921.⁷³ In 1924 the city's name was changed to Ulaanbaatar. Tax was levied on monks, and the property of monasteries and treasuries was confiscated, collectivized, and secularization started. After 1935 the era of persecution (*xelmegdüüleltiin üye*) started, which had its heyday in 1937. In 1937–38 about 17000 monks were executed, and all the monastic sites (about 1100 monastic sites) were destroyed, sacred books were burnt, and artefacts were confiscated or destroyed. From 1924–1938 many monks turned their backs to monastic life to avoid taxation and persecution. Most of them married and lived as laymen. Simultaneously, the economy was formed according to Soviet model: cooperatives, state schools and hospitals opened, and religious representatives were nominated.

After a decision made by the Revolutionary Party's Central Commission at the Party's 7th congress and issued on December, 27th, 1937, almost all the temples of the monastic city were demolished. The remaining buildings were used as prison, hospital, pharmacy, storage, factory, circus or museum. Temples in the city's outskirts were abandoned and neglected. Since the 1920s, modern building started to be built, and the new Ulaanbaatar came to exist.

VIII. Remnants

Of the 51 monastic sites described in this paper none has remained completely intact. Eleven sites survived partially, but on forty locations there are no ruins at all, and the exact site of about twenty sites cannot be determined in the present-day city (mainly the temples of Maimaačen). In the following, the 51 monastic sites and their present conditions are summarized (R denotes the numbers used by Rinčen, whilst the added sites are marked with NR):

73 Several books discuss this era, see RUPEN, 1964, 1976, 1978, 1997; BAWDEN, 1968, 1989; MOSES, 1977; ÖLJIIBAATAR, 2004; RINČIN, 2000.

1. *Jüün xüree*

- *Nomiin ix xüree, Rebogējai Gandanšaddublin* (Tib. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling*, R-910): the main assembly hall and another 15 temples of the centre of the Eastern monastic district have not remained.
- *Dečingalawiin xural* (*Düinxor dacan*, Tib. *bde chen bskal-pa, dus-'khor grwa-tshang*, R-925) has not remained, neither other parts of the Yellow Palace.
- Three of Jüün xüree's 30 *aimag* temples (NR-942) have remained. Two of them had survived in 1990 (*Wangain aimag, Erxem toinii aimag*) as *Jüün xüree Daščoilin xiid*. Until that time the building housed the animals and belongings of the nearby circus. The third remaining temple (*Ex daginiin aimgiin xural*, R-926) was the circus itself, and is now the training school of the circus. The other 27 *aimag* temples and the *aimags* themselves today are no longer extant.

2. *Gandan*

- *Gandantegčēnlin xiid* (Tib. *dga'-ldan theg chen gling*, R-912): its main assembly hall was a stable from 1938, but now it functions again as the main assembly hall of Gandan. The relics temples of the 5th and 7th Bogds have survived the purges, and in 1944, when Gandan was partly reopened, seven monks started to hold rituals in these temples. The relics temple of the 8th Bogd is a library now, while in *Didinpowran* high-ranking monks hold ceremonies, and monks read texts at the request of lay people. The monastery contains numerous old artefacts brought here by old monks from all parts of the country. Gandan's monastic schools (*dacan*) were demolished or burnt in 1938, but several of them were rebuilt after the democratic changes.
- *Migjid Janraisēgiig süm* (*Janraisēg dacan*, Tib. *mig-'byed spyān-ras gzigs-kyi grwa-tshang*, R-913): it was used as a military barrack from 1938. A huge amount was offered to pull down the temple in the 1950s, but nobody applied. From the 1950s it functioned as the State Archives. Today, it houses Avalokiteśvara's new statue, which was consecrated in 1996.
- *Cagaan suwragiin xural* (*Janxašariin suwraga*, Tib. *bya-rung kha-shor*, NR-960) has not remained. The Television tower stands on its site today.

3. *The lay quarters*

Nothing has been left from the lay quarters.

