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THE THIRTEENTH
DALAI LAMA
ON THE RUN
(1904–1906)

Archival Documents from Mongolia

Edited by

Sampildondov Chuluun & Uradyn E. Bulag

THE THIRTEENTH DALAI LAMA ON THE RUN (1904–1906)
Sampildondov Chuluun & Uradyn E. Bulag (Eds.)

In 1904, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama fled from the British invasion of Tibet to Mongolia in search of support from Russia. Although the mission failed, his extended sojourn in Mongolia marked the beginning of political modernity in both Mongolia and Tibet. *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama on the Run (1904–1906)* is a facsimile collection comprising 150 hitherto unpublished archival documents from Mongolia about this historical episode. Written in Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese, the documents concern the operation of the Mongol princes in hosting the Dalai Lama in Mongolia and the attempts made by the Qing frontier officials to remove him from Mongolia back to Tibet. Details of his extensive travels within the country, the associated elaborate ritual activities and the great financial costs incurred which were borne by the Mongols, come to light for the first time in this publication. The documents which are supported by detailed captions are discussed in an in-depth introduction.

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(1904–1906)

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VOLUME 1

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama on the Run (1904–1906)

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Uradyn E. Bulag



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Cover illustration: Pencil portrait of the 13th Dalai Lama, by N. Y. Kozhevnikov, 1905.

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Dedicated
to
the Historical Friendship
between the Mongolian and Tibetan Peoples
on the occasion of
the 13th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies
21–27 July 2013, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume of Mongolian primary materials relating to the 13th Dalai Lama's exile in Khalkha Mongolia (present-day Mongolia) in 1904–1906 is the result of our longstanding shared interest in the study of the Mongolian–Tibetan interface. The relationship between the Mongols and the Tibetans went back to the time of the Mongol Empire when Drogön Chögyal Phagpa, leader of the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism, became the spiritual advisor of Khubilai Khan, which led to the fundamental transformation of the Mongolian world view, and more importantly a change in the course of world history. The Mongols' second, and this time thorough, conversion to Tibetan Buddhism in the 16th century started with a formal alliance between Mongol nobility and the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism resulting in the formal establishment of the Dalai Lama lineage and its institution, and subsequently those of the Panchen Lama and the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu (spelt as Javzandamba Khutagt in modern Mongolian), the three highest ecclesiastical leaderships of Tibet and Mongolia. Mediated by the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty, Mongolia and Tibet became deeply entangled religiously, and yet were maintained as separate dominions in the 18th and 19th centuries, as part of the Manchu Qing Inner Asian strategy *vis-à-vis* China.

In the 20th century, Mongolia and Tibet went in different directions as they were exposed to a new world order, involving not only new players, such as Britain, Japan, Russia as well as China, but also new ideologies such as nationalism and communism. In the event, the northern part of historical Mongolia, i.e. Outer Mongolia, became independent, whereas the southern part, i.e. Inner Mongolia, and Tibet as a whole came to be integrated into modern China. For much of the 20th century, Tibetan Buddhism in both Mongolia and Tibet underwent systematic destruction, both as an institution and as a world view, and in the case of Mongolia, Buddhism has been expunged as alien to Mongolian culture and spirit. As a result, in Mongolia, more than in Tibet, people have been alienated from what may be called their High Culture. It is our view that the study of the Mongolian–Tibetan interface is as much about critically studying a by-gone age of past glory as restoring and preserving of a vitally impor-

tant cultural heritage accumulated for almost half of Mongolia's eight hundred years of state history.

As a historian and a historical anthropologist, both of us have been acutely frustrated at the paucity of historical source materials for studying Mongolian culture and history. This paucity is particularly striking and disproportionate given the scale of Mongolian historical influence in the world. To be sure, foreign records of the Mongols are abundant, but until now, historians have devoted much of their energy to studying a few written histories, such as *The Secret History of the Mongols* and the Mongol chronicles of *Altan Tobchi* (Golden Summary), *Erdeni-yin Tobchi* (Summary of the Jewels) and a few others native sources, and anthropologists rely on fieldwork interviews and oral histories to get the Mongol “native point of view.”

The economic, political and social histories of the Mongols, especially over the *longue durée* of the Qing rule, have only begun to attract scholarly attention due to the new, though belated, discovery of rich archival materials in Mongolia (and in China and Russia). If the Mongol communists did one meritorious thing, it was that they did not destroy the Qing era Mongolian archives as they killed lamas and demolished almost all the monasteries and temples. These materials, collected and preserved in the National Archives of Mongolia, are now gradually coming to light, not as evidential sources for reactionary feudalism or progressive class struggle but as primary sources for studying Mongolia's history from a variety of angles, free of ideological constraint. They are foundational to building a new Mongolian studies scholarship.

We are therefore enormously grateful to the former director of the National Archives of Mongolia, D. Ölziibaatar, and its current director I. Saruul, for sharing our vision, and for their kind permission to print the documents pertaining to the 13th Dalai Lama's activities in Khalkha Mongolia. We hope that they are as pleased with the product as we are.

The documents published here are selected from the following files, or *dans* as they are called in Mongolia, in the National Archives: “The Files of the Administrative Office of the Tusheet Khan Aimag League Captain General”; “The Files of the

Administrative Office of Tsetsen Khan Aimag League Captain General”; “The Files of the Administrative Office of Zasagt Khan Aimag League Captain General”; “The Files of the Administrative Office of Sain Noyon Aimag League Captain General”; and “The Files of the Administrative Office of the Imperial Resident Minister in Khüree [Urga]”. Since they are scattered in different files, which are enormous themselves, finding the relevant information proved to be a difficult task. Here, we would like to register our grateful acknowledgement of the expert assistance given by G. Odbayar, T. Bilegsaihan, and Ch. Mönhtör from the Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, for identifying the materials and putting them in the correct order as well as preparing the Mongolian list of titles. Odbayar’s Manchu language competence proved to be particularly helpful, as he translated the Manchu titles into Mongolian. Scanning these documents was no easy task either, as the wrinkled papers needed to be flattened to ensure readability and visual aesthetics; in this regard, we had the privilege to have the entire documents professionally scanned by archivist G. Togosbayar.

The pencil portrait of the 13th Dalai Lama that appears on the front cover of the book is a unique one, as it is his earliest portrait, the only visual image we had of the Dalai Lama during his entire two-year stay in Khalkha Mongolia. It was the original upon which the Dalai Lama’s two official gift portraits presented to Nicholas II, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, were made. Currently deposited at the Archives of the Russian Geographical Society in St Petersburg, Russia, we are sincerely thankful to the eminent Russian Mongolist and Tibetologist Sergei L. Kuzmin for making a digital copy for us.

Nowadays, most publishers in the English-speaking world are no longer interested in primary archival documents, largely for financial reasons. Brill thus stands unique in the publishing world for its continued commitment to publishing primary sources, and indeed for its expansion in this field by creating a new series called Brill’s Inner Asia Archive. Paul Norbury, Senior Acquisitions Editor of Asian Studies at the Global Oriental/Brill, is especially commended for showing interest in these materials and agreeing to publish the volume in the new series. We thank him for his vision and leadership.

Publishing these important historical sources of over 900 sheets would normally have required a lengthy period of time not only for research but also for typesetting. This time, however, we have worked with a tight schedule in order to bring them out in time for the 13th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, to be held in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia on 21–27 July 2013. Symbolically this is too good a chance to miss, as it not only is a historical moment for the relationship between the two peoples, it also embodies the spirit of our promotion of Mongolian–Tibetan interface. With only a few months from obtaining the original materials to preparing the preliminaries including the introduction, we nevertheless hope that the volume, with its freshness, will provide a good foundation and seed for new exciting research on the Mongolian–Tibetan interface. In this regard, we are particularly grateful for the quality of the coordination with the production people at Leiden by Ellen Girmscheid, who heads the project management team.

We would like to thank our anthropologist and Tibetologist colleague Hildegard Diemberger in Cambridge for her suggestion to publish this volume for the wider world in the first place. Her expert transcription and translation of the Dalai Lama’s title on his portrait and her explanation of some Mongolian terms of Tibetan origin are particularly appreciated. Our thanks also go to Christopher Atwood at Indiana University, Bloomington, who has offered constructive comments and kindly permitted us to use his original map as a base for modification.

Last but not least, we would like to express our sincere thanks to Libby Peachey, research administrator of the Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit at the University of Cambridge, and managing editor of *Inner Asia* journal, for her untiring support throughout the production of this book, and especially for her editorial assistance.

We dedicate this work to the historical friendship between the Mongolian and Tibetan peoples on the occasion of the 13th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, 21–27 July 2013, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

May Good Deeds Flourish!

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

1904

1. Matters concerning informing of five places including those of the four League Captain Generals and Assistant Generals, regarding the dispatch of Manchu and Mongol officials to meet and take care of the Dalai Lama on his way from Tibet to Urga (*Guangxu 30, IX [October 1904]. 1_M1-1-7294. n10. x1-7; in Manchu*).
2. Document from the Captain General [prince Dorjpalam] of Tsetsen Khan Aimag regarding the award of titles to the winning wrestlers at the *naadam* festival organised for the arrival of Ochir Dara Bogd Gegeen at Prince Tserensandav's Banner of this Aimag (*Guangxu 30, IX, 4 [12 October 1904]. 2_M10-3353. n12. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
3. Request from the Captain General Beise (grand duke) for advice about how to prepare the goods for the arrival and departure of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 30, IX, 23 [31 October 1904]. 3_M10-3353. n9. x1-9; in Mongolian*).
4. Original letter to the Captain General Beise (grand duke) pledging to make preparations for the arrival of the Dalai Lama according to his advice (*Guangxu 30, IX, 28 [5 November 1904]. 4_M10-3353. n16. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
5. Matters concerning the charging of Taiji Gonchigtseren, administrator responsible for relay relations, with the task of preparing relay animals for the imperial minister Yanzhi coming to meet the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 30, X [November 1904]. 5_M1-1-7294. n2. x1-4; in Manchu*).
6. Matters concerning the discard of the request made to the Aimag and the Shabi administrations to prepare supplementary relay support for the southern relay stations of Urga to be used by the imperial minister arriving to meet the Dalai Lama, and charging Taiji Gonchigtseren, administrator responsible for affiliate relay stations, with the task (*Guangxu 30, X [November 1904]. 6_M1-1-7294. n23. x1-5; in Manchu*).
7. Matters, sent to six places including that of the Uliastai General-in-Chief, regarding the easy and early supply of goods by the four Halh Aimags for the time being to be used by the Dalai Lama's disciples, the imperial envoy to meet the Dalai Lama, and the accompanying people (*Guangxu 30, X [November 1904]. 7_M1-1-7294. n32. x1-16; in Manchu*).
8. Original letter from the General in charge, the Councillor Prince, to the Captain General Beise (grand duke) informing him of his inability to come to Urga due to illness (*Guangxu 30, X, 20 [26 November 1904]. 8_M10-3353. n10. x1-3; in Mongolian*).

БАРИМТ БИЧГИЙН ЭМХЭТГЭЛИЙН ГАРЧИГ

1904

1. Хүрээнд ирэх баруун Зангийн Далай ламыг зам зуур харгалзах учир угтан одуулсан манж монгол түшмэл томилон гаргасан зэрэг явдлыг дөрвөн аймгийн чуулганы дарга туслагч жанжин нарын зэрэг таван газарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 9 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n10. x1-7; Манж хэлээр*).
2. Цэцэн хан аймгийн [ван Доржпалам]-гаас Очир дара богд гэгээнтэний тус аймгийн ван Цэрэнсандавын хошуунд заларсан тухай наадам бэлтгүүлэхэд тэргүүлсэн шөвгөлсөн бөхчүүдэд цол шагнаан хүртээсэн зэргийг мэдэгдэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 9 сарын шинийн 4. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. n12. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
3. Да бэйсээс Далай лам залран ирж явахын эл хэрэглэлийг хэрхэн гүйцэтгэвээс зохихыг зөвлөөр ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 9 сарын 23. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. n9. x1-9; Монгол хэлээр*).
4. Да бэйсэд Далай ламын зарлаж ирэх тухайн эл зүйлийг цөм түүгээр толилон гүйцэтгэсүгэй хэмээн явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 9 сарын 28. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. n16. x1-2; Монгол хэлээр*).
5. Далай ламыг угтан зарлигаар гаргасан Янжигийн хэрэглэх улаа малын зэрэг зүйлийг бэлтгэн хүлээлгэх, зэрэг явдлыг өртөөг захирах туслагч тайж Гончигцэрэнд тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 10 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n2. x1-4; Манж хэлээр*).
6. Далай ламыг угтаар ирэх сайдын хэрэглэх улаа зүйлийг бэлтгэхэд хүрээний өмнөд өртөөнд аймаг шавиас улаа зүйл хавсаран бэлтгүүлнэ үү хэмээн өргөснийг шууд хэрэгсэхгүй болгоод харъяат өртөөг захирах туслагч тайж Гончигцэрэнд тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 10 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n23. x1-5; Манж хэлээр*).
7. Далай ламын шавь нар, угтаар ирэх сайд, дагалдах ардын хэрэглэл зүйлийг хялбар урьтал болгон Халхын дөрвөн аймгаас гаргаж түр завсарчлан залгуулах явдлыг Улиастайн жанжины зэрэг зургаан газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 10 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n32. x1-16; Манж хэлээр*).
8. Да бэйсэд хамаарсан жанжин хэбэй ван миний бие өвдсөн учир хүрээний газар энэ удаа очиж чадахгүй болсон учрыг сонсгож захиж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 10 сарын 20. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. n10. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).

9. The Khambo Nomun Khan of Urga and the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer charged with the task of urgently reporting to the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu about the lack of proper items for sutra reading at the opening of the Dalai Lama's new temple in Urga (*Guangxu 30, XI [December 1904]. 9_M1-1-7294. n28. x1-7; in Manchu*).
10. The imperial decree passed to three places including that of the Mongolian Amban Beise (grand duke) Pun [Puntsagtseren] through the telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding whether it was possible for the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu and the Mongolian Amban to treat the Dalai Lama and the Amban Yan [Yanzhi] in the same way (*Guangxu 30, XI [December 1904]. 10_M1-1-7294. n30. x1-8; in Manchu*).
9. Далай лам Хүрээний газарт нэгэн шинэ сүм босгож ном уншуулахад ноцтой зүйл бүхий үгүй явдлыг Жибзундамба хутагтад сонсгоод хурдан мэдэгдэж ирэх зэрэг явдлыг Хүрээний Хамба номун хан, эрдэнэ шанзудба нарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 11 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. н28. x1-7; Манж хэлээр*).
10. Далай ламыг Жибзундамба хутагт Монгол сайдын зүг сайд Ян [Янжи]-гийн хамт бүгдээр нэгэн адил харгалзан шийтгэвээс болох үл болох явдлыг Гадаад хэргийн яамнаас айлтгасанд цахилгаан мэдээгээр хүрч ирсэн зарлигийг тархааж Монгол сайд бэйс [Пунцагцэрэн]-гийн зэрэг гурван газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 11 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. н30. x1-8; Манж хэлээр*).

1905

11. Record of the number of brick teas for measuring the value of various items offered from Tusheet Khan and Tsetsen Khan Aimags to the Dalai Lama beginning from the 15th day of the 12th month of the 30th year of the Guangxu reign (*Guangxu 30, XI, 15—XII, 28 [21 December 1904—2 February 1905]. 11_M1-1-2338. x1-17; in Manchu*).
12. Special memorial from the Dalai Lama to build a temple to organise prayer meetings copied to two places including the Dalai Lama's abbot Jun (*Guangxu 30, XII [January 1905]. 12_M1-1-7294. n36. x1-6; in Manchu*).
13. Request from the Captain General Beise (grand duke) for advice regarding appropriate ways to send the order issued by the Ambans concerning the collection of goods from the four Halh Aimags and the Shabi out of piety to the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 30, XII, 6 [11 January 1905]. 13_M10-3353. n5. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
14. The Dalai Lama's abbot Jun being passed on a memorial asking for an imperial decree to allow the Dalai Lama to stay in Urga until the settlement of the Tibetan issues (*Guangxu 30, XII [January 1905]. 14_M1-1-7294. n11. x1-5; in Manchu*).
15. The Dalai Lama's abbot Jun abbot being passed on a memorial reporting on the damages due to the pillage wrought by the English soldiers and officers in Tibet (*Guangxu 30, XII [January 1905]. 15_M1-1-7294. n12. x1-6; in Manchu*).
16. Original letter asking for advice from the Captain General Beise (grand duke) as how to find an appropriate response to the Ambans' order to collect things for the use of the Dalai lama (*Guangxu 30, XII, 20 [25 January 1905]. 16_M10-3353. n2. x1-5; in Mongolian*).

