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Introduction

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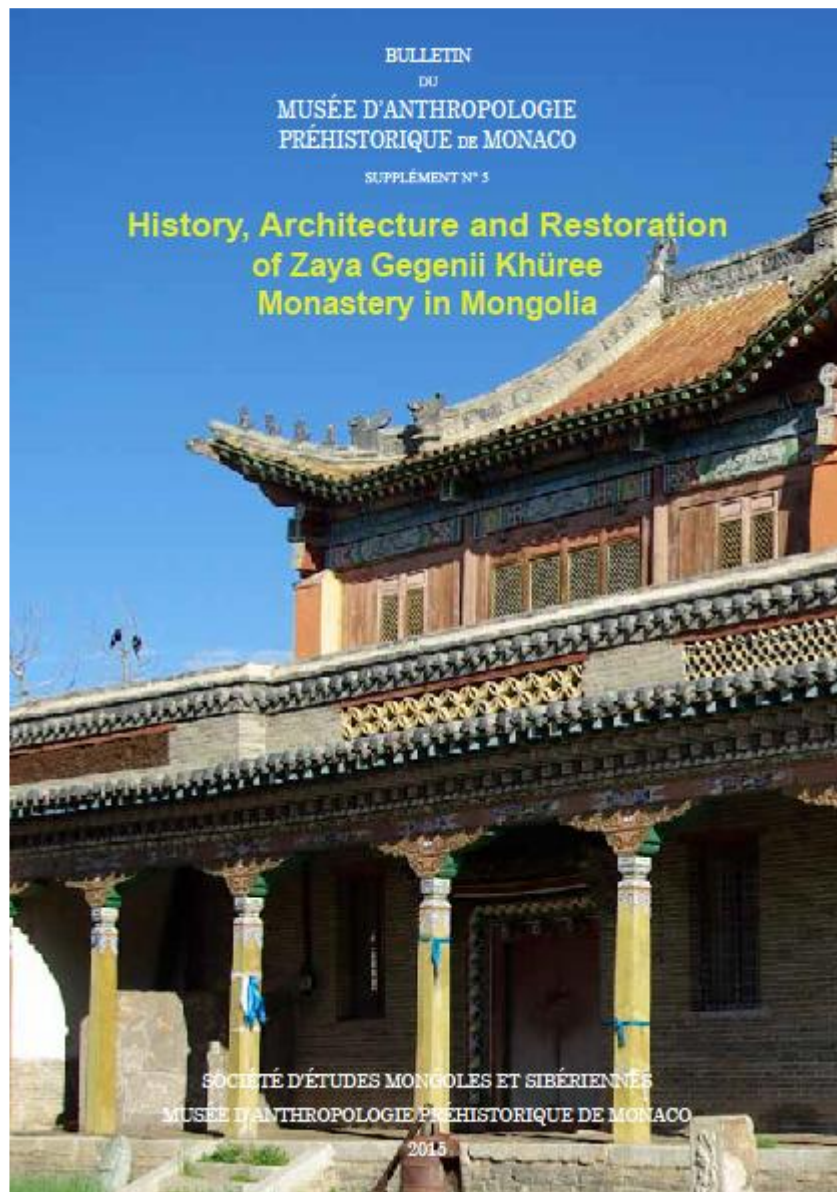
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The foundation of Zaya Gegeenii Khüree or Zayayn Khüree, “Monastery of the Zaya [Gegeen/Gegen],”¹ is contemporary to the spread of Buddhism in Khalkha Mongolia in the early 17th century, when Tibetan and Mongol missionaries preached the Dharma in the steppes, persecuted shamans and banned shamanic practices, collected donations, and obtained from princes the authorization to build monasteries on their pastures. After their death, their reincarnation was often discovered in the surroundings of the monastery they founded, among noble families of the Chinggisid lineage. These reincarnated lamas (*khuvilgaan*) were main actors of the Mongol religious landscape. According to their personality and talent, they could make their monastery’s fortune. Before long, the Buddhist “Church” became a pillar of this society which some scholars qualified as “feudal” or “semi-feudal,” and “semi-theocratic.”² The links between lay nobles and high clerics were strong;³ both generally belonged to the extended Chinggisid family and mutually legitimated their authority by conferring *upon* each other titles that were later acknowledged by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. Aristocrats received Buddhist initiations and materially supported the clergy—a relation known in Tibetan as *mchod-yon*, “priest-patron” (lit. “Offering-Site and Alms-Master”) relationship.