Southwest quarter (*Baruun ömnöd xoroo*):

- *Nartad Daginiin xural* (*Damdin lamiin xural, Nartad dagnangiin xural*, R-916)
- *Töwdiin xural* (*Unjai lamiin xural*, R-918)
- *Tantonjalbiin xural* (*jodiin xural*, Tib. *thang-stong rgyal-po, gcod*, R-919)

- *Dar' exiin xural* (Tib. *sgrol-ma*, R-917)
- *Ĵagarmolomiin xural* (*Dečinčoilin tawši sünbrellin, jodiin xural*, Tib. *bde-chen chos-dbyings thabs-shes zung-'brel gling*, NR-950)
- *DorĴjodwiin xural* (Tib. *rdo-rje gcod-pa*, NR-952)

Southeast quarter (*Jüüin ömnöd xoroo*):

- *ManĴ ambanii xurliin dugan* (NR-949)

Ix šaw':

- *Ix šawiin xarčuudiin xural* (*Saixan Gombiin süm*, Tib. *mgon-po*, R-927)

4. ČoiĴin Lama's temple complex and its surroundings

- *ČoiĴin lamiin süm* (*Öršööliig xöĴjüülegč süm, Janxan, Jepellin süm, Nomiig tetgeĴč, Šašin saxigčiin ordon*, Tib. *chos-skyong bla-ma, brtse-'phel gling, gtsang-khang*, R-915), the temple complex of the State Oracle has remained. During the monastery destruction several sculptures and other artefacts were stored here. In 1942 it was turned into a museum. Although in 1990 devotees wanted to revive its monastic tradition, it is still a museum exhibiting *Cam* masks, and objects of worship presenting the art and crafts of the old capital city.

The buildings surrounding it have not remained:

- *Yonjon xambiin süm* (Tib. *yongs-'dzin mkhan-po*, NR-947)
- *Oidowiin xural* or *Yutawiin xural* (R-920)
- *Dagwa jodčiin xural/süm* (Tib. *gcod*, NR-951)
- *Agwa dacan* (*Axu dacan, Awag dacan*, Tib. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang*, NR-953)

5. Palaces on the Banks of the Tuul River

- *Bogd xaanii ногоon süm* (*Bogd xaanii öwliin ord, ŠarawpelĴeelin süm, Erdem itgemĴit bilgiig xöĴjüülen badruulagč süm, Deed süm, Bogd xaanii ordonii müĴei*, Tib. *shes-rab dpal rgyas gling*, R-911), the Green Palace together with the Winter Palace is a museum now. After the passing away of the Bogd xaan in 1924 all his belongings were stored here. Later, it became a museum, where the remaining artefacts of the city are also exhibited.

- *Erdmiin dalai buyan čuulgan süm* (*Bogd xaanii serüün ord*) (R-921): five buildings of the *bogd xaan*'s and his wife's summer residence have survived.⁷⁴ Today they are abandoned or poor families live inside. A two-storey building is completely renovated with an added part and has been used as the Child welfare centre of the Metropolitan Police Department since 1996.⁷⁵

Nothing has been left from other palaces:

- *Cagaan süm* (*Güngaadejidlin*) (*Dood süm*, *Tuuliin cagaan süm*, *Xotol bayasgalant amgalan jargalangiin süm*, Tib. *kun-dga' bde-skyid gling*, R-922)
- *Naroxafidiin süm* (*Narxafidiin süm*, *Pandelin*, *Baldanxafidlin*, Tib. *na-ro mkha'-spyod, phan-bde gling*, *dpal-ldan mkha'-spyod gling*, R-923)
- *Norowlin* (*Norowlinxai*, *Erdnii süm*, Tib. *nor-bu gling-ka*, NR-943)

6. The hill of the Russian Consulate

- *Xutagt Troitciin süm* (*Sbyato-Troiciin süm*, *Gegeen Gurwaliin süm*, *Ünen aldart süm*, R-928), the small Orthodox church's building remained without tower. Today it is a storage and an internet cafe. Opposite to it new Orthodox temples have been built.

7. Maimaačēn (*Maimaicheng*, *Maimaa xot*, *Naimaa xot*)

- *Dar' Exiin süm* (R-931) has remained. It functions as a Buddhist nunnery today.