1905

11. Бадаргуулт төрийн 30 он 12 сарын 15-аас үүсгэн Түшээт хан, Цэцэн хан хоёр аймгаас Далай ламын газарт халан хэрэглүүлсэн аливаа юм зүйлийг үнэ таацуулсан цайны тоог тэмдэглэсэн данс (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 11 сарын 15-аас 12 сарын 28. Фм 1. д 1. хн 2338. x1-17; Монгол хэлээр*).
12. Далай лам Хүрээний газар сүм үйлдүүлж ном хуруулсугай хэмээн гуйсныг төлөө тушаасан цухалдаж айлтгасныг Далай ламын Жүн хамбын зэрэг хоёр газарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. н36. x1-6; Манж хэлээр*).
13. Да бэйсээс Далай ламтаны хэрэглэлийг Халхын дөрвөн аймаг шавь сүжгээр туслан гаргаж нийлүүлэх учир сайдуудаас тушаасан бичгийг хүргүүлэн хэрхвээс зохихыг төлөвлөн тогтоож ирүүлнэ үү хэмээн зөвлөн захиж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сарын шинийн 6. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. н5. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
14. Баруун Зангийн газрыг тогтоохын урьд Далай ламыг Хүрээний газарт суулгана уу хэмээн зарлигийг гуйн айлтгасныг Далай ламын Жүн хамба нарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n11. x1-5; Манж хэлээр*).
15. Баруун Зангийн газарт Англи улсын түшмэл цэрэг орж гэлмэгдүүлэн сүйтгэсэн байдал дүрсийг тодорхойлон айлтгасныг Далай ламын Жүн хамба нарт тушаалгах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n12. x1-6; Манж хэлээр*).
16. Да бэйсэд Далай лам таны хэрэглэл зүйлийг төлөвлөн бэлтгүүлхээр сайдуудаас тушаасан бичгийг хүргүүлэн хэрхвээс зохихыг зөвлөн захиж ирсний хойно хариуг хойш захиж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сарын 20. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. n2. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).

17. Letter from the Captain General [prince Guremjav] of Sain Noyon Aimag regarding the delivery of grain to be collected from the Erdene Bandida Khutugtu to the treasury of the Dalai Lama in accordance with the time of his visit (*Guangxu 30, XII, 22 [27 January 1905]. 17_M9-3-8240. н60. х1-4; in Mongolian*).
18. Matters on the informing of six places, including the Uliastai General-in-Chief and the Councillor Amban, regarding the urgent delivery of appropriate goods to be collected from Zasagt Khan and Sain Noyon Khan Aimags for the use of the Dalai Lama's entourage of disciples (*Guangxu 30, XII, 23 [28 January 1905]. 18_M1-1-7294. н3. х1-18; in Manchu*).
19. Document from the Captain General of Tsetsen Khan Aimag about preparing the original signed documents recording goods for the use of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 30, XII, 26 [31 January 1905]. 19_M9-3-8240. н8. х1-3; in Mongolian*).
20. Document from the abbots and treasurer of Urga seeking to determine the appropriate size of the seats for the Dalai Lama and the Bogd Gegeen (*Guangxu 30, XII, 29 [3 February 1905]. 20_M9-3-8240. н6. х1-11; in Mongolian*).
21. Document signed and forwarded north by the Assistant General and the Councillor about Zasagt Khan Aimag's proposal to collect goods for the Dalai Lama's entourage from the many Leagues and the places of Urianhai and Dörvöd at large, agreeing that it is right to find out how much might come from other Aimags and the Shabi (*Guangxu 31, I, 6 [9 February 1905]. 21_M31-2-5276. н7. х1-3; in Mongolian*).
22. Document from Duke Navaantseren reporting on the Tibetan retinue having left, refusing to use the cattle wagons prepared by his banner for transporting the Dalai Lama's sacred treasure *Kanjuur* (*Guangxu 31, I, 7 [10 February 1905]. 22_M9-3-8317. н3. х1-4; in Mongolian*).
23. Imperial decree sent to the Amban of Urga via the Grand Council to be passed on to the Dalai Lama, stating that because Urga is the place where the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu leads the religion, the Dalai Lama should return to Tibet early and receive the imperial favour as usual, and that no temple should be built in Urga (*Guangxu 31, I, 10 [13 February 1905]. 23_M1-1-2343. х10-11; in Manchu*).
24. Document from the scribes Damdinsuren and Miyava officially appointed by Tusheet Khan Aimag [the names, number, and prices of the things used for three days] (*Guangxu 31, I, 19 [22 February 1905]. 24_M1-1-7340. н6. х1-12; in Mongolian*).
25. Document from the administrators Jins and Tsolmon officially appointed by Tsetsen Khan Aimag and Taiji
17. Сайн ноён аймгийн да [ван Гүргэмжав] жанжин нараас Далай ламын гэр санд Эрдэнэ бандида хутагтын газраас авах будааг заларсан удаагаар дамжуулан хүргүүлэх учир ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сарын 22. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н60. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
18. Далай лам дагалдах шавь нарын хэрэглэл зүйлд Засагт хан Сайн ноён хоёр аймгаас нийтээр гаргуулан хэрэглэвээс зохих зүйлийг шавдуулан хүргүүлж ирэх тул Улиастайн жанжин хэбэй сайд нарын зэрэг зургаан газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сарын 23. Фм 1.д 1. хн 7294. н3. х1-18; Манж хэлээр*).
19. Цэцэн ханы да жанжин нараас Далай лам таны хэрэглэл тухай нэр хамталж мэдүүлсэн бичгийн хэрийг гүйцэтгүүлэх учир хүргүүлэн захиж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сарын 26. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н8. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
20. Хүрээний хамба шанзудба нараас Далай лам Богд гэгээнтэнийг залах ширээ тус бүр их багийг хэдий чинээ байлгаваас зохихыг тогтоож гүйцэтгүүлье хэмээн зөвлөж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оны 12 сарын 29. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н6. х1-11; Монгол хэлээр*).
21. Жанжин хэбэй нараас Засагт хан аймгаас Далай лам дагагсадын хэрэглэл зүйлийг олон чуулган, Урианхай, Дөрвөдийн зэрэг газраас нийгэмчлэн нийлүүлэхийг эрж мэдүүлвээс ямар хэмээн зөвлөөр ирсэн нь бусад аймаг шавиас хэрхэн ирэх зэргийг үзэж жич гүйцэтгэвээс зүйтэй мэт тул уг бичигт үсэг зурж хойш хүргүүлэн захиар илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын шинийн 6. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. н7. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
22. Гүн Наваанцэрэн нараас Далай ламын нандин шүтээн эрдэнийн ганжуурын өртөөлгөнд тус хошуунаас бэлтгэсэн үхэр тэргийг дагамал төвд үл хэрэгдэн уг улааг холгосон зэрэг учрыг мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын шинийн 7. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. н3. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
23. Хүрээ болбоос Жибзундамба хутагтын шашныг барьсан газар тул Далай лам эртхэн Баруун Зангийн газарт буцаад, хэвээр хишгийг хүлээтүгэй, Хүрээнд сүм байгуулахыг хэрэгсэхгүй хэмээн зарлиг буулгасныг Цэргийн тухайн газраас уламжлан Далай ламд хүргэхийг Хүрээний сайд нарт тушаасан бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын 10. Фм 1. д 1. хн 2343. х10-11; Манж хэлээр*).
24. Түшээт хан аймгаас тушаалаар гаргасан дагалт бичээч Дамдинсүрэн, бичээч Миява нарын бичиг [*Гурван өдөрт хэрэглүүлсэн зүйлийн нэр тоо, үнэ*] (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын 19. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. н6. х1-12; Монгол хэлээр*).
25. Цэцэн хан аймгаас тушаалаар гаргасан захирагч Жинс, Цолмон мөн Хүрээн дэх жасааны бичээч

- Nerindonoi the scribe of the office in Urga [The names and numbers of the items used by the Dalai Lama and his entourage for a period of three days] (*Guangxu 31, I, 21* [24 February 1905]. 25_M1-1-7340. н1. х1-11; in *Mongolian*).
26. Document from the Captain General of Zag Gol League about sending to the Erdene Shanzudba Treasury one thousand *lang* silver collected from the affiliate Aimag for the use of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, I, 22* [25 February 1905]. 26_M31-2-5276. н1. х1-5; in *Mongolian*).
27. Document from the administrators Jins and Tsolmon officially appointed by Tsetsen Khan Aimag and Taiji Nerindonoi the scribe of the office in Urga (*Guangxu 31, I, 27* [2 March 1905]. 27_M1-1-7294. н6. х1-12; in *Mongolian*).
28. Request from the Captain General Beise (grand duke) for advice about how to deal with the document from the abbots and treasurer of Urga seeking to determine the appropriate size of the seats for the Dalai Lama and the Bogd Gegeen (*Guangxu 31, I, 29* [4 March 1905]. 28_M10-2-3369. н6. х1-4; in *Mongolian*).
29. Original document charging the Duty Offices (*Jisayan*) of three banners including Tusheet Khan with the task of preparing horses to be ridden by the Manchu Amban to take care of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, II, 3* [8 March 1905]. 29_M9-3-8317. н8. х1-5; in *Mongolian*).
30. Original letter advising on how to reply to a document from Zasagt Khan Aimag which asked whether it was appropriate to collect the goods for the use of the Dalai Lama from Urianhai and Dörvöd at large (*Guangxu 31, II, 4* [9 March 1905]. 30_M10-2-3369. н5. х1-4; in *Mongolian*).
31. Damba, the managing officer of the five banners of Tusheet Khan, charged with the task of preparing the relay animals to deliver millet and flour to the treasury of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, II, 7* [12 March 1905]. 31_M9-3-8240. н38. х1-4; in *Mongolian*).
32. Report from Duke Tsendensonom about investigating the manager Ishdorj as to the reason for failing to deliver the Dalai Lama's riding horses from the Duty Office's horses (*Guangxu 31, II, 9* [14 March 1905]. 32_M9-3-8240. н12. х1-4; in *Mongolian*).
33. Imperial decree approving the telegram memorial to send back the Dalai Lama to Tibet by relay stations via the inland route copied to five places including the Lifan Yuan (*Guangxu 31, II, 10* [15 March 1905]. 33_M1-1-7339. н6. х1-5; in *Chinese*).
- тайж Нэриндоной нарын бичиг [*Далай ламд болон бараа бологчдод нь гурав хоног тутам хэрэглүүлсэн зүйлсийн нэр тоо*] (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын 21. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. н1. х1-11; Монгол хэлээр*).
26. Заг голын да-гаас харъяат аймгаас Далай ламтаны хэрэглэлд нийлүүлэн өгөх нэг мянган лан мөнгийг Зрдэнэ шанзудбын яамнаа хүргүүлсэн зэрэг учир илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын 22. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. н1. х1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
27. Цэцэн хан аймгаас тушаалаар гаргасан захирагч Жинс, Цолмон, мөн хүрээн дэх жасааны бичээч тайж Нэриндоной нарын бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны хаврын тэргүүн сарын 27. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. н6. х1-12; Монгол хэлээр*).
28. Да бэйсээс Хүрээний хамба шанзудба нараас Далай лам Богд гэгээнтэнийг залах ширээг тус бүрийн их багийг хэдий чинээ байлгаваас зохих зэргийг тогтоож гүйцэтгүүлье хэмээснийг хэрхэн болговоос болхыг зөвлөн захиж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны цагаан сарын 29. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. н6. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
29. Түшээт хан нарын гурван хошуу суурин жасаанд Далай ламтаныг харгалзаж манж сайдын уяа гочоо алшаа морьдыг унуулан тухайд түүгээр бэлтгүүл хэмээн тушаасан эх шугам (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын шинийн 3. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. н8. х1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
30. Да бэйсэд Засагт хан аймгаас Далай ламтаны хэрэглэл зүйлийг Урианхай, Дөрвөд зэргийн газруудаас нийгэмчлэн нийлүүлэхийг эрж мэдүүлбээс ямар хэмээсэн хэргийг хэрхвээс зохихыг зөвлөн ирсний хариуг зааж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын шинийн 4. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. н5. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
31. Түшээт хан нарын таван хошуу захирал хафан Дамбад Далай ламын санд хүргэх будаа гурилыг ачихулаа зүйлийг гүйцэтгэн бэлтгэж өнгөрүүлэхээр тушаасан хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын шинийн 7. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н38. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
32. Гүн Цэдэнсоном нараас Далай ламын уяа морьдыг зарлахад суурин жасааны уяа морьдоос хирд оруулахыг хоцрогдуулсан захирагч Ишдоржийг байцааж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын шинийн 9. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н12. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
33. Далай ламыг дотор газраар өртөөгөөр Занд буцааваас болох уу хэмээн цахилгаан мэдээгээр айлтгасанд зарлигийн ёсоор явуулсан явдлыг Гадаад Монголын төрийг засах явдлын яамны зэрэг таван газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын 10. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. н6. х1-5; Хятад хэлээр*).