Buddhism penetrated all levels of Mongol society, and as early as the 1640s, the Buddhist institution developed as a state within the state, possessing large herds, sometimes land, forests, mines, and had jurisdiction on herding families (*shav’nar*). It enjoyed such prestige and political and economic power that the spiritual leader of the Khalkha (Northern) Mongols, the Jebtsündamba Khutugtu, was acknowledged by the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1911) as the pontiff of the Khalkhas after their submission to the Qing in 1691. Initially, the Buddhist institutions were diverse, since the “Red” schools resisted against the supremacy of the Gelukpas (Tib. Dge-lugs-pa), the influential and proselytising “Yellow” school.⁴

The first monastery of the Buddhist renaissance in Khalkha Mongolia, Erdene Zuu, was erected by Avtai Khan (1554-1588) in 1585-1586 on top of the ruins of the old imperial capital Kharakhorum. But most of the monasteries, including the largest one, Ikh Khüree (“the Great Monastery,” palace-monastery of the Jebtsündamba Khutugtu, which eventually settled on the site of Ulaanbaatar), were originally itinerant. In the 18th century, when they became financially independent from their princely patrons, most of them settled permanently. In spite of the Qing administration of the Buddhist institution—the Qing imposed quotas of resident monks, granted corresponding subsidies and a title to the largest monasteries, and controlled the selection of their reincarnations—, in practice the monasteries enjoyed great autonomy. Large monasteries became the pivot of local life: they were religious, political, economic, and cultural centres, and served at the same time as places of retreat, schools, art and craft workshops, trade and transportation companies, and banks. Their great festivals brought together the whole

¹Also known as Khalkhyn Zaya Bandidyn Khüree, Gandangejeelin, and Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid. For definitions of Mongolian terms such as *gegeen*, *khutugtu*, *khüree* and others, see the Glossary at the end of the volume.

² Bawden 1989 [1968]: 37; Vladimirtsov 1948 [1934].

³ See Humphrey and Ujeed 2013.

⁴ Mongols commonly call the Gelukpa monks “yellow(-hat)s,” as opposed to the “red(-hat)s,” clerics belonging to the other schools of Tibetan Buddhism, i.e. the Nyingmapas (Tib. Rnying-ma-pa), Sakyapas (Sa-skyapa) and Karma-Kagyüpas (Karma Bka’-brgyud-pa).

population of a banner.⁵ In the 19th century, Zayayn Khüree was one of these large Khalkha monasteries, headed by a prestigious lineage of reincarnated lamas. It owed its prosperity to the fame of the First Zaya Gegeen, and the dynamism of the Second. In the 1920s, it was the largest of sixty big monasteries of Sain Noyon Khan Aimag,⁶ with more than a thousand monks⁷ and branch monasteries in the countryside.



Fig. 1. General view of modern Zayayn Khüree. (Ph. J. Magail).

Zaya Pandita's lineage was viewed as the third most important lineage of the Khalkhas after the Jebtsündamba Khutugtu and the Lamyn Gegeen (see the first article of this volume, by Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Chapter 1). The First Zaya Pandita, Luvsanprinlei (1642-1715),⁸ was a religious polymath who had much in common with the First Jebtsündamba, Zanabazar (also known as Öndör Gegeen, 1635-1723), of whom he was a personal disciple. In addition to being a great Buddhist scholar and man of letters who composed and translated many treatises, Luvsanprinlei also painted icons, practiced medicine and astrology, and had a good knowledge of the *tsam* (Tib. *'cham*) ritual dance.⁹ He played a political role in the relations between the Qing, the Khalkhas and the Zunghars, and in the Qing period, his reincarnations belonged to the great "*khutugtus* with a seal," whose status and power were acknowledged by both Tibetan and Qing authorities. In 1758, in order to break the ties between the Buddhist institution and the Mongol aristocracy, the Manchu Emperor Qianlong (r. 1736-1795) decreed that the great Mongol reincarnations were henceforth to be searched for in Tibet; however, although the Zaya Gegeen was one of the main lineages of Khalkha Mongolia, all his reincarnations were born in Mongolia. Another reincarnation lineage, that of the Sandui Khuvilgaan, also resided at Zayayn Khüree.

The Destruction

In the late 1930s the young Mongolian People's Republic undertook the destruction of the Buddhist institutions and purges of their clergy. The Buddhist heritage of Khalkha Mongolia

⁵ The banner is a basic territorial and administrative unit in Mongolia under the Qing dynasty, administrated through the local ruling princes called *zasag*.

⁶ The *aimag* was the largest administrative unit of Khalkha Mongolia in the Qing period.

⁷ Ölziibuyan and Chuluun 2002: 31. Here the term "monk" (Mongolian *lam*, lama) is not restricted to the few monks who take full ordination but designates everyone who wears monk's robes.

⁸ He must not be mistaken (as did Pozdneev 1971 [1896]: 271-272) with the Zaya Pandita of the Oirats.

⁹ Ölziibuyan and Chuluun 2002: 8.

suffered great damage; only five out of about a thousand monasteries were officially preserved, and their tangible heritage (architecture, texts, statuary, paintings, musical instruments, etc.) was massively destroyed. The monks of Arkhangai Province put up strong anti-revolutionary resistance, and Zayayn Khüree was the object of extensive destruction in 1937-1938 (fig. 2).¹⁰ But while most of the Khalkha monasteries were razed to the ground, without a single building left standing, five buildings were preserved at Zayayn Khüree: the old palace (Lavran) of the reincarnations of the Zaya Gegeen, composed of three buildings—the Güden Süm¹¹ and the Eastern and Western Semchins—, the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan, and the Tsogchin (Assembly Hall) (fig. 1, fig. 5). A monk interviewed by members of the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition explained that the Lavran was preserved because the Sixth Zaya Gegeen Luvsantuvdenchoijinyam (or Jambatseren, 1904/5-1930) magically protected the monastery, and that his spirit is still present in the buildings.