Nothing has been left from the other temples:

- *Erleg nomun xaanii süm* (R-929)
- *Amgalangiin Geser süm* (*Guan-di šüteen*, R-930)
- *Určuudiin süm* (*Mufaanii süm*, R-932)
- *Kunjiin süm* (*Kunj bogdiin süm*, R-933)
- *Cagaan malgaitiin süm* (*Laliin süm*, Tib. *kla-klo*, R-934)
- *Dašsandanlin xural/dacan* (*Erlüjiin süm*, Tib. *bkra-shis bsam gtan gling grwa-tshang*, R-935)
- *Odon süm* (NR-945)
- *Erleg nomun xaanii süm 2* (*Erleg xaanii xoid süm*, NR-948)
- *Čoinxorlin* (Tib. *chos-'khor gling*, NR-955)
- *Dejidlin* (Tib. *bde-skyid gling*, NR-956)
- *Dagdanlin* (Tib. *rtag-brtan gling*, NR-958)

74 The buildings are situated south of the Manager Academy (*Udirdlagiin Akademi*).

75 *Niisleliin Cagdaagiin Gajriin xüüxdiiin xalamf, üilčilgeenii töw.*

- *Puncoglin* (Tib. *phun-tshogs gling*, NR-957)
- *Ulaanii šašnii jodoč nariin xural* (*Maimaačen*) (Tib. *gcod*, NR-959)

8. Merchant Districts (*Damnuurčin/Damnuurgačin*)

- *Baruun Geser süm* (*Guan-di šüteen*, R-914): this temple complex survived the destruction and served as a dormitory for state actors for a while. Later, it became an archive, and after the democratic changes the medical school of Gandan monastery used its buildings. Today, Gandan's *Badma yogo dacan* and secondary school operate here as well as some traditional doctors.

9. Monasteries in the outskirts

- *Dambadarjaagiin xiid* (*Dambadarjaa*, *Danbadarfjalín*, *Šašniig badruulagč xiid*, Tib. *bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling*, R-939): several buildings survived the destruction. On the site a hospital for Japanese prisoners of war was built, which was later turned into a tuberculosis hospital, and an old people's care centre was built. In 1990 one of the old yurt-shaped *aimag* temples was rebuilt and the Buddhist tradition was revived. Renovation of the remaining temples has been started.

The other suburban monasteries and shrines have not remained:

- *Daščoinxorlin xiid* (R-936)
- *Šaddublin xiid* (*Šaddüwlin*, Tib. *bshad sgrub gling*, R-937)
- *Dünjingarwiin süm* (*Dünjongarwiin süm*, Tib. *dung-skyong dkar-po*, R-924)
- *Bogdiin xiid* (*dugan*), *Cecee güinii xural* (R-938)
- *Rašaanii xural* (*Lusiin jalwaa*, *Lümbümgaraw*, *Lusiin süm*, Tib. *klu-rgyal*, *klu'i rgyal-po*, *klu-'bum dkar-po*, NR-944)
- *Jüün salaanii xural* (R-940)
- *Bayanjürxiin dugan* (R-941)
- *Baruun salaanii xural* (NR-946)
- *Sanjain uuliin xiid* (*Sanjaidorjiin xural*) (NR-954)

Conclusion: Past and present

Although from the monastic city only a few impressive buildings are left, its heritage has been preserved in various ways. Old photos are kept in the Film Archives, and the Ulaanbaatar City Museum keeps maps, paintings, photos, and objects. The Mongolian National Museum preserves artifacts, photos and objects

for everyday use. The Victims of Political Persecution Memorial Museum also keeps some historically valuable material. Meanwhile, old documents are available in the National Archives of Mongolia, in the Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and in the Mongolian National Library. Artefacts are preserved in Gandan Monastery, in Janabajar Museum of Fine Arts, in the Čoiĵin Lama Temple Museum, and in the Bogd xaan Palace Museum. Tibetan books are available in the National Library of Mongolia, and in Gandan Monastery. Moreover, individuals own objects of worship and books inherited from their relatives. Some old lamas can still remember and tell of the busy religious life of the old city, and legends also abound. In 1944 Gandan monastery was partially reopened and from 1970 a Buddhist Religious School operated there to train monks. After 1990 several monasteries opened for the initiation of old monks and individuals, and religious services became free again. Now more than 40 monasteries operate in Ulaanbaatar, and the great reputation of monks seems to be coming back.⁷⁶

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⁷⁶ <www.mongoliantemples.net/en> (last visited 2011.10.11).

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