34. Document from the General Councillor that Zasagt Khan Aimag be charged with the task of preparing all the goods before the Dalai Lama's departure in accordance with the report (*Guangxu 31, II, 10 [15 March 1905]. 34_M9-3-8317. n9. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
35. Reply to the Captain General Beise (grand duke) who sought advice about how to dispel the harm of mean curses from the Dalai Lama's Tibetan companions, and how to determine the size of the seats for the Dalai Lama and the Bogd Gegeen (*Guangxu 31, II, 10 [15 March 1905]. 35_M10-2-3369. n7. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
36. The Amban of Urga reporting on a delivered memorial requesting the determination of the Dalai Lama's departure date (*Guangxu 31, II, 23 [28 March 1905]. 36_M1-1-2343. t13-15; in Manchu*).
37. Appointment of secretary Chongbin and Mongol official Tserenpuntsag to accompany the Dalai Lama on his travel via the western route, and charging the official Chongbin to go and wait at Amban Yan [Yanzhi]'s Ministry (*Guangxu 31, III [April 1905]. 37_M1-1-7294. n17. x1-8; in Manchu*).
38. Issuance and despatch of the imperial decree to the Dalai Lama upon the Dalai Lama's offer of Buddha statues and *Hadag* scarves acknowledging the imperial grace after receiving the imperial decree (*Guangxu 31, III [April 1905]. 38_M1-1-7294. n20. x1-4; in Manchu*).
39. Letter from the official Tserenjav and assistants at the seals office of the imperial son-in-law Tserenbaavai about the preparation of relay stations and transporters for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet (*Guangxu 31, III, 2 [6 April 1905]. 39_M9-3-8240. n45. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
40. Notice from the officially appointed Taiji Natsagbadam about the rapid delivery of assistance to the Dalai Lama by the assigned banners (*Guangxu 31, III, 4 [8 April 1905]. 40_M9-3-8240. n15. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
41. Notice from the Duty Office about the preparation of the relay animals together with the relay stations for the Da Lama and clerk monks of the Shabi who were despatched by the Bogd Gegeen to see off the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, III, 27 [1 May 1905]. 41_M9-3-8240. n3. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
42. Letter from Amban Yan [Yanzhi]'s office to fourteen places including the Sichuan-Gansu Governor-General about the departure of the Dalai Lama from Grand Duke Yundundorj's banner to Tibet passing through Anxi prefecture, Chaidam, and Taij Nuur (*Guangxu 31, IV [May 1905]. 42_M1-1-7339. n4. x1-4; in Chinese*).
34. Жанжин хэбэйгээс Далай ламтаны бие одох аваас эл хэрэглэл зүйлийг Засагт хан аймгийн төсөвлөснөөр мэдүүлэх нь даруй зүйтэй тул түүгээр гүйцэтгэн шийтгэмүү хэмээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын 10. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. n9. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
35. Да бэйсэд Далай ламтаны дагалдсан Төвд нарын төлөв зэхий загнах гэмийг хэрхэн ариутгах ба мөнхүү Далай лам Богд гэгээнтнийг залах ширээг тус бүрийн их багийг ямар болгох зэргийг тогтоолгоё хэмээснийг хэрхвээс зохихыг зөвлөн ирсний хариуг захиж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын 10. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. n7. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
36. Далай лам мордох болзоог тогтоож төлөө айлтгахыг гуйн бичиг хүргэж ирсэн явдлыг Хүрээний сайдын газраас сонсгон айлтгах бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 2 сарын 23. Фм 1. д 1. хн 2343. Т13-15; Манж хэлээр*).
37. Далай ламыг баруун замаар явахад зарлигийг дагаж харгалзах тэмдэглэгч түшмэл Чүнбин, монгол түшмэл Цэрэнпунцаг нарыг томилж сайд Ян [Янжи]-гийн явах яаманд одож хүлээх зэрэг явдлыг мөнхүү түшмэл Чүнбин нарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 3 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n17. x1-8; Манж хэлээр*).
38. Далай ламд дээд зарлиг буулгасан учирт бурхан, хадаг өргөн тэнгэрийн хишигт мөргөсөн явдлыг төлөө айлтгасанд буулгасан зарлигийг тархааж мөнхүү Далай ламд явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 3 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n20. x1-4; Манж хэлээр*).
39. Засаг төрийн жүн ван хошой эфү Цэрэнбаавайн тамгын түшмэл Цэрэнжав, туслач түшмэдээс Далай лам Баруун зууд буцах тул өртөө улаач бэлтгүүлэх бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 3 сарын шинийн 2. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n45. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
40. Тушаалаар гаргасан тайж Нацагбадамаас Далай ламын хавсарга оноосон хошуудаас хурдлан шаардаж гүйцэтгүүлэхийг эрж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 3 сарын шинийн 4. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n15. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
41. Суурин жасаанаас лүндэнгээр зарагдаж Далай ламыг үдээр одуулах шавийн да лам донир нарын хэрэгсэх улаа мал зүйлийг мөнхүү тухайн өртөө лүгээ хамтатган бэлтгүүлэхийг зарж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 3 сарын 27. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n3. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
42. Сайд Ян [Янжи]-гийн газраас Далай ламын бие бэйс Юндэндоржийн хошуунаас цааш Ань ши жоу, Цайдам, Тайж нуурыг дайран Занд буцах явдлыг Зы чүаний бүгд захирагч сайдын зэрэг арван дөрвөн газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n4. x1-4; Хятад хэлээр*).

43. Notice from Duke Tsendsonom reemphasising that the drafted camels for relay stations for the Dalai Lama's return travel to Tibet must be delivered by those responsible (*Guangxu 31, IV, 8 [11 May 1905]. 43_M9-3-8240. n22. x1-7; in Mongolian*).
44. Matters sent from the Captain General about the Aimag Duty Office having notified the arrival of Naijin Chojin from Tibet at the banner of Zasagt Khan to meet the Dalai Lama, and having prepared the relay and goods for him (*Guangxu 31, IV, 8 [11 May 1905]. 44_M10-2-3369. n10. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
45. Original document sent to the Captain General [prince Dorjpalam] of Tsetsen Khan Aimag about seriously implementing the original instruction to collectively bear the missing money from Zasagt Khan Aimag for organising the Danshig festival for the Guru [Jebtsundamba] Khutugtu and the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, IV, 14 [17 May 1905]. 45_M9-3-8317. n13. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
46. Matters from the Councillor Prince and the Deputy Captain General that they have checked and recorded the original document informing the localities along the way that they be responsible for the relay stations and other expenditure incurred for returning the Dalai Lama to Tibet along with his followers (*Guangxu 31, IV, 18 [21 May 1905]. 46_M10-2-3369. n4. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
47. Notice from Yan [Yanzhi], the Amban of Xining, about the departure of the Dalai Lama from Urga on the 24th day of the 4th month of this year (*Guangxu 31, IV, 20 [23 May 1905]. 47_M1-1-7340. n30. x1-5; in Chinese*).
48. Request from Badamdorj, the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer of Urga, for instructions on the reasons for the treasurer and da lama to take over the duties of the duke and prince in charge of finance who had been given temporary leave in the past (*Guangxu 31, IV, 21 [24 May 1905]. 48_M1-1-7340. n50. x1-6; in Mongolian and Manchu*).
49. Notice to the Urga Amban that the Dalai Lama cannot leave on the chosen date due to illness (*Guangxu 31, IV, 22 [25 May 1905]. 49_M1-1-7339. n53. x1-2; in Manchu*).
50. Telegram from our place to Xining Amban Yan [Yanzhi] requesting urgent instruction on how to deal with all the things such as camels and horses which have been waiting to carry the Dalai Lama's luggage, now that he cannot leave due to illness (*Guangxu 31, IV, 23 [26 May 1905]. 50_M1-1-7340. n47. x1-3; in Chinese*).
43. Гүн Цэдэнсоном нараас баруун Зууд буцаж залрах Далай ламын өртөөлөг улаанд онгодсон тэмээ зүйлээс эрхбиш өөр шилжүүлэхийг эрж дахин мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын шинийн 8. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n22. x1-7; Монгол хэлээр*).
44. Да нараас уламжлан аймгийн жасаанаас баруун Зуугийн Найжин чойжин Далай ламтанаа учрахаар Засагт ханы хошууны нутагт хүрч ирсэн ба мөн түүний улаа зүйлийг өөр гүйцэтгүүлэв гэх зэрэг мэдэгдэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын 8. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. n10. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
45. Цэцэн хан аймгийн да [ван Доржпалам] жанжин нарт Багш хутагт, Далай ламтанаа өргөсөн даншигийн харамжийг Засагт хан аймгийн төлөө гүйцэтгэсэн мөнгийг нийгэмчлэн зохиосон эхийг үлэмжээр гүйцэтгүүлэхээр зааж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын шинийн 14. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. n13. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
46. Хэбэй ван дэд да-гаас Далай ламтаныг дагалдагсадын хамт баруун зууд буцаах учир, зам тохиолдох газруудад өртөө хавсарга байгуулан эл хэрэгсэх зүйлүүдийг бэлтгүүлхээр түүгээр зарлан тушаагаад хүргүүлэн ирсэн бичиг эх нижгээдийг бид үзэж үсэг гүйцэтгэн хүргүүлсэн, үүнийг толилон дансанаа авхуулхаар хүргүүлэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын шинийн 18. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. n4. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
47. Ши нингийн сайд Ян [Янжи]-гийн газраас Далай ламын бие энэ жил дөрвөн сарын хорин дөрвөнд Хүрээнээс мордох явдлыг мэдтүгэй хэмээн хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын 20. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. n30. x1-5; Хятад хэлээр*).
48. Хүрээний эрдэнэ шанзудба Бадамдорж нарын газраас сангийн хэргийг захирах гүн, засаг нарт урьд удаа хааяа түр чөлөө олгуулсан учирт шанзудба да лам нар аливаа албыг хэвээр хавсаран шийтгэсэн удаа бүхий учрыг гаргаж заахыг гуйн мэдэгдсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын шинийн 21. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. n50. x1-6; Монгол, манж хэлээр*).
49. Далай ламын бие өвдсөн учир тогтоосон өдөр мордож чадахгүйг Хүрээний сайдад мэдэгдсэн бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын 22. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n53. x1-2; Манж хэлээр*).
50. Манай газраас энэ хооронд Далай ламын бие өвдөж мордож чадахгүй хэмээсэн учир бэлтгүүлээд хүлээлгэн бүхий ачих тэмээ морины зэрэг элдэв хэрэглэл зүйлийг хэрхэн болговоос зохих явдлыг хурдан тогтоон хариу хүргэж ирнэ үү хэмээн Ши нингийн сайд Ян [Янжи]-д явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын 23. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. n47. x1-3; Хятад хэлээр*).

51. The Xining Amban's notice to the Uрга Amban that the Dalai Lama would leave after recovering from the illness which had prevented him from departing on the 24th day of the 4th month due to the worsening of his illness, and asking the latter to present a memorial to the emperor (*Guangxu 31, IV, 23 [26 May 1905]. 51_M1-1-7340. n44. x1-4; in Chinese*).
52. Notice from the Amban of Tibet about a list of items for the use of the Dalai Lama to be delivered by Duke Tunjuddorj travelling from Hara-Usu via Xining (*Guangxu 31, IV, 28 [31 May 1905]. 52_M1-1-7340. n4. x1-9; in Chinese*).
53. Original letter sent to the Captain General Beise (grand duke) about having recorded and sent north the original order that appropriate places share the preparation of the relay animals and stations for the Dalai Lama's return trip (*Guangxu 31, V, 1 [3 June 1905]. 53_M10-2-3369. n1. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
54. Notice from the Lifanyuan to five places including the Ministry of Personnel about the despatch of secretary Chongbin to Xining to take care of the Dalai Lama, and taking him to have an audience with the Emperor upon return to the capital from there (*Guangxu 31, V, 8 [10 June 1905]. 54_M1-1-7339. n44. x1-3; in Chinese*).
55. Recorded copy of Assistant General Chin Vang's original letter to check and make preparation for the Dalai Lama's visit (*Guangxu 31, V, 8 [10 June 1905]. 55_M9-3-8240. n1. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
56. Clarification from the Duty Office about the items taken from the partner firm Buyant for the use of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, V, 10 [12 June 1905]. 56_M9-3-8317. n15. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
57. Note from Duke Guremjav the Deputy Captain General in charge of the League affairs requesting clarification about the reason for the refusal by the ruling prince Sed-Ochir saying that the banner was unable to make prompt preparation of the relay stations for the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet (*Guangxu 31, V, 13 [15 June 1905]. 57_M1-1-7339. n22. x1-14; in Mongolian*).
58. Letter from the office of Duke Mishigdorj, former banner ruling prince, asking the general administrator Batdelger about the reason for disruption in the relay for the Dalai Lama's visit to Uрга (*Guangxu 31, V, 13 [15 June 1905]. 58_M9-3-8240. n49. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
59. Duke Tsendenonm's request for clarification about what money has been officially collected for payment to prepare the allotment given to the Aimag last year, and for repaying the debt owed to the Chinese
51. Ши нингийн сайдын газраас Далай ламын өвчин нэмэгдэж энэ дөрвөн сарын хорин дөрвөнд мордож чадахгүй учир биеийн өвчнийг эмчилүүлж илаарь болсон цагт мордохыг хүрээний сайдын зүг түүгээр зөвлөлдөн уламжлан айлтгана уу хэмээн хүргэж ирснийг мэдтүгэй хэмээн хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын 23. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. н 44. x1-4; Хятад хэлээр*).
52. Баруун Зангийн сайдын газраас Далай ламын хэрэглэх юм зүйлийг гүн Түнжүддорж нарт тушаагаад Хар-Усаас мордуулан Ши нинг дайруулан хүргүүлэхэд авч одсон юм зүйлийн тоог тодорхойлон хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 4 сарын 28. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. н4. x1-9; Хятад хэлээр*).
53. Да бэйстэнд Далай ламтаныг буцаж залрахад өргөө хавсарга улаа бэлтгүүлэхэр зохих газруудад хуваан заларч тушаасан эх нижгээдийг дансанаа авхуулаад хойш хүргүүлэн захиж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 1. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. n1. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
54. Монгол журганаас айлтгаад нөхсөн тэмдэглэгч түшмэл Чүнбин, Далай ламыг харгалзан Ши нинд одоод түүгээр нийслэл хотод буцаан нөхөж биеийг үзүүлэх явдлыг түшмэлийн яамны зэрэг таван газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 8. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n44. x1-3; Хятад хэлээр*).
55. Жанжин чин вангаас Далай ламтан залрах аваас тухайг үзэж түүгээр гүйцэтгэмүй хэмээн хүргүүлсэн бичиг эхийг дансанаа авхуулаад эгүүлэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын шинийн 8. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n1. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
56. Суурин жасаанаас Далай ламтаны хэрэглэлд түнш Буянтын пүүсээс авч хэрэглэсэн зүйлийг тодорхойлон мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 10. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. n15. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
57. Хамаарсан чуулганы дарга гүн Гүргэмжавын газраас засаг Сэд-Очир нар Далай ламыг баруун Занд буцаахад бэлтгүүлэх өргөөнөөс тус хошуунд ноцтой зүйлийг дав дув гүйцэтгэн чадахгүй хэмээн үл тоох зэрэг учрыг гаргаж заахыг гүйн мэдэгдсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 13. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n22. x1-14; Монгол хэлээр*).
58. Засаг агсан гүн Мишигдоржийн тамгаас Далай ламтан их хүрээнд заларах тухайн улаа зүйлээс яхан тасалдсан зэрэг учрыг тухайн ерөнхий захирагч Батдэлгэр нараас байцааж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 13. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n49. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
59. Гүн Цэдэнсоном нараас ноднингийн хуваасан аймгийн бэлтгэл, түнш иргэдэд өр төлхөөр оногдсон мөнгөнөөс удаа дараа хүргүүлсэн мөнгөдийг ямар зүйлийн албанаа хураасныг заан

- traders, both of which having been delivered repeatedly (*Guangxu 31, V, 14 [16 June 1905]. 59_M9-3-8240. n26. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
60. Original letter from the three banners including Tsetsen Khan to the Urga Duty Office regarding the delivery of horses for the use of the Dalai Lama and his entourage (*Guangxu 31, V, 18 [20 June 1905]. 60_M31-2-5276. n10. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
61. Note from the Captain General Beise (grand duke) advising an early decision upon consultation as it is inevitable that the size of the seats of the Bogd and the Dalai Lama will be debated in a special meeting (*Guangxu 31, V, 20 [22 June 1905]. 61_M10-2-3369. n9. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
62. Note from the imperial Amban Yan [Yanzhi] about having received the exact amount of two thousand *lang* silver to be used on the journey accompanying the Dalai Lama to Tibet (*Guangxu 31, VI, 3 [5 July 1905]. 62_M1-1-7340. n29. x1-4; in Chinese*).
63. Report from Sainbileg, director of the Duty Office and Damdinsuren the appointed scribe (*Guangxu 31, VI, 3 [5 July 1905]. 63_M1-1-7339. n51. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
64. Report from the Amban responsible for Xining about having ordered the many affiliate banners of Tsaidam to thoroughly prepare camels and horses for the Dalai Lama's return trip to Tibet (*Guangxu 31, VII, 7 [7 August 1905]. 64_M1-1-7339. n14. x1-4; in Chinese*).
65. Document from Puntsagnamjil, assistant administrator of Tusheet Khan Aimag's Duty Office (*Jisayan*), and Lhamsuren and Bilguun, the officially appointed scribes (*Guangxu 31, VII, 9 [9 August 1905]. 65_M1-1-7340. n8. x1-11; in Mongolian*).
66. Document from Puntsagnamjil, assistant administrator of Tusheet Khan Aimag's Duty Office (*Jisayan*), and Lhamsuren and Bilguun, the officially appointed scribes (*Guangxu 31, VII, 21 [21 August 1905]. 66_M1-1-7340. n19. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
67. Order from the Ambans regarding the Dalai Lama's return journey on the 17th day passing through the monastery of the Assistant General Chin Vang and further through places such as the Zaya Bandita's monastery, and the thorough preparation of the relay stations as well as the additional relays (*Guangxu 31, VIII, 14 [12 September 1905]. 67_M9-3-8240. n16. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
68. Notice about the Dalai Lama's visit to the nine banners and sums including that of the councilor prince, and his visit to Assistant General Chin Vang's banner on the way from Urga (*Guangxu 31, VIII, 18 [16 September 1905]. 68_M9-3-8240. n5. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
- тушаамуу хэмээн мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 14. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n26. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
60. Далай ламтан мөн дагагсадад хэрэгсүүлэх уяаны морьдыг гаргаж ирүүлэхээр Цэцэн ханы зэрэг гурван хошуу энэ учир хүрээ жасаанд явуулан тушаах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 18. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. н10. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
61. Да бэйсээс Богд, Далай лам нарын залран суух ширээг ямараар засах зэргийг чуулган хуралдаж тулгамдахад хүрэх нь болзошгүй учир урьдаар гүнчлэн томилж төлөвлөн тогтооно уу хэмээн зөвлөж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 5 сарын 20. Фм 10. д 2. хн 3369. н9. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
62. Зарлигаар зарсан сайд Ян [Янжи]-гийн газраас Далай ламын хамт баруун Зангийн зүг явахад зам зуур хэрэглэх мөнгө хоёр мянган лан хүргэж ирснийг тоо ёсоор хүлээн авсан хэмээн хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 6 сарын 3. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. n29. x1-4. Хятад хэлээр*).
63. Суурин жасааны захирагч Сайнбилэг, тушаалаар гаргасан дагалт бичээч Дамдинсүрэн нарын бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 6 сарын 3. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n51. x1-2. Монгол хэлээр*).
64. Ши нингийн хамаарсан сайдын газраас Далай ламыг Занд буцаахад хэрэглэх тэмээ морийг сайн бэлтгэн харгалзан өнгөрүүлэхийг харъяат Цайдамын газарт бүхий олон хошуунд тушаасан явдлыг хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 7 сарын шинийн 7. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n14. x1-4. Хятад хэлээр*).
65. Түшээт хан аймгийн суурин жасааны туслагч Пунцагнамжил, тушаалаар гаргасан дагалт бичээч Лхамсүрэн, Билгүүн нарын бичиг (*Бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 7 сарын шинийн 9. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. n8. x1-11; Монгол хэлээр*).
66. Түшээт хан аймгийн суурин жасааны туслагч Пунцагнамжил, тушаалаар гаргасан дагалт бичээч Лхамсүрэн, Билгүүн нарын бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 7 сарын 21. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. n19. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
67. Сайдуудаас Далай ламтан энэ арван долоонд заларч буцахад жанжин чин вангийн хүрээ дайрч бас цааш Зая бандидын зэрэг газруудаар дайран заларч буцах тул уг бэлтгэсэн өртөөдийн эрс чигээр жишүүлэн мөн нэмэгдэх өртөөг мөн түүгээр зөвлөн гүйцэтгэ гэх зэрэг тушаасан хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 8 сарын 14. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n16. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
68. Хэбэй ван нарын есөн хошуу суманд Далай ламтан хүрэнээс заларч жанжин чин вангийн хошуу зэрэг газрыг даарин залрахаар тогтоосныг мэдэгдэн тушаасан нь (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 8 сарын 18. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. n5. x1-2; Монгол хэлээр*).