Fig. 2. Detail of a painting by Jünsh, 1996, showing the monks' resistance, the destruction of Zayayn Khüree and the arrest of its monks. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. I. Charleux).

The surviving temples represent only about a sixth of the religious buildings of the original monastery, and the size and grandeur of old Zayayn Khüree is now difficult to imagine based on the preserved buildings.

¹⁰ On the destruction of the monastery by the army, confiscations, and persecution of monks: Majer and Teleki 2013: 88-89.

¹¹ Güden Süm designates both the whole complex (called Lavran in this volume) and the three-roofed main building (Güden Süm in this volume).



Fig. 3. General view of Zayayn Khüree and Tsetserleg, showing the characteristic shape of Mount Bulgan. (Ph. I. Charleux).



Fig. 4. View of the Tsogchin and the two stūpas in front of it. On the right side, the wall of the Lavran. (Ph. I. Charleux).

Occupation of the Buildings and Restorations, 1938-1990

After the destruction, the remaining buildings were converted for secular purposes. The Tsogchin was used as the central club of the province (after 1934), a granary, and a marketplace (1960-1970). The Güden Süm was used as a fire station, and the Semchins served as a garage and office (late 1930s-1941); the Lavran later housed a factory (with shops, offices, storage) of dairy products (1941-1950s). The modern town of Tsetserleg (“Flower Garden”) City, the administrative centre of Arkhangai Province, grew from the monastery, its outlying buildings and the nearby Chinese settlement, as did many other Mongolian cities.¹²

Dood Khüree, the second part of the monastery, served as a shooting range for the army, as military barracks (1930s), then housed a biocombinat (1940s), an agricultural training school (1950s), and finally a technical school (1970s up to present-day).¹³ Nothing is left of the temples of Dood Khüree.

The state of the monastery and the museum in 1957 is documented here by the diaries and photographs taken by the Czech orientalist Lumír Jisl (1921-1969) (Luboš Bělka’s article, Chapter 6). Jisl describes the monastery as dilapidated but mentions visible remains and attempts of restoration.

In 1971, the three buildings of the Lavran were placed under the protection of Arkhangai Province, and in 1994, under state protection.¹⁴ Several restoration campaigns were undertaken in the 20th century. After the earthquake of 1968,¹⁵ a Mongolian-Vietnamese team restored the monastery, starting in 1971, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Mongolian revolution (Vietnamese carpenters were familiar with Chinese-style frameworks; they also restored the great monastery of Amarbayasgalant in 1977). The restoration team built a new Entrance Hall for the Lavran in 1982, restored the Eastern Semchin from 1977 to 1980 and the Western Semchin from 1981 to 1983 (the main problem was setting the columns of the Semchins upright), and completely rebuilt the three roofs of the Güden Süm in 1981. New exterior paintings were carried out in 1988.¹⁶

In 1990, the project of restoring the ruined Tsogchin, abandoned since 1970, eventually fell through, and the building was progressively dismantled by the local population to reuse its construction materials (fig. 4). Further up the hill, the Galdan Zuu was rebuilt in 1992-1993 thanks to donations from the Kharkhorin (i.e. Kharakhorum) area¹⁷ (fig. 90). It was restored in 1997 but has been damaged since then. In the 2000s, several restorations of the Lavran were carried out by Monegasque, German, and Mongolian expeditions. The cooperation between the Mongolian and Monegasque governments (Mongolian National Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Mongolia, and the Museum of Prehistoric Anthropology, Monaco) supported the renovation of the Eastern Semchin from 2010 to 2012 and of the Entrance Hall of the Lavran in 2012 (see Yeruul-Erdene Chimiddorj, Jérôme Magail and Natalia Markova’s article, Chapter 8).

¹² The name of Tsetserleg was given to the small town in 1961.

¹³ Interviews with the museum’s chief curator in 2008 (Fabrice Kaplan-Laudrin) and 2009 (Isabelle Charleux); Majer and Teleki 2013: 47, 78; Jünsh 2013: 147, 154.

¹⁴ Dashnyam (ed.) 1999: 258.

¹⁵ The monastery had been previously damaged by an earthquake in 1905. Now the monks of the revived monastery keep a basin full of water in order to observe water shaking.

¹⁶ Interviews conducted by the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition, 2008 and 2009.

¹⁷ Croner 2006: 41. It was destroyed in 1932 (Croner 2006: 35) or 1946 (Majer and Teleki 2013: 60). It is now a branch temple of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgertülekh Khiid.