69. Request from the Captain General [prince Guremjav] of Tsetserleg League for the time of the Dalai Lama's departure from the monastery of General Vang and for clarification about the ways to prepare the relay (*Guangxu 31, VIII, 20 [18 September 1905]. 69_M9-3-8240. n4. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
70. Original document sent to the Captain General [prince Guremjav] of Tsetserleg League explaining the reason for the lack of information on the date of the Dalai Lama's visit (*Guangxu 31, IX, 10 [8 October 1905]. 70_M9-3-8240. n33. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
71. Note from Tusheet Khan stating that he has left his home to protect the Dalai Lama to go through his Aimag (*Guangxu 31, IX, 20 [18 October 1905]. 71_M9-3-8242. n5. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
72. Report from Prince Handdorj the Assistant General of Tusheet Khan Aimag that there was no reply whatsoever from the Dalai Lama after his officials passed on the Ambans' order for him to depart for Tibet, and that a decision be made as it is beyond the ability of the prince myself and my officials to make him leave (*Guangxu 31, IX, 29 [27 October 1905]. 72_M1-1-7339. n16. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
73. Notice from the office of the General in charge of Uliastai about sending officials from the affiliate places on the 8th day of this 9th month following the imperial decree, to the banner of Daichin Vang, urging the Dalai Lama to leave quickly, while taking care of the officials sent by Urga, sending them to the border (*Guangxu 31, X, 1 [28 October 1905]. 73_M1-1-7339. n7. x1-4; in Chinese*).
74. The Amban passing on the imperial decree allowing the Dalai Lama to spend the winter in the land of Halh (*Guangxu 31, X, 19 [15 November 1905]. 74_M9-3-8317. n71. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
75. The three Captain Generals including that of Han Uul League being informed of the imperial decree issued in response to the telegraphic memorial that the Dalai Lama could not depart promptly (*Guangxu 31, X, 19 [15 November 1905]. 75_M1-1-7339. n26. x1-5; in Manchu*).
76. Original order regarding the division and sharing of the costs for the Dalai Lama who is temporarily spending the winter in Halh by imperial decree, sent to the Captain Generals of the three Aimags (Tsetsen Khan, Zasagt Khan, Sain Noyon), Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer, generals of offices, dukes in charge of border sentry, the Duty Office of Hovd, and the Duty Offices of banners, Aimags and the Shabi (*Guangxu 31, XI, 2 [28 November 1905]. 76_M9-3-8318. n2. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
77. Note from Assistant General Chin Vang about finding ready money due to the inability to meet the costs of maintaining the entourage of the Dalai
69. Цэцэрлэгийн да [ван Гүргэмжав] нараас Далай ламтан жанжин вангийн хүрээнээс хэдийд залрах ба өртөөг хэрхэн бэлтгүүлэх зэргийг тодорхойлон ирүүлнэ үү хэмээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 8 сарын 20. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н4. х1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
70. Цэцэрлэгийн да [ван Гүргэмжав] нарт Далай ламтан чухам хэдний өдөр хэрхэн залрахын тов мэдэгдээгүй зэрэг учрыг гаргаж явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 9 сарын 10. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н33. х1-2; Монгол хэлээр*).
71. Түшээт хантанаас түүний бие Далай ламтаныг хамгаалзуулан өнгөрүүлэх учир нутгаас мордов хэмээсэн хэрэг (*Бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 9 сарын 20. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8242. н5. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
72. Түшээт хан аймийн туслагч жанжин ван Ханддорж түшмэдээс сайд нарын газраас тушаасныг уламжлан дагаж Далай ламыг Зангийн зүг мордуулах зэрэг явдлыг уламжлан сонгосон боловч огт хариу гарсангүй, эдүгээ манай ван сайд нар чинээгээр мордуулан чадахгүй хэмээх зэрэг учрыг гаргаад тогтоон шийтгэхийг гуйсугай хэмээн өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 9 сарын 29. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. н16. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
73. Улиастайн хамаарсан жанжины газраас зарлигийг дагаж энэ есөн сарын шинийн найманд харьяат газраас түшмэлийг томилон гаргаад дайчин вангийн хошуунд одож Далай ламыг яаран мордуулах зэрэг явдлыг Хүрээний газраас гаргасан түшмэдийн хамт харгалзан хил гаргах зэрэг явдлыг мэдтүгэй хэмээн хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 10 сарын 1. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. н7. х1-4. Хятад хэлээр*).
74. Сайдаас Далай ламыг зарлигаар Халхын нутагт өвөлжүүлсүгэй хэмээснийг тушаасан хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 10 сарын 19. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. н71. х1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
75. Далай ламыг дав дув явж чадахгүй зэрэг учрыг гаргаж цахилгаан мэдээгээр айлтгасанд буулгасан зарлигийг тархааж Хан уулын чуулганы дарга нарын зэрэг гурван газарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 10 сарын 19. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. н26. х1-5; Манж хэлээр*).
76. Нөгөө гурван аймгийн [Цэцэн хан, Засагт хан, Сайн ноён] да жанжин, эрдэнэ шанзудба, жасаа жанжин харуулын захирал гүнгүүд, аймаг суурин ховдын жасаа аймаг хошууд шавьд Далай ламтаныг зарлигаар Халхад түр өвөлжүүлсүгэй хэмээснийг элдэв хэрэглэлийг хуваарилан гаргуулах учир мэдэгдэн зарлаж явуулан тушаасан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 11 сарын 2. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. н2. х1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
77. Жанжин чин ван нараас Далай лам дагалдагсад ба тушаалаар гаргасан ноёд манж монгол түшмэдийн элдэв хэрэглэл зүйлийг гүйцэтгэн чадахгүйд

- Lama and the appointed Manchu and Mongol officials (*Guangxu 31, XI, 5 [1 December 1905]. 77_M9-3-8242. н15. х1-5; in Mongolian*).
78. Note from Assistant General Chin Vang asking how to collect goods for the Manchu officials that come frequently to take care of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, XI, 8 [4 December 1905]. 78_M9-3-8240. н18. х1-5; in Mongolian*).
79. Note from the General-in-Chief in charge of Uliastai requesting passing on of Gucheng's telegram to appropriate military places to find out date of the Dalai Lama's departure to the banner of Daichin Vang (*Guangxu 31, XI, п [7 December 1905]. 79_M1-1-7340. н41. х1-3; in Chinese*).
80. Report from the seals office of Assistant General Chin Vang requesting instruction on being obliged to provision yurts for the Dalai Lama's entourage and the numerous newly arrived Tibetans (*Guangxu 31, XI, 22 [18 December 1905]. 80_M9-3-8240. н50. х1-6; in Mongolian*).
81. Note from the seals office of Assistant General Chin Vang with regard to the numerous worshippers from many places, and the ways in which the materials for the smiths to work in the Dalai Lama's workshop should be collected and delivered (*Guangxu 31, XI, 26 [22 December 1905]. 81_M9-3-8240. н19. х1-5; in Mongolian*).
82. Respectful distribution of the imperial decree approving the memorial requesting the despatch of officials from the administrations of the General-in-Chief and the Councillor Amban in charge of Uliastai to meet and take care of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, XI, 26 [22 December 1905]. 82_M1-1-7294. н31. х1-3. in Chinese*).
83. Letter from the League Captain General Beise (grand duke) Dondovjalbuupalamdorj requesting instruction about the quantity of goods that should be provisioned for the officials and guards taking care of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 31, XII, 4 [29 December 1905]. 83_M1-1-7340. н43. х1-10; in Mongolian*).

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84. Letter from the Captain General [prince Guremjav] of Tsetserleg League stating that he could not collect the League's share of goods for the use of the Dalai Lama and the Manchu and Mongol officials accompanying him (*Guangxu 31, XII, 12 [6 January 1906]. 84_M9-3-8318. н48. х1-6; in Mongolian*).
85. Note from Tibetan Navaanchoizun submitted to the Amban of Urga. (*No date. 85_M1-1-7463. н33. х1-8; in Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu*).

хүрсэн учрыг гаргаж бэлхэн мөнгө олгуулахыг эрж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 11 сарын шинийн 5. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8242. н15. х1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).

78. Жанжин чин ван нараас Далай ламыг хамгаалзахаар дараа удаа ирсэн манж түшмэд нарын хэрэглэлийг хэрхэн нийлүүлбээс зохихыг заахыг эрж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 11 сарын шинийн 8. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н18. х1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
79. Хамаарсан Улиастайн жанжины газраас Гүчангийн газраас Далай лам дайчин вангийн хошуунд одоод хэзээ мордохыг байцаан тодорхойлж цэргийн тухайн газарт илгээх цахилгаан мэдээний бичгийг хүлээн авч уламжлан явуулна уу хэмээн хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 11 сарын 11. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. н41. х1-3. Хятад хэлээр*).
80. Жанжин чин вангийн тамгаас Далай ламтан дагалдагсад ба нэмэн ирсэн олон төвд нарт гэр хэрэгсэл нийлүүлэн гүйцэтгэх аргагүйд хүрсэн зэрэг учрыг гаргаж заахыг эрж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 11 сарын шинийн 22. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н50. х1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
81. Жанжин чин вангийн тамгаас, олон газраас Далай ламтаны амгаланг эрэх зэрэг хэргээр ирэгчид ба мөн Далай ламтан газраа үйлдвэр хийх урчуудын хэрэглэл зүйлийг хэрхэн нийлүүлэх ба мөнхүү олгуулахыг эрж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 11 сарын 26. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8240. н19. х1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
82. Улиастайн хамаарсан жанжин хэбэй амбасын газраас түшмэл томилж Далай ламыг угтан харгалзуулсан хэмээн айлтгасанд тушаасан зарлигийг хичээнгүйлэн тархааж хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дугаар оны 11 сарын 26. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. н31. х1-3. Хятад хэлээр*).
83. Чуулганы дарга бэйс Дондовжалбуупаламдорж нарын газраас Далай ламыг харгалзан суух түшмэл бичээч жич занги цагдаа нарт хэдий хэрэглэл зүйл нийлүүлэн өгвөөс зохих явдлыг гуйж мэдэгдсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 12 сарын шинийн 4. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7340. н43. х1-10; Монгол хэлээр*).

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84. Цэцэрлэгийн да [ван Гүргэмжав] жанжин нараас Далай ламтанаа жич дагалдсан манж, монгол түшмэдийн хэрэглэл зүйлийг хуваарилан харгалзаж чадахгүй хэмээн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 12 сарын 12. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. н48. х1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
85. Түвд Наваанчойнзун Хүрээний сайдад өргөн мэдүүлсэн бат тийз. (*Огноо үгүй. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7463. н33. х1-8. Төвд, Монгол, Манж хэлээр*).

86. Note from the office of the Assistant General Beise (grand duke) Purevjav in charge of the seals office of the League Captain General explaining the reason for this aimag not preparing goods for the Dalai Lama as requested by Tusheet Khan Aimag (*Guangxu 31, XII, 12 [6 January 1906]. 86_M1-1-7339. n62. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
87. Report from the officials appointed to take care of the Dalai Lama about the Dalai Lama's situation (*Guangxu 31, XII, 13 [7 January 1906]. 87_M1-1-7339. n24. x1-3; in Manchu*).
88. Request from the banner of Duke Tserendorj, former ruling prince, for the sharing of costs in light of having to prepare goods for the relay stations for the Dalai Lama's return trip (*Guangxu 31, XII, 16 [10 January 1906]. 88_M31-2-5197. n2. x1-8; in Mongolian*).
89. Original document sent to the banner of the Urga former administrator prince Tserendanduv about appointing an official to calculate the costs incurred during the period from the Dalai Lama's arrival at Urga and his departure, and the despatch of this note along with the order from the Captain General and the Deputy Captain General Councillor to the Captain General, Deputy Captain General Councillor of Tusheet Khan Aimag and the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer (*Guangxu 31, XII, 28 [22 January 1906]. 89_M31-2-5196. n5. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
90. Task given to the three places of the Han Uul League Captain General, Assistant General Councillor and Prince Anand-Ochir about dispatching additional officials along with the official Tserenpuntsag to properly protect and take care of the Dalai Lama, due to the indeterminacy of the departure date of the Dalai Lama from Chin Vang's banner (*Guangxu 32, 1 [February 1906]. 90_M1-1-7396. n8. x1-9; in Manchu*).
91. Report from the scribes and officials despatched by our place to take care of the Dalai Lama that the departure date of the Dalai Lama has not been determined (*Guangxu 32, 1, 17 [10 February 1906]. 91_M1-1-7294. n18. x1-3; in Manchu*).
92. Report from the League Captain General and the Assistant General of Tusheet Khan Aimag about the assignment of appropriate places for the preparation of draught camels indispensable for the Dalai Lama's departure for Tibet, and preparation of additional goods to be used by the Manchu and Mongol officials protecting the Dalai Lama (*No date. 92_M1-1-7339. n35. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
93. Order sent to two places including that of Assistant General Chin Vang Handdorj regarding maintain-
86. Хамаарсан чуулганы дарга туслагч жанжин бэйс Пүрэвжавын газраас Түшээт хан аймгаас Далай ламд нэгэн адил хэрэглэл нийлүүлсүгэй хэмээснийг нь тус аймгаас гаргуулахгүй хэмээн хойш явуулсан зэрэг учрыг гаргаад мэдэгдэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны өвлийн сүүл сарын 12. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n62. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
87. Далай ламыг харгалзах тул гаргасан түшмэл бичээч нараас Далай ламын байдал дүрсийг гарган өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 12 сарын 13. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n24. x1-3; Манж хэлээр*).
88. Засаг агсан гүн Цэрэндоржийн хошуунаас хэлтгий гаргуулсан алба ба Далай ламтаны заларч буцах өртөөнд давхарлан голсгож хэрэглүүлсэн зүйлийг хамтаар тэгшлэн олгуулахыг гуйж өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 12 сарын шинийн 16. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5197. n2. x1-8; Монгол хэлээр*).
89. Далай ламтаныг хүрээнд заларч ирээд буцах хүртэлх элдэв хэрэглэл зүйл хичнээн болсоныг бодох түшмэл томилж хүрээ жасаа ван Цэрэнсандув агсаны хошуунд тушаах ба энэ учрыг мэдэгдэж жанжин хэбэйгийн тушаал хамт Түшээт хан аймгийн да жанжин хэбэй эрдэнэ шанзудба нарт зэргээр явуулах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 31 дүгээр оны 12 сарын 28. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5196. n5. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
90. Далай ламын бие чин вангийн хошуунаас баруун Зангийн зүг хэзээ мордох өдрийг тогтоогоогүй бөгөөд, түшмэл ард нэмэн томилон гаргаад түшмэл Цэрэнпунцагийн хамт мөнхүү Далай ламыг сайхан харгалзан сэргийлэх зэрэг явдлыг Хан уулын чуулганы дарга нар хамаарсан туслагч жанжин хэбэй, ван Ананд-Очирын зэрэг гурван газарт тушаах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны цагаан сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. n8. x1-9; Манж хэлээр*).
91. Манай газраас Далай ламыг харгалзах тул гаргасан түшмэл бичээч нараас Далай ламын мордох өдрийг энэ учирт тогтоогоогүй хэмээх зэрэг явдлыг өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны цагаан сарын 17. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n18. x1-3; Манж хэлээр*).
92. Түшээт хан аймгийн чуулганы дарга нар туслагч жанжин нарын газраас баруун Занд одох Далай ламын хэрэглэх өртөөнд эрхгүй ачих тэмээ бэлтгүүлэх, мөнхүү сахих манж монгол түшмэдийн хэрэглэх зүйлийг нэмэн бэлтгэх зэрэг явдлыг харъяат газарт тушаагаад зохих газарт явуулсан учрыг гаргаж мэдэгдэж ирсэн хэрэг (*Огноо үгүй. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n35. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
93. Далай ламын бие чин ван Ханддоржийн хошуунд хэдэн өдөр суухад газар орныг сайхан баримтлан