Present-day layout of Zayayn Khüree's site

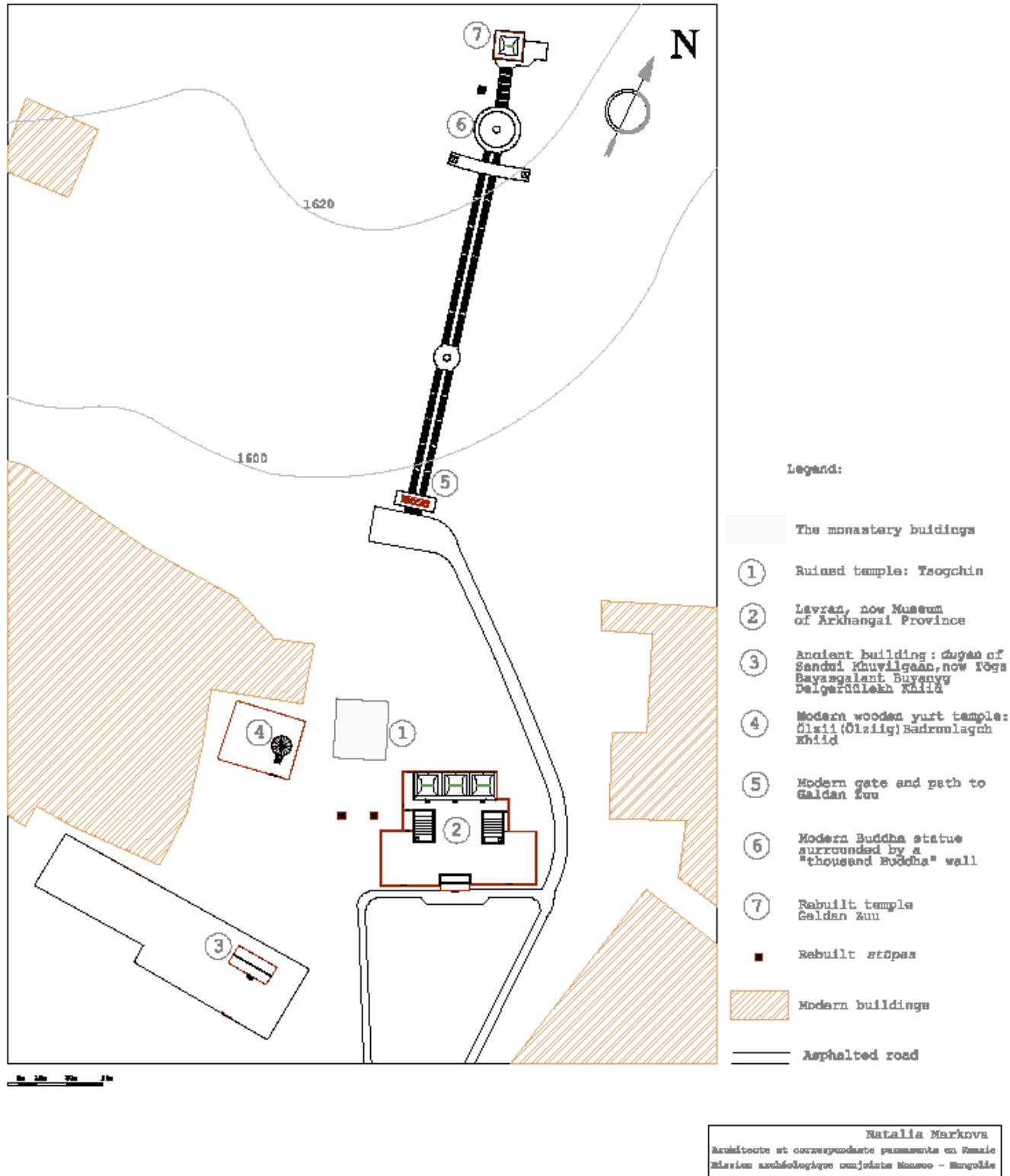


Fig. 5. Plan of Zayayn Khüree, 2012. (Ph. N. Markova).

The Creation of the Museum

The furniture, statuary, paintings, and liturgical objects of Zayayn Khüree’s temples were confiscated in the 1930s, and part of the immense library of the Zaya Gegeens was sent to Ulaanbaatar together with statues. After Buddhist activities were banned, religious artefacts from the whole province were amassed in Tsetserleg. In 1947 they were stored in the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan that was named “Local Study Office of the Province” (Aimgiin oron nutag sudlakh kabinet).¹⁸ Jisl gives a short description of the quantity of objects it housed (Bělka’s article, Chapter 6).

At the beginning of the 1960s, part of the collections was moved to the Eastern Semchin, and the Local Museum of Arkhangai Province (Aimgiin oron nutgiig sudlakh muzei) was officially founded in 1967 (fig. 6, fig. 7). In 1971, the Western Semchin and the Gūden Sūm were also used for museum purposes; the collections focused on non-religious artefacts related to ethnography and history (the revolution and foundation of the socialist nation). The Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan housed the religious collections until its transformation into a temple in 1990. Funerary relics of several Zaya Gegeens, which had been taken and buried in Tsogt Mountain in the late 1930s, were dug out in the 1960s, and two new *stūpas* were built to enshrine them. They are exhibited in the Museum of Arkhangai Province (fig. 8).¹⁹



Fig. 6. The Lavran, now housing the Museum of Arkhangai Province, with the Eastern and Western Semchins, and the Gūden Sūm. (Ph. J. Magail).

¹⁸ Website of the “Tourist Information Center”; Jünsh 2013: 147.