- ing proper law and order during the period of several days when the Dalai Lama stayed at Chin Vang Handdorj's banner (*No date. 93_M1-1-7339. n55. x1-4; in Manchu*).
94. Note sent to seven places including that of the General-in-Chief and the Councillor Amban in charge of Uliastai regarding speedy preparation of sufficient relay animals and goods now that the departure date has been settled for the Dalai Lama and his entourage to return to Tibet from Assistant General Handdorj's banner (*Guangxu 32, II [March 1906]. 94_M1-1-7294. n19. x1-15; in Manchu*).
95. Original letter to the three banners including that of Assistant General Chin Vang and Tusheet Khan requesting the speedy dispatch of officials and soldiers to protect the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 32, II, 10 [4 March 1906]. 95_M9-3-8317. n26. x1-8; in Mongolian*).
96. Letter from the Captain General Dondovjalbuupalamdorj of Han Uul League, Councillor Anand-Ochir in charge of the Assistant General's seals office, and Deputy Captain General Chadarjav (*Guangxu 32, II, 13 [7 March 1906]. 96_M1-1-7396. n21. x1-11; in Mongolian*).
97. Order from the Ambans regarding the preparation of relay animals for the Dalai Lama's passage through Zaya Bandida Khutugtu's Monastery (*Guangxu 32, II, 15 [9 March 1906]. 97_M9-3-8316. n34. x1-7; in Mongolian*).
98. Report from the official Tserenpuntsag dispatched by our place to take care of the Dalai Lama regarding the Dalai Lama's departure for Tibet on the 27th day of the 2nd month (*Guangxu 32, II, 17 [11 March 1906]. 98_M1-1-7339. n60. x1-6; in Manchu*).
99. Request for a certificate for transportation horses to be used by Tserenpuntsag and other officials dispatched by our place to take care of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 32, II, 17 [11 March 1906]. 99_M1-1-7396. n5. x1-3; in Manchu*).
100. Note from the seals office of Tusheet Khan requesting urgent delivery of the goods apportioned to other banners which were to work with our banner to prepare the relay stations for the Dalai Lama's visit (*Guangxu 32, II, 22 [16 March 1906]. 100_M9-3-8316. n48. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
101. Note from Tusheet Khan that he has sent officials to protect the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 32, II, 29 [23 March 1906]. 101_M9-3-8316. n10. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
102. Note from Duke Tsedensonom reporting that he has sent notification to appropriate places requesting speedy preparation of the goods needed for the Dalai Lama's visit to the Erdene Zuu Monastery (*Guangxu 32, II, 30 [24 March 1906]. 102_M9-3-8317. n39. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
- захираад хэрэг балар дэгдүүлэхэд хүргүүлэхгүй болгох тул мөнхүү туслагч жанжин чин ван Ханддоржийн зэрэг хоёр газарт тушаах хэрэг (*Огноо үггүй. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. н55. x1-4; Манж хэлээр*).
94. Далай лам дагалдах шавь нарыг туслагч жанжин ван Ханддоржийн хошуунаас баруун зүг мордох өдрийг тогтоосон тул эл хэрэглэх улаа зүйлийг үлэмжхэн бэлтгүүлэн гүйцэтгэж өнгөрүүлэх зэрэг явдлыг Улиастайн хамаарсан жанжин хэбэй амбасын зэрэг долоон газарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. n19. x1-15; Манж хэлээр*).
95. Жанжин чин ван нарын гурван хошуу Түшээт хан танд Далай лам таныг хамгаалж сэргийлэн суулгах түшмэл цэргүүдийг томилон мордуулж хурдлан илгээх зэрэг учир тушааж жич явуулсан эх (*Бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 10. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. n26. x1-8; Монгол хэлээр*).
96. Хан уулын чуулганы дарга Дондовжалбуупа ламдорж, туслагч жанжины тамга хамаарсан хэбэй Ананд-Очир, чуулганы дэд дарга Чагдаржав нарын бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 13. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. n21. x1-11; Монгол хэлээр*).
97. Сайдуудаас Далай ламтаныг Зая бандида хутагтын хүрээ дайран залрахын өртөөлөг улаа зүйлийг бэлтгүүлхээр тушаасан хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 15. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n34. x1-7; Монгол хэлээр*).
98. Манай газраас Далай ламыг харгалзах тул гаргасан түшмэл Цэрэнпунцаг нараас Далай ламын бие энэ хоёр сарын хорин долоонд баруун Зангийн зүг мордох зэрэг учрыг гаргаж өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 17. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7339. n60. x1-6; Манж хэлээр*).
99. Манай газраас Далай ламыг харгалзах тул гаргасан түшмэл Цэрэнпунцаг нараас улаа унах тэмдэгт бичиг олгуулахыг гүйн өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 17. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. n5. x1-3; Манж хэлээр*).
100. Түшээт ханы тамгаас Далай ламтан залрахын өртөөлөгд манай хошуу лугаа хавсаран бэлтгэх хошууд ноогдсон зүйлийг ирүүлээгүй учир шаардан явуулаад эл зүйлийг хурдан гүйцэтгүүлэхийг эрж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 22. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n48. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
101. Түшээт хантанаас Далай ламтаныг хамгаалахаар түшмэл мордуулав хэмээн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 2 сарын 29. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n10. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
102. Гүн Цэдэнсоном нараас, Далай ламтан Эрдэнэ зууд залрах учир завсарт бэлтгэх зүйлийг хурдлан гүйцэтгүүлэхээр зохих газар явуулаад мэдүүлэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 оны 2 сарын 30. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. n39. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).

103. Letter from our [Urga] Amban's office to the General-in-Chief and the Amban in charge of Uliastai requesting a reply regarding the appropriateness of the return of the officials despatched to take care of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 32, III [March 1906]. 103_M1-1-7396. n12. x1-7; in Manchu*).
104. Original copy of the order to Tusheet Khan about preparation of relay animals and goods for the Dalai Lama's visit to the Erdene Zuu Monastery (*Guangxu 32, III, 2 [26 March 1906]. 104_M9-3-8316. n46. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
105. Memorial humbly submitted reporting on the departure of the Dalai Lama on the 27th day of the 2nd month from the Daichin Vang banner (*Guangxu 32, III, 4 [28 March 1906]. 105_M1-1-7294. n15. x1-4; in Chinese*).
106. Report from Lieutenant Gombosuren in charge of Tug Chinggis's treasury regarding the delivery of the money apportioned to the subordinate treasuries for preparing the relic of the abbot (*Guangxu 32, III, 10 [3 April 1906]. 106_M31-2-5196. n16. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
107. Letter from the officials at Assistant General Chin Vang's seals office [on inviting the Dalai Lama to visit the affiliate banner of Chin Vang Handdorj] (*Guangxu 32, III, 12 [6 April 1906]. 107_M9-3-8318. n29. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
108. Document for verification that the Chinese traders in the banner of Tusheet Khan have not been taxed by force (*Guangxu 32, III, 18 [11 April 1906]. 108_M9-3-8316. n21. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
109. List sent by Duke Tsedensonom to the Duty Office of the number of relay animals and goods prepared on behalf of the banner of the Zaya Bandida Khutugtu and others for the Dalai Lama's visit to the Zaya Bandida Khutugtu's monastery (*Guangxu 32, IV, 7 [30 April 1906]. 109_M9-3-8318. n11. x1-17; in Mongolian*).
110. Letter from Duke Tsedensonom asking for the equal payment of the costs for preparing the riding horses for the Amban taking care of the Dalai Lama last year (*Guangxu 32, IV, 21 [14 May 1906]. 110_M9-3-8316. n14. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
111. Tusheet Khan Aimag officials sending the collected money for the Dalai Lama's visit to the Erdene Zuu Monastery (*Guangxu 32, Leap IV, 1 [23 May 1906]. 111_M9-3-8316. n15. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
112. Original copy of the order about covering the costs of relay animals and goods incurred in the disruption of the relay stations for the return visit of the Dalai Lama to three banners including Prince Tserenbaavai's banner (*Guangxu 32, Leap IV, 2 [24 May 1906]. 112_M9-3-8318. n9. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
103. Далай ламыг харгалзуулан манай сайд [Хүрээний сайд] нарын газраас гаргасан түшмэл бичээч нар буцваас зохих эс зохих явдлыг лавлан мэдэгдсэн цагт заан тушаагаад нэгнээр хариу хүргэж ирэх тул Улиастайн хамаарсан жанжин сайд нарт явуулах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 3 сар. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. н12. x1-7; Манж хэлээр*).
104. Түшээт хан нарт Далай ламтаныг Эрдэнэ зууд залрахын улаа мал хэрэглэл зүйлийг бэлтгүүлхээр тушаасан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 3 сарын 2. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n46. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
105. Далай ламын бие энэ хоёр сарын хорин долоонд Дайчин вангийн хошуунаас мордох явдлыг хичээнгүйлэн нугалбар бичиж айлтгах хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 3 сарын шинийн 4. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7294. н15. x1-4. Хятад хэлээр*).
106. Туг Чингисийн сангийн хэрэгт захирсан мэйрэн Гомбосүрэнгээс хамба багшийн шарил зэрэгт туулах мөнгөнөөс харъяат жасд ноосоныг гаргаж хүргүүлэв хэмээн өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 3 сарын шинийн 10. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5196. n16. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
107. Жанжин чин вантаны тамгын түшмэдийн [Далай ламыг Ханддорж чин ван харъяат хошуунд залж айлтгасан тухай] захиа (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 3 сарын 12. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. n29. x1-2; Монгол хэлээр*).
108. Түшээт хан хошуунд худалдаалах хятад иргэдээс албадан гааль хураасан зүйлгүйг батлах бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 3 сарын 18. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n21. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
109. Гүн Цэдэнсоном нараас Далай ламтаны заларч Зая бандида хутагтын хүрээнд залрах тухай уул хошуу ба бусдын төлөө хэрэглүүлсэн улаа зүйлийн тоог жагсаан бичиж мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 4 сарын 7. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. n11. x1-17; Монгол хэлээр*).
110. Гүн Цэдэнсоном нараас ноднин жил Далай ламыг харгалзах сайдын уяа морьдыг бэлтгэсний хөлсийг тэгшлэн олгоно уу хэмээн мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 4 сарын 21. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n14. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
111. Түшээт ханы тамгын түшмэдээс Далай ламыг Эрдэнэ зуугийн газар залрахад урьдчилан авсан мөнгийг хүргүүлэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны илүү 4 сарын шинийн 1. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n15. x1-2; Монгол хэлээр*).
112. Ван Цэрэнбаавай нарын гурван хошуунд Далай лам таны буцаж залрахын өртөөлгөнөөс унаж тасалдсаны төлөө хэрэглүүлсэн улаа мал зүйлийн үнэ хөлсийг гүйцэтгэн гаргуулж дуусгуулахаар жич мэд хэмээн тушаасан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны илүү 4 сарын 2. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. n9. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).

113. Notice from the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer regarding the participation in the transportation of the Dalai Lama's younger brother Junar Oidovdanzan by the banners along the route, as previously done (*Guangxu 32, Leap IV, 11 [2 June 1906]. 113_M9-3-8316. n26. x1-8; in Mongolian*).
114. Letter from the Ambans about not obstructing the express messenger informing arrival of the imperial envoy at the Dalai Lama's place (*Guangxu 32, Leap IV, 29 [20 June 1906]. 114_M9-3-8316. n8. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
115. Letter submitted to the acting Councillor Amban in charge of the General-in-Chief's seals office requesting leave from the *danshiq* festival to carefully arrange the Dalai Lama's sedan and luggage (*Guangxu 32, V, 12 [3 July 1906]. 115_M10-3353. n15. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
116. The officially appointed lieutenant Naranhuu's submission of documents related to the detailed record from the Urga Duty Office of the goods to be shared by five places and the amount allocated to the affiliated Aimag that had been used by the Dalai Lama from his arrival at Urga and the time of his departure, and the instruction from the Assistant General and the Councillor (*Guangxu 32, V, 18 [9 July 1906]. 116_M31-2-5197. n1. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
117. Original document seeking instruction from the Ambans about how to prepare relay transportation for the Buryat Namdag who will revisit the Dalai Lama's place (*Guangxu 32, V, 20 [11 July 1906]. 117_M9-3-8316. n45. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
118. Letter from Ishdorj, director of Tusheet Khan Aimag's Duty Office (*Guangxu 32, V, 25 [16 July 1906]. 118_M1-1-7396. n24. x1-3; in Mongolian and Manchu*).
119. Report from the Shabi Administration reporting to the offices of the Ambans (*Guangxu 32, V, 25 [16 July 1906]. 119_M1-1-7396. n23. x1-4; in Mongolian and Manchu*).
120. Report from Ishdorj, director of the Duty Office, about the sharing by the three places the goods to be used by the people despatched from the Panchen Lama to greet the Bogd Gegeen and the Dalai Lama, and about the donation of fifty *lang* of silver from our Aimag for provisioning their housing (*Guangxu 32, VI, 3 [23 July 1906]. 120_M9-3-8317. n25. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
121. List of goods prepared by the banner of the Bulwark Duke Batsuur (*Guangxu 32, VI, 4 [24 July 1906]. 121_M9-3-8318. n58. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
122. Original document sent to the Captain Generals of the other three Aimags [Tsetsen Khan, Zasagt Khan, Sain Noyon] and the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer for sharing of the costs to support the Dalai Lama to spend the winter at Assistant General Chin Vang's
113. Эрдэнэ шанзудба нараас Далай ламын дүү Жунар Ойдовданзан нарын улаа зүйлийг хуучин удаагаар өнгөрүүлэхэд зам тохиолдох хошууд оролцох учрыг мэдэгдэн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны илүү 4 сарын 11. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. н26. x1-8; Монгол хэлээр*).
114. Сайдуудаас зарлигаар зарсан сайд Далай ламтаны газар ирсэн учир яаралтай бичиг элчийг саатуулж үл болох учир тушаасан хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны илүү 4 сарын 29. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. н8. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
115. Жанжины тамга хэргийг түр сахих хуубийн сайдад өргөн мэдүүлээд даншигийн хэргээс чөлөө олгож Далай ламын жууз, ачаа хэрэглэлийг анхааран шийтгэе хэмээсэн бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 5 сарын 12. Фм 10. д 1. хн 3353. n15. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
116. Тушаалаар гаргасан мэйрэн Наранхүү хүрээ жасаанаас Далай ламтан анх хүрээнд заларч ирээд буцах хүртэл хэрэглүүлсэн зүйлийг таван газар хуваан бодоход харъяат аймагт ноогдсоныг тодорхой данс үйлдэж уг хэргийн бичгүүдийн хамт хүргүүлэв хэмээн жанжин хэбэйгийн тушаал хамт өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны хаврын сүүл сарын 18. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5197. n1. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
117. Сайдууд танаа Далай ламтаны газар дахин очих буриад Намдаг энэ улааг хэрхэн нийлүүлэхийг заахыг эрж мэдүүлсэн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 5 сарын 20. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8316. n45. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
118. Түшээт хан аймгийн суурин жасааны захирагч Ишдоржийн бичиг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 5 сарын 25. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. n24. x1-3; Монгол, Манж хэлээр*).
119. Шавийн яамнаас сайдуудтаны яамнаа өргөн мэдүүлэх учир (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 5 сарын 26. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. n23. x1-4; Монгол, Манж хэлээр*).
120. Суурин жасааны захирагч Ишдоржоос Банчин эрдэнийн газраас Богд гэгээн Далай лам танаа амгаланг эрхээр ирэгсэдийн эл хэрэглэлийг гурван газраас бэлтгэн буй ба басч тэдний хашаа байшингийн хөлсөөс манай аймгийн тавин ланг олгоно уу гэх зэрэг мэдүүлсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 оны 6 сарын шинийн 3. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. n25. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
121. Улсад туслагч гүн Батсуурийн хошуунаас бэлтгүүлсэн хэрэглэл зүйлийн цэс (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 6 сарын шинийн 4. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. n58. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
122. Нөгөө гурван [Цэцэн хан, Засагт хан, Сайн ноён] аймгийн да жанжин, эрдэнэ шанзудба нарт Далай ламтан дагагсадтайгаа жанжин чин вангийн хүрээний газарт өвөлжихөд хэрэглэсэн зүйлийн үнэ хөлсний хуваарийг гаргаж ирүүлэхээр зөвлөн

- banner together with his entourage (*Guangxu 32, VI [August 1906]. 122_M9-3-8318. нб. х1-11; in Mongolian*).
123. Despatch of the Mongolian translation of the original letters written in yellow ink to get blessing from the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama for the speedy discovery of the reincarnation of the Enlightened (*Guangxu 32, VI, 20 [9 August 1906]. 123_M31-4-525. н1. х1-3; in Mongolian*).
124. Original note about having given to lama Bum our Aimag's share of money for the houses and fences used by the people sent by the Panchen Lama's place to greet the Bogd Gegeen and the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 32, VII, 8 [27 August 1906]. 124_M9-3-8317. н24. х1-3; in Mongolian*).
125. List of goods from the banner of Commandery Prince Tserenbaavai for the use of the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 32, VII, 19 [7 September 1906]. 125_M9-3-8318. н75. х1-6; in Mongolian*).
126. Original document sent to the Duty Office about the delivery of the fee for camels used by managers Jins and Amar for the additional relay stations occasioned by the Dalai Lama's visit to the banner of Chin Vang (*Guangxu 32, VII, 27 [15 September 1906]. 126_M31-2-5196. н3. х1-10; in Mongolian*).
127. Letter from Dashdonoi, the assistant in charge of the treasury of Tug Chinggis, to the Duty Office asking just how much silver the affiliate duty offices should contribute to the funeral of Erh Tsagaan Dara Hamba this year (*Guangxu 32, XII, 8 [21 January 1907]. 127_M31-2-5196. н17. х1-3; in Mongolian*).
128. Document from the General-in-Chief in charge of Uliastai concerning the allocation of expenses to the four Aimags and the Shabi for the Dalai Lama's sojourn in places such as Urga (*Guangxu 32, XII, 17 [30 January 1907]. 128_M1-1-7396. н2. х1-16; in Manchu and Chinese*).
129. Letter from the seals office of Duke Altanhuyag's banner announcing the delivery by an envoy of two *lang* of silver for the use of the Dalai Lama and that the rest will be given later (*Guangxu 33, I, 16 [28 February 1907]. 129_M1-1-7463. н1. х1-3; in Mongolian*).
130. Original letter from the General-in-Chief of Uliastai and the Amban of Urga to the responsible Assistant Generals and Councillors on how the four Aimags collect the goods to be used by the Dalai Lama, and consulting the banner of Chin Vang about the costs incurred there (*Guangxu 33, II, 5 [18 March 1907]. 130_M31-2-5276. н23. х1-12; in Mongolian*).
- явуулсан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 6 сар. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. нб. х1-11; Монгол хэлээр*).
123. Гэгээнтэний шинэ дүрийн хувилгааныг хурдан тодруулах тухайд Далай лам Банчин эрдэнээс аврал эрэх шар үсгийн эхийг монголчилсон захидалыг хүргүүлэв хэмээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 6 сарын 20. Фм 31. д 4. хн 525. н1. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
124. Банчин эрдэнийн газраас Богд гэгээн, Далай ламтанаа амгаланг эрхээр ирэгсэдийн суусан байшин хашааны хөлснөөс манай аймгийн хуваарийн мөнгийг лам Бүмд өгсөнийг мэдэгдэн тушаасан эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 7 сарын 8. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8317. н24. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
125. Жүн ван Цэрэнбаавайн хошуунаас Далай ламын хэрэглэлд бэлтгүүлсэн хэрэглэл зүйлсийн цэс (*Бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 7 сарын 19. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8318. н75. х1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
126. Далай ламыг жанжин чин вангийн газраа залрахад нэмэгдсэн өртөөнд захирагч Жинс, Амар нарын төлөө хэрэглүүлэв хэмээсэн тэмээдийн хөлс цаасыг гаргуулж хүргүүлэн жасаанд тушаах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 7 сарын 27. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5196. н3. х1-10; Монгол хэлээр*).
127. Туг Чингисийн сангийн хэргийг захирах туслагч Дашдоной нараас Эрх цагаан дара хамба багшийн шарилд туслах мөнгөнөөс энэ жил харъяат жасаас чухам хэдэн ланг гаргаж хүргүүлэхийг заахыг эрж жасаанаа өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 12 сарын шинийн 8. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5196. н17. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
128. Улиастайн хамаарсан жанжин нарын газраас Далай ламыг хүрээний зэрэг газарт суулган бүхийд хэрэглэсэн зүйлийг дөрвөн аймаг шавьд ялган салгаж тогтоон шийтгэж тушаасан явдлыг хүргэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 32 дугаар оны 12 сарын 17. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7396. н2. х1-16; Манж, Хятад хэлээр*).
129. Гүн Алтанхуягийн хошууны тамгаас Далай ламын хэрэглэл тухайд мөнгөнд хоёр ланг элчээр хүргүүлэн бусдыг дараа гүйцэтгэе хэмээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны цагаан сарын 16. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7463. н1. х1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
130. Улиастай хүрээний жанжин сайдуудаас Далай ламын хэрэглэсэн зүйлийг дөрвөн аймаг шавь яахан хуваан гаргахыг тогтоож чин вангийн газар хэрэглэснийг түүгээр зөвлөн шийтгүүлээр тушаасныг уламжлан хамаарсан жанжин хэбэйд явуулах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 2 сарын шинийн 5. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. н23. х1-12; Монгол хэлээр*).

131. Note from Duke Damdin-Abishaa in charge of the border checks, asking whether monk Bazarsad could be given the task of superintendent to replace superintendent Jamba from the temple of Dayan Deerh who became ill (*Guangxu 33, III, 9 [21 April 1907]. 131_M1-1-7463. n9. x1-8; in Mongolian and Manchu*).
132. Letter from Assistant General Chin Vang requesting a decision about how to deal with goods that have been used for the Dalai Lama (*Guangxu 33, III, 9 [21 April 1907]. 132_M9-3-8418. n8. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
133. Notice from the office of Badamdorj the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer of Urga ordering the many shops in western side of Urga to remove the litter left by the Chinese between the Zuun Huree Monastery and the Gandandegchilen Monastery and prohibiting further littering (*Guangxu 33, III, 29 [11 May 1907]. 133_M1-1-7464. n18. x1-15; in Mongolian*).
134. Notice from the office of Da Lama Dashjav the Shanzudba Treasurer in charge of Urga regarding the removal of the Chinese, Russians, and Mongols who have been herding animals near the houses previously built by the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu on the bank of the Uliatai river (*Guangxu 33, V, 14 [24 June 1907]. 134_M1-1-7463. n7. x1-10; in Mongolian and Manchu*).
135. Letter from the Captain General [prince Guremjav] of Sain Noyon Aimag informing that the *tumjya* given by the Dalai Lama to the lords of Tusheet Khan and Tsetsen Khan Aimag had been delivered by envoys (*Guangxu 33, VI, 11 [20 July 1907]. 135_M9-3-8418. n32. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
136. Letter sent from the Captain General [prince Guremjav] of Sain Noyon Aimag with regard to receiving the *tumjya* given by the Dalai Lama and about issuing a certificate to lama Lhagva in order for him to deliver this thing to inner Leagues (*Guangxu 33, VI, 11 [20 July 1907]. 136_M31-2-5276. n22. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
137. Letter and order sent by the Captain General of Tusheet Khan Aimag regarding a fair decision about how to share the costs of the Dalai Lama's stays in Urga and the banner of Assistant General Chin Vang Handdorj (*Guangxu 33, VI, 30 [8 August 1907]. 137_M31-2-5276. n24. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
138. Original letter accompanied by the decision from the Captain General [of Tsetsen Khan Aimag] to the Captain General of Tusheet Khan Aimag to the Erdene Shanzudba Treasurer about not sharing the costs incurred for the Dalai Lama's stay in Assistant General Chin Vang's banner as it had nothing to do with our Aimag (*Guangxu 33, VII, 10 [18 August 1907]. 138_M31-2-5276. n25. x1-8; in Mongolian*).
131. Харуулыг бүгд захирах гүн Дамдин-Абишаагийн газраас Даян дээрхийн сүмийн бие өвдсөн гэсхүй Жамбалын оронд гэлэн Базарсадыг гэсхүйн тушаал хүлээлгэвээс болох уу хэмээн заахыг гуйн мэдэгдэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 3 сарын шинийн 9. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7463. н9. x1-8; Монгол, Манж хэлээр*).
132. Жанжин чин вангаас Далай ламд хэрэглүүлсэн зүйлийг хэрхэн болгохыг түүгээр тогтооно уу хэмээн захиж ирсэн хэрэг (*Бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 3 сарын шинийн 9. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8418. n8. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
133. Хүрээний эрдэнэ шанзудба Бадамдорж нарын газраас хүрээний баруун этгээдэд суун бүхий олон пүүсийн иргэдийг Зүүн хүрээ Гандандэгчилэн хоёр сүмийн хооронд орхисон хогийг иргэдээр нүүлгэн засуулж хог орхихыг цаазлан дагаж явуулбаас болох уу хэмээн мэдэгдэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 3 сарын 29. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7464. n18. x1-15; Монгол хэлээр*).
134. Хүрээний хамаарсан шанзудба да лам Дашжав нарын газраас багш Жибзундамба хутагтын Улиатай голын газарт урьд байгуулсан байшин гэрийн ойр тойрон иргэн, орос, монголчуудын адуу мал адуулан нутаглан бүхий хүмүүсийг зайлуулан нүүлгэж өөр газарт нутаглуулбаас болох уу хэмээн мэдэгдэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 5 сарын 14. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7463. n7. x1-10; Манж, Монгол хэлээр*).
135. Сайн ноён аймгийн да [ван Гүргэмжав] нараас Далай ламтанаас Түшээт хан, Цэцэн хан аймгийн ноёдод буулгасан томжоог [утгыг тодотгосон захиа] элчид тушааж хүргүүлэв хэмээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 6 сарын 11. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8418. n32. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
136. Сайн ноён аймгийн да [ван Гүргэмжав]-аас Далай ламаас буулгасан томжоог [утгыг тодотгосон захиа] хүлээн авч бас энэ зүйлийг өвөр чуулганд хүргүүлэхээр зарсан хуврага Лхагвад тэмдэгт бичиг олгож тус тус гүйцэтгүүлнэ үү хэмээх зэргээр захиар илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 6 сарын 11. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n22. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
137. Түшээт хан аймгийн да жанжин нараас Далай ламыг хүрээний газар ба жанжин чин ван Ха-гийн газраа заларч бүхийд хэрэглэсэн зүйлийг хэрхэн тэгшлэн шийтгэхийг тогтоож хариу ирүүлбэ хэмээн жанжины тушаал хамтлаж захиар илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 6 сарын 30. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n24. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
138. Далай лам танаа жанжин чин вангийн хошуунаас хэрэглүүлсэн зүйл манай аймагт хамаагүй тул түүгээр таслан дуусгана уу хэмээн да жанжины тушаал хамтлаж Түшээт аймгийн да жанжин энэ учир эрдэнэ шанзудба нарт явуулах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 7 сарын 10. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n25. x1-8; Монгол хэлээр*).