¹⁹ Majer and Teleki 2013: 44; Tüdev’s interview by Teleki and Majer in this volume, Chapter 3.



Fig. 7. The Güden Süm. (Ph. J. Magail, 2007). In the courtyard stands the Bugut inscription of the period of the first Türk empire (6th-8th century), depicting a baby sucking at a wolf; it was brought from the nearby Ikh Tamir District.

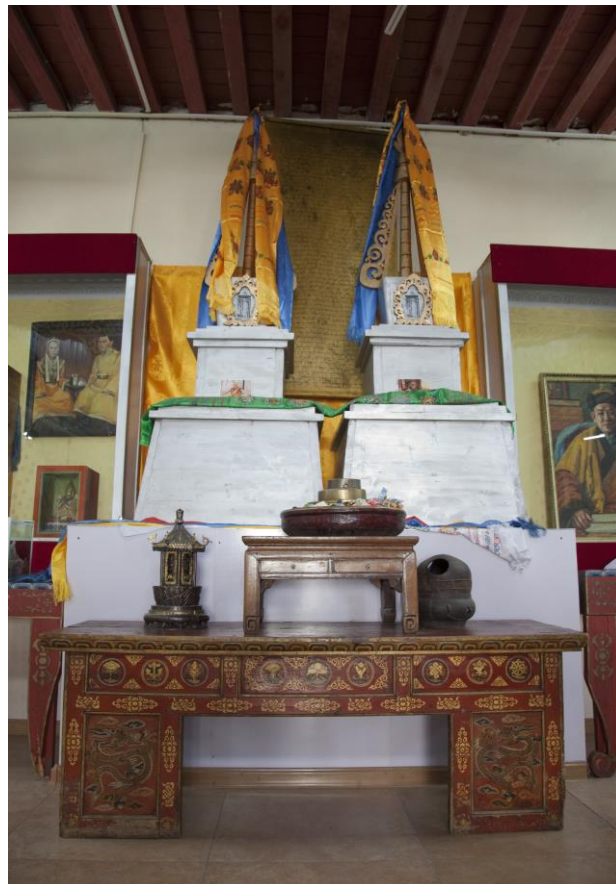


Fig. 8. Reconstructed funerary stūpas enshrining the relics of several Zaya Gegeens. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. J. Magail, 2014).

The museum officially opened to the public in the old Lavran in 1989, and in 1997 it centralized collections from all over Arkhangai Province and was renamed the Museum of Arkhangai Province (fig. 9, fig. 10).²⁰ Today only a few objects in the museum can be identified as originating from Zayayn Khüree. These include some furniture from the Western Semchin such as a sandalwood bed (fig. 11) and cupboards, and small personal objects (a fan, a slipper, a mirror, a bowl, a conch, a teapot, amulets, a rosary, seals, etc.) that belonged to the Zaya Gegeens.²¹ But for most of the museum's collection, it is not possible to ascertain whether the objects come from Zayayn Khüree or from other monasteries and individuals' houses and yurts of Arkhangai (fig. 12 to 17).²² Similarly, when other provincial museums were created, such as the Ethnography Museum in Öndörkhaan (Khentii Province), objects were gathered from different parts of the province, and their original location and history were forgotten.²³

Some liturgical objects and *sūtras* were donated to the revived Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid in the early 1990s.



Fig. 9. Interior of the Güden Süm, central room: modern period. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. I. Charleux).

²⁰ Interviews with the museum's chief curator, 2009.

²¹ Jünsh 2013: 120-121, 148-149. A list of about forty objects said to have belonged to the Zaya Gegeens and preserved in the museum is given in Majer and Teleki 2013: 137-139. Other liturgical objects, *sūtras*, and personal belongings of the Sixth Zaya Gegeen were preserved by old defrocked monks and their descendants (*ibid.*: 135-136).

²² See Majer and Teleki 2013: 135-140.

²³ The history and the transformation processes of the Museum of Arkhangai Province are part of research carried out within the project "Nomadic Artefacts" (WWTF 2013-2016) directed by Maria-Katharina Lang at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Lang, forthcoming; <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/sozant/>).



Fig. 10. Interior of the Güden Süm, western room: Buddhist artefacts. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. J. Magail, 2007).



Fig. 11. The bed of the Sixth Zaya Gegeen's mother. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. J. Magail, 2014).



Fig. 12. Buddhist triptych, Güden Süm, western room. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. J. Magail, 2014).



Fig. 13. Two Buddhist statues: Maitreya (in bronze), and Akṣobhya (in wood). Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. I. Charleux, 2009).



Fig. 14. Bodhisattvas and Buddhas in the collections of the Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. Matthias Simonet (top right) and Museum of Arkhangai Province).



Fig. 15. A skull-cup (kapāla), a stūpa (Ph. Museum of Arkhangai Province), and a phur-bu (Ph. Matthias Simonet) in the collections of the Museum of Arkhangai Province).



Fig. 16. An iron bell and a stone lion in front of the Güden Süm. (Ph. I. Charleux, 2009).



Fig. 17. Example of ethnographic collections exhibited in the Western Semchin: costume of a Khalkha noble woman. Museum of Arkhangai Province. (Ph. M. Simonet, 2012).