139. Original letter to the General-in-Chief and the Councillor about a draft document to approach three places to collectively prepare the goods for the use of the people arriving at Urga from the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama's places (*Guangxu 33, VIII, 11 [18 September 1907]. 139_M31-2-5276. n17. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
140. Issuance from the Captain General and the Councillor of a properly prepared document as it is appropriate that the costs for the people from the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama be shared (*Guangxu 33, VIII, 15 [22 September 1907]. 140_M31-2-5276. n19. x1-4; in Mongolian*).
141. Letter from the Captain General [prince Dorjpalam] of Herlen League sent to appropriate places for determining and sharing the costs of the Tibetan clerk monks from the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama's places as done previously (*Guangxu 33, VIII, 16 [23 September 1907]. 141_M9-3-8418. n26. x1-6; in Mongolian*).
142. Original letter sent to the Assistant General and the Councillor informing of the despatch of the original document confirming that the costs incurred for the people from the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama's places should be shared (*Guangxu 33, VIII, 19 [26 September 1907]. 142_M31-2-5276. n20. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
143. Letter from the responsible Captain General requesting a decision from Tusheet Khan about how to prepare return gifts to the Dalai Lama for giving the *tumjy-a* (*Guangxu 33, VIII, 28 [5 October 1907]. 143_M10-3-706. n1. x1-5; in Mongolian*).
144. Original document from the Assistant General and the Councillor sent to the Urga Duty Office about drafting rules for sharing the costs by three Aimags incurred for hosting the people sent by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama's places (*Guangxu 33, IX, 8 [14 October 1907]. 144_M31-2-5276. n18. x1-8; in Mongolian*).
145. Original letter to the Captain General Beise (grand duke) asking him to determine whether to give things in return for the Dalai Lama's *tumjy-a* (*Guangxu 33, IX, 10 [16 October 1907]. 145_M10-3-706. n2. x1-2; in Mongolian*).
146. Letter sent by the Councillor Prince asking whether it is appropriate to consult other Aimags before responding to the Dalai Lama's letter (*Guangxu 33, IX, 14 [20 October 1907]. 146_M9-3-8418. n29. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
147. Letter sent by the Captain General in charge of Tsetsen Khan Aimag for the urgent preparation of money in response to the Dalai Lama's letter (*Guangxu 33, XI, 12 [16 December 1907]. 147_M9-3-8418. n28. x1-3; in Mongolian*).
139. Далай лам Банчин эрдэнийн газраас хүрээнд ирэгчидийн хэрэглэлийг гурван газраас хуваарилан хэрэглүүлэх нь нийлэмжтэй болов уу хэмээх зэргээр зөвлөж уг бичгийг хүргүүлэн жанжин хэбэйд захиhaar явуулах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 8 сарын 11. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n17. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
140. Жанжин хэбэй нараас Далай лам Банчин эрдэнийн газраас зарагдаж ирэгчидийн хэрэглэлийг хувиарлан нийлүүлэх нь зүйтэй тул, эх зохиолгож ёсчлон бичүүлж хүргүүлв хэмээн захиhaar илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 8 сарын 15. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n19. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).
141. Хэрлэнгийн да [ван Доржпалам] нараас Далай лам Банчин эрдэнийн газраас зарагдан ирсэн төвд донир нарын хэрэглэлийг хуучин удаагаар хэрэглүүлхээр тогтоож зохих газруудад явуулан тушааж хариу ирүүлнэ үү хэмээн ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 8 сарын 16. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8418. n26. x1-6; Монгол хэлээр*).
142. Далай лам Банчин эрдэнийн газраас зарагдаж ирэгчидийн хэрэглэлийг хувиарлан нийлүүлэх нь зүйтэй тул явуулах бичгийг гүйцэтгээд эхийг хүргүүлв хэмээн жанжин хэбэйд захиhaar явуулах эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 8 сарын шинийн 19. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n20. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
143. Хамаарсан да Түшээт ханаас Далай ламын хайрласан томжооны хариу өргөлт зүйлийг яахан гүйцэтгэх явдлыг тогтоож ирүүл хэмээх зэрэг зөвшөөж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 8 сарын 28. Фм 10. д 3. хн 706. n1. x1-5; Монгол хэлээр*).
144. Далай лам Банчин эрдэнийн газраас хүрээний газар зарагдан ирэгчидийн хэрэглэлийг гурван газраас нийлүүлэх зэрэг учир дүрэм болгон гүйцэтгэн шийтгүүлье хэмээн жанжин хэбэй, энэ учир хүрээ жасаанд явуулан тушаах бичгийн эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 9 сарын шинийн 8. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. n18. x1-8; Монгол хэлээр*).
145. Да бэйсэд Далай ламын томжоонд хариу өргөх эсэх зэргийг түүгээр гүйцэтгэн шийтгүүлээр явуулах эх (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 9 сарын 10. Фм 10. д 2. хн 706. n2. x1-2; Монгол хэлээр*).
146. Хэбэй вангаас Далай ламын захидлын хариуг нөгөө аймаг лугаа гүйцэтгэвээс ямар хэмээн зөвлөж илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 9 сарын 14. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8418. n29. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).
147. Цэцэн хан аймгийн хамаарсан да-гаас Далай ламтаны захидалын хариуд мөнгө сэлтэсийг хэрэглүүлэхээр завдан буй учир захиж илгээсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 11 сарын 12. Фм 9. д 3. хн 8418. n28. x1-3; Монгол хэлээр*).

148. Note from the League Captain General and the Assistant General of Tusheet Khan Aimag about sending an enveloped document to the Lifanyuan regarding receipt of the wages by the khans, princes, grand dukes, dukes, and ruling princes of the affiliated Aimag, and about sending clerk monk Nindar to the Dunli prayer-reading shift instead of Agramba lord-of-the-law Agvaanluvsandambijantsan as he has not recovered from illness (*Guangxu 33, XI, 15 [19 December 1907]. 148_M1-1-7464. n5. x1-4; in Mongolian*).

1908

149. Report from the Urga Duty Office that the money and the letter for the Dalai Lama's *tumjiy-a* have been sent through door-keeper Luvsantseren (*Guangxu 33, XII, 17 [20 January 1908]. 149_M31-2-5276. n21. x1-4; in Mongolian*).

1904–1906

150. A detailed account of the remarkable prayers, teachings, and rituals given by the 13th Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso between his visit to Halh and his visit to Kumbum (*Guangxu 30–32 [1904–1906]. 150_x1-55; in Mongolian*).

148. Түшээт хан аймгийн чуулган дарга туслагч жанжин нарын газраас харъяат аймгийн хан, ван, бэйс, гүн, засаг нар пүнлүүний мөнгийг хүлээн авсан, түнли номын жасаа оноосон аграмба ноён цорж Агваанлуvsандамбийжанцан бие боловсроогүй учир жонир Ниндарыг орлуулан мордуулсан зэрэг хэргийн тул их журганд мэдэгдэн дугтуй бичиг нэгийг уламжлан явуулна уу хэмээн мэдэгдэж ирсэн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны 11 сарын 15. Фм 1. д 1. хн 7464. н5. x1-7; Монгол хэлээр*).

1908

149. Хүрээ жасаанаас Далай ламтаны томжооны хариуд өргөх мөнгө захидал зүйлийг хаалгач Лувсанцэрэн нарын аянталаар хүргүүлэв хэмээн зэрэг учир өргөсөн хэрэг (*бадаргуулт төрийн 33 дугаар оны өвлийн сүүл сарын 17. Фм 31. д 2. хн 5276. н21. x1-4; Монгол хэлээр*).

1904–1906

150. Далай ламын гэгээнтэний арван гуравдугаар дүрийн Түвдэнжамц Халхын газар залран ирээд, Гүмбүмд заларсан хүртэл аврал мандал айлтгасан, өршөөлд сайшаалт лүндэн айлдсан таалал гаргасан гайхамшигт зүйлийг дараалан сийрүүлж бичсэн нь (*бадаргуулт төрийн 30 дугаар оноос 32 дугаар он. x1-55; Монгол хэлээр*).



Pencil portrait of the 13th Dalai Lama, by N. Y. Kozhevnikov, 1905.

rgyal bstan yongs kyi bdag po/ thams cad mkhyen pa badzra dha ra ta' la'i bla'ma'i skye phreng bcu gsum pa pad dkar 'dzin pa'i sha'kyai dge sbyongs rje btsun ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho 'jigs bral dbang phyug phyogs las mam par rgyal ba'i sde'i 'dra thang/

Portrait of Lord of the Doctrine, the Omniscient Vajradhāra, the Thirteenth Incarnation of the Dalai Lama, Holder of the White Lotus, the monk (*bhikṣu*) from the Śākya [spiritual lineage], the Venerable Ngawang Thubten Gyatsho, fearless powerful lord victorious in all directions (Jigdre Wangchug Chogle Namgyal)



Map of Mongolia under the Qing Dynasty, 1911 (courtesy of Christopher Atwood; with modifications)

INTRODUCTION: THE 13TH DALAI LAMA IN MONGOLIA,
OR THE DAWN OF INNER ASIAN MODERNITY

Uradyn E. Bulag

THE DALAI LAMA DISAPPEARED!

On 3 August 1904 a large British expedition army led by Colonel Francis Younghusband¹ marched into Lhasa with an ease that shocked even him. He was probably expecting a more bloody battle than at Gyantse where over 1,000 poorly armed Tibetans were killed. He was met by Youtai,² the Qing Imperial Resident Minister or Amban of Tibet, but the 13th Dalai Lama (1876–1933), the highest ecclesiastical leader of Tibet who had taken a tough position rejecting a negotiated settlement with the British, was nowhere to be seen. Nobody knew where he was, to the embarrassment of both the British commander and the Qing Amban; both of them wanted a quick end to this confrontation, but for different reasons.

But where was he? After almost three weeks of futile searching, the infuriated Amban sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*waiwu bu*) in Beijing on 21 August 1904 informing them that the Dalai Lama had disappeared on the night of 27 July, and a thorough investigation of all the monks had yielded no clues as to his whereabouts. Blaming the Dalai Lama for all the troubles in Tibet, the Amban proposed that he be stripped of his title as a punishment for abandoning Lhasa and especially the Potala Palace where the Emperor's portrait was kept. This was, he said, to “cleanse the Barbarian Border Official Area of Service (*fanfu*) in order to apologise to the neighbouring state.”³ Furthermore,

he asked that the Dalai Lama be replaced by the 9th Panchen Lama as the leader of the Yellow School of Tibetan Buddhism. The Qing court swiftly approved his memorial five days later.⁴

Yet the whereabouts of the wretched Dalai Lama must still be accounted for. The Amban put out his tentacles everywhere to catch him, but by the time he was discovered, the Dalai Lama had already reached Halh (present-day Mongolia) thousands of miles away, far beyond his reach. A frustrated Amban reported to the throne thus:

In the past few months, there has been no sign of him, despite repeated and strict interrogations of Tibetan officials, and open and secret investigations. An earlier message from the Xining Amban Zhunliang said that [the Dalai Lama] did not stay in the area of Xining. Now, according to the report from Ganden Tripa, the responsible Kalon, and the

¹ The 1903–1904 Younghusband expedition to Tibet has long been a subject of intense research. For more recent assessments from various perspectives, see *The Younghusband 'Mission' to Tibet* (edited by Hildegard Diemberger and Stephen Hugh-Jones), a special issue of *Inner Asia* 14.1 (2012).

² Youtai was a Mongol bannerman.

³ The term *fanfu* is an interesting one. It refers to the remotest region of All under Heaven under the control of a Chinese ruler. The Chinese classic *Rites of Zhou* ranked nine domains of imperial administration starting from the residence of the ruler, with required service specified in the tributary relations:

(The ruler) distinguished between the nine domains or areas of service (*fu*) among the vassal states. The area cov-

ering one thousand *li* (from the emperor) is called the Royal Capital Domain (*Wangji*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Royal Capital Domain is the area called the Marquis Area of Service (*Houfu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Marquis Area of Service is the area called the Master of the Hinterland Area of Service (*Dianfu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Master of the Hinterland Area of Service is the area called the Baron Area of Service (*Nanfu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Baron Area of Service is the area called the Pledged Official Area of Service (*Caifu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Pledged Official Area of Service is the area called the Guard Area of Service (*Weifu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Guard Area of Service is the area called the Man Barbarian Official Area of Service (*Manfu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Man Barbarian Official Area of Service is the area called the Yi Barbarian Official Area of Service (*Yifu*). The area five hundred *li* beyond the Yi Barbarian Official Area of Service is the area called Defence Commander Area of Service (*Zhenfu*). Lastly, the area five hundred *li* beyond the Defence Commander Area of Service is the Barbarian Border Official Area of Service (*Fanfu*).

Quoted in James A. Anderson, *The Rebel Den of Nung Tri Cao: Loyalty and Identity along the Sino-Vietnamese Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 22.

⁴ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.), *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian* (Selected Archival Materials about the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the Late Qing) (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2002), 79–82.

monks and laity from the three large monasteries, the Dalai Lama has arrived around Urga.⁵

On 28 October (Guangxu 30, IX, 20) 1904, Lianshun, the general-in-chief (*jiangjun*) in charge of Uliastai in western Mongolia, was shocked to learn from some Mongols that the Dalai Lama had arrived at the territory of Halh Mongolia which was under his jurisdiction. Because there was no telegram connection with Uliastai, he had to send the news to Urga or Ikh Khüree (present-day Ulaanbaatar), about 1,000 km away, by imperial horse-relay postal service, which was then telegraphed⁶ to Beijing.

In his secret memorial to the throne on 4 December, Lianshun said that on 7 November (Guangxu 30, X, 1) his officials arrived at the Lamyn Gegeenii Dedlen Khiid Monastery⁷ where the Dalai Lama stayed, and learned that the Dalai Lama had fled with his seal to escape from the invading British. He bitterly complained that he did not get any official notice until 16 November (Guangxu 30, X, 10) when he received a telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs forwarded by the Amban in Urga (or Ikh Khüree), urging him to prevent the Dalai Lama from going further north. He said that on 1 December he was passed on a telegram from the Governor of Shan-Gan forwarded by the Governor of Xinjiang informing him of the Dalai Lama's arrival in Halh Mongolia, noting that the Dalai Lama had departed Tsaidam (the salt marsh region west of the Kokonuur lake in Qinghai) for Urga on 7 September 1904 (Guangxu 30, VII, 28). Fearing that he might enter Russia via Urga, they ordered him to stop the Dalai Lama and persuade him to return to Qinghai. Lianshun was furious at such a poor supply of information:

⁵ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan (ed.). *Guangxu Chao Zhupi Zouzhe* (Imperially Rescripted Palace Memorials of the Guangxu Reign) (vol. 116) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1995), 779.

⁶ Modern telegraphic communication between Halh Mongolia and the outside world was not established until 1896 when the Qing government set up a Post and Telecommunications Office at Urga. Over the following three years, a 2,196 km of telegraphic wire was built from Beijing, through Zhangjiakou, reaching the Russian border town of Kyakhta. In 1907 the Qing Ministry of Post and Telecommunications decided to set up telegraphic link to Uliastai and Hovd. Cf. Dong Jie and Gu Yongjie, "Zhong, E dui Waimeng Dianbao Quan de Zhengduo: Jishu yu Diguo Zhuyi Anli Yanjiu" (Scrambling for Wire Telegraph in Outer Mongolia between China and Russia: A Case Study on Technology and Imperialism). *Menggu Xue Jikan* 3 (2009): 1.

⁷ Also known as Erdene Bandida Khutugtu Monastery. Located about 20 km to the east of Bayankhongor city, this monastery used to be one of the largest in Halh Mongolia.

Your humble slave (*nucai*) was especially alarmed and shocked upon reading the telegram. As is known, Tibet is ten thousand *li* away from Uliastai and Urga. There is an Imperial Amban in Tibet, and it borders Qinghai and neighbours with Gansu and Xinjiang. Dare I ask when exactly the British army entered Tibet? Also when did the Dalai flee? Even if the governors and ambans did not take precautions before the incident, how could it be that they still did not hear after the incident? Since the Dalai travelled alone on the grassland in Qinghai, Gansu and Xinjiang, it may be difficult to intercept him. However, from Tibet to Urga, he must have passed through Qinghai and the border areas of Gansu and Xinjiang where telegram communication works day and night. Even if he was not to be retained in the neighbourhood, his travel should still have been known earlier, so that each place could prepare in advance. But why did it take so long as to wait until the second half of the 10th month, when the Dalai Lama had already arrived at Urga that I was forwarded a telegram, urgently ordering me to stop the Dalai Lama from entering Russia?⁸

Thus began the Qing knowledge of the 13th Dalai Lama's flight to Halh Mongolia, and their belated and frantic attempts to bring him back to Tibet. From the time of his departure from Lhasa on 27 July 1904 to his return on 21 December 1909, the 13th Dalai Lama was absent from his seat for over 5 years and 4 months. Just under two years of this period were spent in Halh Mongolia from early October 1904 to his crossing the border on 10 September 1906.

The flight of the 13th Dalai Lama and his sojourn in Halh Mongolia in 1904–1906 was a significant chapter in Tibet and Mongolia's modern history. A product of the Anglo-Russian Great Game, the 13th Dalai Lama's exile in Mongolia may look, on the surface, like an exemplification of the ancient tradition of the alliance between the Mongols and Tibetans dating back to the 13th century which had been revived in the 16th and 17th centuries when the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama institutions were established with Mongol military support. However, Mongolia at the turn of the 20th century was no longer a Mongolia that could even handle its own internal affairs. In fact, the situation in Mongolia was no better than that in Tibet, or perhaps even worse. The southern part of Mongolia or Inner Mongolia had by then become a battlefield between Mongols and Chinese

⁸ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.), *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian*, 83.

settlers supported by the Manchu rulers to implement the so-called “New Policy” initiated in 1902. Halh Mongolia or Outer Mongolia was relatively tranquil, enjoying a more autonomous status than Inner Mongolia in the Qing order, but the Mongols there were also nervously watching the unfolding of events in the south, despatching missions to St Petersburg to sound out the possible Russian support in the event of Mongol independence. If there was one thing in common between Halh Mongolia and Tibet in 1904, then, it was their common hope to rely on Russia. Indeed, the Dalai Lama did not come to Halh Mongolia to find sanctuary there; he was in fact led by his Buryat-Mongolian monk confidante Agvan Dorzhiev on a passage to Russia, a new Buddhist land of Shambhala where the Russian Tsar was believed to be the incarnation of White Tara.⁹ With the Manchu increasingly relying on the ethnic Chinese to save their ruling position in the Qing Empire, seeing their former Inner Asian allies as traitorous as they were willing to rely on external powers, the Qing imperial order in Inner Asia began to crumble.