Fig. 18. Citipati (two skeletal deities). (Ph. M. Simonet, 2012).



Fig. 19. Bronze lion and elephant. (Ph. J. Magail)

The Revival of Religious Activities after 1990

In the early 1990s, when Buddhism was revived after the democratic revolution, old monks from Zayayn Khüree and other monasteries of the province revived religious activities in the Sandui Khuvilgaany Dugan, as studied by Krisztina Teleki in this volume (Chapter 7)²⁴: Zayayn

²⁴ On the revival, the monastic community, organisation, and rituals of the new monastery, see also Majer and Teleki 2013: 113-134. On the revival of Buddhism in general in Mongolia: Bareja-Starzyńska and Havnevik 2006.

Khüree was one of the first monasteries in Mongolia to be revived. The present-day community claims to be the true heir of the main part of Zayayn Khüree, known as Deed Khüree, and took the name of Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid (which had been the official name of the monastery since the 17th century). The monastic community (about thirty monks) is specialized in the *Londongsansudar*, a eulogy supposedly written by the First Zaya Pandita, reedited to include the names of his following incarnations and of the eight Bogd Gegeens (i.e. the Jebtsündamba Khutugtus).²⁵ In addition, a branch monastery, called Gūshig Datsan of the Khalkh Zaya Gegeen, was founded in Ulaanbaatar in 2004. Both are headed by the Seventh Zaya Gegeen Luvsandanzanpūljinjigmed (b. 1972, see Chapter 1). A few monks from these two monasteries have completed their religious training in the Zanabazar Buddhist University of Gandantegchenlin (Ulaanbaatar’s main monastery) and in Tibetan monasteries relocated in South India.



Fig. 20. A monk reading a text to laypeople in Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekhi Khiid. (Ph. I. Charleux, 2009).

²⁵ Croner 2006: 42; Majer and Teleki 2013: 122; “Tögs bayasgalant zuu burkhany süm” (b).



Fig. 21. Mongolian pilgrims in front of the Galdan Zuu. (Ph. I. Charleux, 2009).

In 1998, a second monastery named *Ölzii Badruulagch Khiid* (which was the official name of *Dood Khüree*—the second part of *Zayayn Khüree*) opened in a yurt temple, later built in concrete and wood west of the *Tsogchin* (it had thirty monks in 2012).

Some branch temples of old *Zayayn Khüree* in the countryside were also rebuilt in the 1990s, and local people have started to worship the sacred sites—*ovoos*, springs, rivers, rocks, rock paintings, stones with a *mantra* said to have appeared spontaneously—of the beautiful surroundings of *Zayayn Khüree* again. In her article of the present volume, Teleki describes the legends and religious practices at these sites (Chapter 7).²⁶

Recent construction at *Zayayn Khüree* includes two *stūpas* built in 1990 and 2001 in front of the ruined *Tsogchin* (the latter was erected to commemorate the monks who were killed during the Communist purges of the late 1930s), an outdoor Buddha statue surrounded by a “thousand Buddhas” wall on the way to the *Galdan Zuu* in 2007-2008, sponsored by Koreans, and a new *Zuu Śākyamuni*²⁷ statue for the *Galdan Zuu* by the famous monk-artist *Pürevbat*²⁸ in 2011. Popular devotion now focuses on the outdoor Buddha statue (fig. 19). While many countryside monasteries revived in Mongolia in the 1990s now face economic difficulties, *Tögs Bayasgalant Buyan Delgerüülekh Khiid* and *Ölzii Badruulagch Khiid* benefit by being located in a dynamic provincial centre.

²⁶ See also Majer and Teleki 2013: 77, 80, 90-99.

²⁷ The Mongols call *Zuu* (< Tib. *Jo-bo*, “Lord”) the *Jo-bo* (pr. *Jowo*) *Śākyamuni* (the main icon of Lhasa), the *Akṣobhya Vajra* of *Ramoche Temple* in Lhasa, the *Sandalwood Buddha*, and statues modelled on them.

²⁸ Director of the Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art of *Gandantegchenlin Monastery* (*Ulaanbaatar*), he is viewed as the “new *Zanabazar*.”

Sources for Studying the Monastery

This volume focuses on the history and architecture of Zayayn Khüree (Chapter 2), on sources documenting the monastery before its destruction (Chapters 3 to 5), and on the restoration work undertaken by the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition (Chapter 8). In spite of its remarkable size and importance, documentation on the foundation, history and layout of Zayayn Khüree is scarce, and most of it is based on imprecise and often contradictory oral accounts. The monastic archives have disappeared; they were probably burnt together with many *sūtras* and *thang-kas* during the purges. Local archives were sent to Ulaanbaatar, but only a few documents relating to Zayayn Khüree have been preserved in the National Archives of Mongolia and in the National Library of Mongolia, such as an inventory of the monastic properties before the religious persecution.²⁹ Walther Heissig mentions a description of Zayayn Khüree dated 1919 entitled *Sayin noyan ayimay Zaya bandida qutuγtu-yin sūme-yin qural-un uyeki*, which was not available to me.³⁰

About fifteen old monks who had survived the purges were still alive in the 1990s,³¹ but the researchers of the “Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries” project (Arts Council of Mongolia and Gandantegchenlin Monastery, 2007)³² were unable to track any of them down. Yet in 2009, Zsuzsa Majer and Krisztina Teleki eventually met Sengiin Tüdev (b. 1912), who had been a novice at Zayayn Khüree between the ages of eight and eighteen years old. In an article of the present volume, they summarize the interviews they conducted with Tüdev between 2009 and 2012 on the religious life of the old monastic town and its organisation and layout. This testimony is an invaluable source on Zayayn Khüree (Chapter 3). In 2009, Maria-Katharina Lang also interviewed Jünsh, a local artist (and author of a monograph on Arkhangai Province³³), and monks of the revived monasteries, and collected narratives about the confiscation, destruction, concealing and burying of Buddhist statues and texts (Chapter 5). From 2008 to 2012, members of the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition (Fabrice Kaplan-Laudrin, Isabelle Charleux, Krisztina Teleki and Zsuzsa Majer) conducted interviews with the curators of the museum (S. Davaadorj Davaaasüren, replaced by B. Tserennadmid in 2011), and with monks and laypeople of Tsetserleg.

Only a few lines about Zayayn Khüree are found in Mongol chronicles written in Mongolian and Tibetan, such as Isibaldan’s *Erdeni-yin erike* (“Rosary of Jewel,” 1835), Dharmatāla’s *Padma dkar po’i phreng ba* (“Rosary of White Lotuses,” 1889), and Zava Damdin’s *Gser-gyi deb-ther* (“Golden Annals,” 1919). They mention biographies and literary works of the Zayayn Gegeens, the foundation of the monastery, and the number of colleges (monastic schools) and monks. Tibetan biographies of the Zaya Gegeens studied by Agata Bareja-Starzyńska give additional information on the foundation of the different temples (Chapter 1). Mentions of and anecdotes about the Zaya Gegeens and Zayayn Khüree are also found in a few memoirs and autobiographies.³⁴

The most complete description of the monastery was written by Russian Mongolist and explorer Pozdneev (1851-1920), sponsored by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, who visited Tsetserleg in 1892.³⁵ Hans Leder (1843-1921) visited the monastery in the same year, but only mentions it in passing, and no photographs of his journey have been preserved—this

²⁹ List in Majer and Teleki 2013: 140-142.

³⁰ Heissig 1961: xx, n. 152.

³¹ Majer and Teleki 2013: 10.

³² Results of the survey were published in “Documentation on Mongolian Monasteries” website.

³³ Jünsh 2013. He had participated in the interviews Teleki and Majer conducted with Tüdev. Some of his paintings are exhibited in the Museum.

³⁴ For instance Diluv Khutagt 1982; Shirendev 1997.

³⁵ Pozdneev 1971 [1896], 1978 [1887].

trip was first motivated by entomology (Lang's article, Chapter 5).³⁶ Danish explorer Carl I. Krebs (1889-1971) visited the monastery during his stay in Mongolia between 1922 and 1936.³⁷ The Russian expert of Mongolian geography and pastoralism, Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov, who conducted extensive field research in Mongolia, visited the monastery in 1938. Chuluun's article shows that the accounts of other Russian travellers to Zaya Gegeenii Khüree give information on the population and the environment of the monastery and its *shav*' area, the last incarnations of Zaya Pandita, the life in the monastery, and the Russian traders (Chapter 4). Other travellers who journeyed from Ikh Khüree to Western Mongolia passed through Tsetserleg, such as the linguist G.J. Ramstedt in 1900 and 1909 (August 16-22),³⁸ M.I. Kondratiyeva between 1926 and 1928,³⁹ Sergei V. Kiselev's expedition (1948-1948), and Jisl Lumír in 1957 and 1958 (see Bělka's article, Chapter 6).

About thirty photographs taken between 1892 and the 1930s, before the destruction, are invaluable sources for documenting the visual appearance and layout of Zayayn Khüree. Those taken by Pozdneev in 1892,⁴⁰ by Finnish archaeologist-cum-photographer *Sakari Pälsi* (1882-1965) who accompanied Ramstedt in 1909,⁴¹ by Kondratiyeva between 1926 and 1928,⁴² and by Simukov were published. The photographs taken by Jisl Lumír in 1957, which are probably the first colour photographs of the monastery, are published for the first time in this volume (Bělka's article, Chapter 6). They help us understand the state of degradation of the religious buildings prior to the restorations of the third quarter of the 20th century. In addition, anonymous photographs are preserved in the State Film Archives and in the Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy of Ulaanbaatar; some of them have been published in Mongolian and Russian books on Mongolian architecture.⁴³ Some of the captions of the photographs are erroneous; some temples are identified under other names.⁴⁴

³⁶ Lang followed in Leder's steps and tried to find local documentation on the impressive collection of Buddhist artefacts (about 4,500) he brought back from Mongolia.

³⁷ Krebs had set up a farm in Bulgun Tal near the Egin Gol river. I thank Sue Byrne for sending me Krebs' photos. They seem to have been published in his book, which I have not been able to find (Krebs 1937).

³⁸ In 1900, Ramstedt was collecting tales and epics, and listened to an excellent epic singer at Zayayn Khüree. In 1909 he stayed in Zayayn Khüree again, for five days, and noticed the painted Buddhas on the rock (Halén 1998: 56). His travelogue only has a few lines on the monastery and its nearby Chinese shops (Ramstedt 1978 [1944, 1946]: 208-209).

³⁹ Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013. Then a librarian at the Institute of Scriptures and Manuscripts in Ulaanbaatar, she participated in three Russian expeditions organised by the Mongolian Institute of Texts and Manuscripts in the Khangai and Khentii Mountains in 1926, 1927, and 1928. Her photographs are preserved in Saint Petersburg, but reproductions are found in the State Film Archives and in the Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy in Ulaanbaatar (information given by K. Teleki) and in the Museum of Arkhangai Province at Zayayn Khüree.

⁴⁰ Pozdneev published two photographs in *Mongoliya i Mongoly* (1896), which were not reproduced in the English translation.

⁴¹ Pälsi, in Halén (ed.) 1982: 137, fig. 93. A monk interviewed by the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition in 2008 mentions photographs taken by a German visitor named Schultz (?) in 1909.

⁴² Klyagina-Kondratyeva 2013.

⁴³ Shchepetil'nikov 1960; Maidar 1972 [1970]; Tsultem 1988. Some of them were taken by Kondratiyeva.

⁴⁴ For instance a photograph of the two temples of Demchig Taij (fig. 52) was misidentified as the Tsogchin by Tsultem 1988: fig. 135, and as the Choir Datsan by Jünsh 2013: 142.



Fig. 22. Members of the Monaco-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Expedition in the storages of the Museum of Arkhangai Province, Eastern Semchin, where old photographs of the monastery are kept. (Ph. F. Laudrin, 2008).

Four paintings also give a general idea of the basic layout of the monastic city, though the painters often took liberties with their model, especially for minor temples. The late 19th-century horizontal painting of Zayayn Khüree attributed to Damba is the oldest known painting (fig. 29, fig. 37). The painting dated 1938—the year of the destruction—by the famous artist U. Yadamsüren (1905-1986),⁴⁵ uses Western perspective with several vanishing points (fig. 33, fig. 61). “Modchin” (Carpenters), painted by R. Renchen in 1957, shows some temples that had already been destroyed (fig. 21). Finally, an oil painting by Gündsambuu, dated 1968, is described in Bělka’s article (Chapter 6) (fig. 86). Consequently, we must rely primarily on photographs to reconstruct the general layout of the monastery (Isabelle Charleux’s article, Chapter 2).

⁴⁵ Trained in a monastery, this famous portraitist also painted several monasteries and palaces. He painted Amarbayasgalant Khiid based on the memories of an old monk, and may have done the same for Zayayn Khüree (Kim and Yadamsüren 2005: 13, 21-23).



Fig. 23. Modchin, painting by R. Renchen (40x58 centimetres), dated 1957. Mongolian National Modern Art Gallery, Ulaanbaatar. (Published in Dashdava and Tserenchimed 2009: 86).

From 1990 on, in conjunction with the Buddhist revival and the rising interest for local identity and culture, Mongolian scholars have been gathering and publishing local histories, legends, photograph books and archive materials; they have collected oral memories and texts, and carried out architectural surveys.⁴⁶ Secondary literature about Zayayn Khüree includes articles and books published by Mongolian and Western scholars in the 2000s, mostly based on oral sources.⁴⁷ They focus on Zaya Gegeen's lineage and on the writings of his first reincarnation,⁴⁸ on the organisation and architecture of the monastery, and on its importance in local history.⁴⁹ The recent increase of local studies⁵⁰ linked to the revival of locally based identity, peaked at the occasion of commemorations such as the anniversaries of Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei (2002, 2012) and of the 90th anniversary of the foundation of Arkhangai Province.⁵¹

⁴⁶ The "Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries" project carried out a census of past and revived monasteries of several provinces between 2006 and 2007 (<http://www.mongoliantemples.org/index.php/mn/>).

⁴⁷ For instance Daajav interviewed 79-year-old Dashiin Gantömör (Daajav 2006, vol. 2: 104).

⁴⁸ Two volumes of the Mongolian Cyrillic version of Zaya Pandita's "Clear Mirror" were published in 2012-2013: Zaya Pandita 2012-2013 [1702].

⁴⁹ Notably Ölzii 1992; Dashnyam (ed.) 1999; Ölziibuyan and Chuluun 2002; Croner 2006; Jünsh 2013; Majer and Teleki 2013. Architectural surveys of Zayayn Khüree include Shchepetil'nikov 1960; Maidar 1972 [1970]; Daajav 2006.

⁵⁰ Local history, often written by local intellectuals who emphasize that the real source of history is the oral tradition, tends to go with the expression of regionalist sentiments.

⁵¹ Jünsh 2013. In fact, in 1923, the province established on the foundation of the Sain Noyon Khan Aimag was called Tsetserleg Mandal Uul Aimag. It took the name of Arkhangai Aimag in 1931.