The 13th Dalai Lama’s exile in Mongolia was widely known, but only as a mysterious event. Most of the existing discussions of him or the beginning of Tibetan modernity either skipped this episode or mentioned it in passing. Neither has the event occupied any significant chapter in Mongolian historiography. Yet we find the following paragraph in the formal petition to the Russian Tsar made by the Bogd Gegeen or the 8th Jebtsundamba Khutugtu (1869–1924) and the four Khans of Halh Mongolia on 29 July 1911 seeking Russian support for Mongolia’s liberation from “Manchu-Chinese oppression” and for building an independent state of Mongolia:

A few cunning officials, using deceitful tricks, occupied Tibet, the base of the yellow religion [Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism], the only thing we uphold, and they threatened and forced out the Dalai Lama. They now oppress [the Tibetans] and take over everything as they please, making the yellow religion really worthless. Moreover, being insatiable,

they have shown their wicked intent to put our Mongolia in the same situation [as in Tibet]. This is really regrettable and frightening.¹⁰

The reference to the driving out of the Dalai Lama must be about his flight to India in February 1910 to escape from a Qing invasion, as he was still in India at the time of the Mongol petition. But it must also be an allusion to his previous flight to Mongolia about which the Mongols must still have a fresh memory. Indeed, the two flights of the Dalai Lama reminded them of their own plight in Qing China, thereby constituting one of the key reasons for the Mongols to proclaim independence on 29 December 1911 from the Qing dynasty. In other words, it was the Qing mistreatment of the highest spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism that caused the highest offence to the Mongols who were deeply Buddhist at the time. In 1922 a Chinese historian Chen Chongzu wrote:

When in the 33rd year of the Guangxu reign Empress Dowager Xiaozhen decreed to strip the Dalai Lama of Tibet of his title for secretly making a futile attempt to collude with Britain, and after the copy of the order issued to the Amban in Tibet for investigating and arresting him reached Urga, everybody from the Jebtsundamba down was scared. They said that if even such a powerful person as the Dalai Lama was mistreated by the state like this, what else could people like the Jebtsundamba do? It is really difficult to describe such a situation of “like grieving for like”. They then quickly tried to find a way for resistance. The first evidence for the strengthening of their army was the stockpiling of numerous weapons and ammunitions in the temple near the river the Jebtsundamba used to live in. His disloyalty emanated from this.¹¹

If this observation is correct, then, we need to rewrite the history of early modernity for both Mongolia and Tibet, not in separation, but in connection.

⁹ The relationship between the Buryat lama Agvan Dorzhiev and the 13th Dalai Lama has been a staple subject of academic and popular consumption. See Samten, Jampa and Nikolay Tsyrempilov (Introduction, translation, and comments), *From Tibet Confidentially: Secret correspondence of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Agvan Dorzhiev, 1911–1925* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 2012). John Snelling, *The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev: Lhasa’s Emissary to the Tsar* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1993).

¹⁰ “1911 ony zun tsag Halhyn Javzandamba Hutagt ba Dörvön haadaas бүх Mongol Үндэстэн н’ Манж Hyatdyn darlal dor tesesh үгүй болсон учрыг gargaj, tusgaar улс баигуулахад тусламжыг гүйж Oros улсын hand өргөсөн бичиг,” in *XX зууны Монголын түүхийн эх сурвалж* (The Original Source of the Twentieth Century Mongolian History), ed. Lhamsürenгийн Дендев, (Ulaanbaatar: Mongol Ulsyn Shinjleh Uhaany Akademi, Olon Uls Sudlalyn Hüreelen), 114. For a more liberal translation of the text, see Urgungge Onon and Derrick Pritchatt, *Asia’s First Modern Revolution: Mongolia Proclaims Its Independence in 1911* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 11.

¹¹ Chen Chongzu, *Wai Menggu Jinshi Shi* (The Recent History of Outer Mongolia) (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1922), 2. Chen got the date wrong, however.

The 13th Dalai Lama's sojourn in Mongolia in 1904–1906 thus bore witness to a new relationship between Mongolia and Tibet which was established in the 13th century. Subsequently, the governments of Mongolia and Tibet signed a treaty in 1913 recognizing each other's independence.¹² Curiously, even the Mongolian People's Republic, a communist state, founded in 1924 upon the death of the 8th Jebtsundamba Khutugtu, set up an embassy in Lhasa from 1926 to 1928.¹³ However, with Mongolia's suspicion of the exiled 9th Panchen Lama's activities in Inner Mongolia allegedly supporting fascist Japan against Mongolia, a Great Purge against Buddhist institutions and lamas carried out in the 1930s, severing direct links between Mongolia and Tibet.¹⁴

The importance of the 13th Dalai Lama's exile in Mongolia has recently begun to attract widespread scholarly attention. In 2005 Russian scholar Belov published *Rossia i Tibet: Sbornik Russkikh Arkhivnykh Dokumentov, 1900–1914* (Russia and Tibet: A collection of Russian archival documents, 1900–1914),¹⁵ which was published in a Mongolian translation in 2012. A collection of 122 documents from the Russian Foreign Policy Archive, all on the relations between Russia and Tibet, including correspondence between the Russian tsar and the 13th

Dalai Lama, and diplomatic reports from London, Calcutta, Beijing and Urga, documents 23–70 are related to the Dalai Lama in Mongolia.

In China, we have seen the publication in 2002 of *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian* (Selected Archival Materials about the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the Late Qing).¹⁶ A collection of 334 Chinese language documents compiled from a variety of published or unpublished materials in China, documents 87–133 concern the Dalai Lama in Mongolia.

Mention should be made of two diaries written respectively by Bodisu and Li Tingyu, who went on an imperial mission in summer 1906 to Halh Mongolia to arrange the Dalai Lama's return journey. "Suomo Jicheng" (Report on the Travel to the Gobi in the North) by Bodisu, and "You Meng Riji" (Diaries of a Trip to Mongolia) are the only two Qing eye-witness reports about the Dalai Lama's time in Mongolia, containing some fascinating information.¹⁷ These Chinese archival materials are supplemented by a detailed Chinese language chronological biography of the 13th Dalai Lama, based on the Tibetan language biography of the 13th Dalai Lama, which includes some information about this period.¹⁸

The Russian archives have furnished fascinating materials for scholarly writing. For instance, we have an interesting chapter entitled "The Dalai Lama's Sojourn in Mongolia Gauged through Russian Diplomatic Activity" in Tatiana Shaumian's book entitled *Tibet: The Great Game and Tsarist Russia* published in 2000.¹⁹ By far the most comprehensive study is Inessa Lomakina's *Velikii Beglets* (The Great Fugitive) published in 2001, the Mongolian translation of which was published in 2012.²⁰ More

¹² See the published proceedings of a recent international meeting on the topic held in Mongolia in 2011: A. Tüvshintögs and D. Zorigt (eds.), *"Mongol, Tüvdiin 1913 ony Gere"*—*Olon Ulsyn Erh Züin Barimt Bichig* (The Mongolia–Tibet Treaty of 1913: The International Legal Documents) (Ulaanbaatar: Mönkhiin Üseg, 2012).

¹³ For a good discussion of the Mongolian mission to Tibet, see Ts. Batbayar and D. Gombosuren, *Mongol ba Tüvd XX Zuury Ehnii Hagast: XIII Dalai Lam Tüvdenjants Mongold Zalarsan Tüüh* (Mongolia and Tibet in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso's Visit to Mongolia) (Ulaanbaatar: Shinjleh Uhaany Akademi Tüühiin Hüreelen, 2009), 105–135. See also Alexandre Andreyev, *Soviet Russia and Tibet: The Debacle of Secret Diplomacy, 1918–1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). The biography of the Mongolian ambassador to Tibet is now available: Zagsurengiin Seseer, *Hicheengüi Baatar Gombo-Idshin Gün: Tüvded Zaragsan Elch* (Assiduous Hero Duke Gombo-Idshin: An Envoy to Tibet) (Ulaanbaatar: Golden Ai Printing, 2005).

¹⁴ The 9th Panchen Lama fled to inland China and Inner Mongolia in 1923 and died in 1937 in Jyekundo, Qinghai on his way back to Tibet. For his activities in Inner Mongolia, see Urady E. Bulag, "Lamas to the Rescue: Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism and Imperial Nationalisms," chapter 2 of his *Collaborative Nationalism: The Politics of Friendship on China's Mongolian Frontier* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010).

¹⁵ E.A. Belov (ed.), *Rossia i Tibet: sbornik russkikh arkhivnykh dokumentov, 1900–1914* (Russia and Tibet: A Collection of Russian Archival Documents, 1900–1914) (Moskva: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2005).

¹⁶ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.), *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian* (Selected Archival Materials about the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the Late Qing) (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2002).

¹⁷ Bodisu, "Suomo Jicheng" (Report on the Travel to the Gobi in the North), and Li Tingyu, "You Meng Riji" (Diaries of a Trip to Mongolia), both in *Qingmo Menggu Shidi Ziliao Huicui* (A Collection of Mongolian Historical and Geographical Materials of the Late Qing), edited by Wu Fengpei (Beijing: Quan'guo Tushuguan Wenxian Suowei Fuzhi Zhongxin, 1990).

¹⁸ Xizang Zizhiqu Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui (ed.), *Di Shisan Shi Dalai Lama Nianpu* (Chronology of the 13th Dalai Lama), Vol. 11 of *Xizang Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji*, Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 1989.

¹⁹ Tatiana Shaumian, *Tibet: The Great Game and Tsarist Russia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁰ Inessa Lomakina, *Aguu Ih Bosuul* (The Great Fugitive), trans. J. Nergui (Ulaanbaatar: Jikom Press, 2012).

recently, Mongolian scholars have also begun to use Russian archival materials to write about the relationship between Mongolia and Tibet in the 20th century, focusing heavily on the 13th Dalai Lama's sojourn in Mongolia: Ts. Batbayar and D. Gombosuren 2009. *Mongol ba Tüvd XX Zuuny Ehnii Hagast: XIII Dalai Lam Tüvdenjamts Mongold Zalarsan Tüüh* (Mongolia and Tibet in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso's Visit to Mongolia).²¹

Chinese studies of the Dalai Lama's stay in Mongolia are sporadic at best.²² Most are simply anti-Russian and anti-British propaganda based on erroneous data. The most scholarly publication that stands out to date is Wang Yuanda's *Jindai Eguo yu Zhongguo Xizang* (Modern Russia and China's Tibet).²³ Based on extensive research on Chinese and Russian archival materials, Wang carefully reconstructed the Russian activities in Tibet, devoting quite a few pages to the Dalai Lama's relationship with the Russian government, especially the role played by Buryat monks. There was of course nothing on the Mongol side of the story. All of the above books prove to be richer than John Snelling's brief account of the Dalai Lama's exile in Mongolia in his classic *Buddhism in Russia*.²⁴

None of the works mentioned above has utilized the extensive archival materials in Mongolia, however. In this light, we are pleased to publish 150 original documents from Mongolia all about the 13th Dalai Lama's sojourn in Halh Mongolia. These documents, about seventy per cent in Mongolian, the rest in Manchu and Chinese, have no overlap with the published Russian archival materials, and only three of the Manchu documents have been published in China in Chinese translation. Therefore,

these documents from Mongolia, which pertain to Manchu frontier officials' intelligence gathering and communications with the Qing court, and inter-Mongolian communications, show rich details of the Dalai Lama's activities in Mongolia. His extensive travels and elaborate and large-scale ritual activities proved costly, as many of the documents here show. The documents provide a fascinating picture of the relationship (sometimes very strained) between the 13th Dalai Lama and the Mongols, the political and religious situation of Halh Mongolia, and above all the Mongols' worsening economic situation at the turn of the 20th century.

Below, I first present a quick review of these documents, and then discuss a few key points.

THE GREAT GAME AND THE GREAT COST

On 31 October 1904 (Guangxu 30, IX, 23) the captain-general of Tusheet Khan Aimag²⁵ was informed by the lamas in Urga that the 13th Dalai Lama was arriving at the banner of Grand Duke Yundundorjji [Yun Beise] of Zasagt Khan Aimag on the tenth of the last month of the year, and on the twentieth, he would reach the monastery of the Erdene Bandida Khutugtu [Lama Geegen] of Sain Noyon Aimag. This was heard by the Mongol lamas from the Tibetan lamas, who must have been travelling ahead of the Dalai Lama.²⁶

The excited captain-general sent an urgent message to the other three Halh aimags telling them that the Dalai Lama's visit to Halh Mongolia was a "really and extremely marvellous" (*üneher-ün čuhum masi yaiqamsiytai*) event. He urged that the Halh Mongols collectively must show good hospitality to the Dalai Lama, telling them that every assistance should be rendered to help the passage of the Dalai Lama through all the banners on the way. He then invited his colleagues in the other three aimags to come to Urga for consultation and come up with a collective strategy to host the Dalai Lama. As can

²¹ Ts. Batbayar and D. Gombosuren, *Mongol ba Tüvd XX Zuuny Ehnii Hagast: XIII Dalai Lam Tüvdenjamts Mongold Zalarsan Tüüh* (Mongolia and Tibet in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso's Visit to Mongolia) (Ulaanbaatar: Shinjle Uhaany Akademi Tüühiin Hüreelen, 2009).

²² See a useful survey on the Chinese studies of the 13th Dalai Lama in the recent two decades: Xirao Nima and Ma Shouping, "Jin Ershi Nian lai Guonei Shisan Shi Dalai Lama Yanjiu Dongtai Shuping" (An Analytical Survey of the Studies on the 13th Dalai Lama in China in the Past Twenty Years). *Xinan Minzu Daxue Xuebao* 32.4 (2011): 49–54.

²³ Wang Yuanda, *Jindai Eguo yu Zhongguo Xizang* (Modern Russia and China's Tibet) (Beijing: Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, 1993).

²⁴ John Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia: The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev: Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1993).

²⁵ Halh Mongolia in the late Qing was administratively divided into four provinces or *aimags* (Zasagt [Zasagtu] Khan, Sain Noyon [Noyan], Tusheet [Tüshiyetu] Khan and Tsetsen [Setsen] Khan) and the Shabi administration of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu. These were further divided into 86 banners or *hoshuus*.

²⁶ 3_M10-3353. n9. x1–9 (document in this volume). For a recent account of the travel routes of the Dalai Lama, see Sh. Soninbayar. "XIII Dalai Lam Mongold Irsen Tuhai" (On the 13th Dalai Lama's Visit to Mongolia). *Lavain Egshig: Burhan shashny sudlal, medeellin setguul* (1996): 15–17.

be seen from document No. 3_M10-3353. n9. x1–9, hosting the Dalai Lama became a massive and all-Halh event.

The news of 13th Dalai Lama's arrival also put the Qing government on alert. Yanzhi, a newly appointed Amban of Xining, was quickly redeployed as an imperial envoy, to handle the issue of the Dalai Lama.²⁷ Instructions were sent to the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu that the imperial envoy should be accorded the same courtesy and hospitality as shown to the Dalai Lama.²⁸

The Mongol officials' initial excitement about hosting the Dalai Lama as an opportunity for merit-making soon faded, as they sobered up to the hard reality of having to meet the enormous cost: his daily expenses were one thousand tea bricks²⁹ and 20 horses. In a document written in late January 1905, Tusheet Khan Aimag complained that although Zasagt Khan Aimag and Sain Noyon Aimag originally agreed to collectively contribute to the cost, they did not deliver anything.³⁰ Two days later, Sain Noyon Aimag captain-general stated that 30 camel loads of grain were sent to Urga.³¹ Pressurized by Tsetsen Khan Aimag and Tusheet Khan Aimag, Zasagt Khan Aimag responded by proposing to approach the Urianghai and Durbet regions of western Mongolia, appealing to their religious sensibility.³² Moral pressure was also exerted by the Manchu general-in-chief of Uliastai who urged the Mongol princes to abide by the master-disciple rule and pay up. Zasagt Khan Aimag soon relented, delivering a small amount of 1,000 taels of silver, claiming difficulty due to natural disasters.³³

The single most important job for the Qing government in the two year period was to remove the Dalai Lama from Mongolia in order to squash any potential Tibetan alliance with Russia and with the Mongols. For his part, the Dalai Lama's journey in hope of obtaining the Russian support for his struggle with the British could not have come

at a worse time as his arrival at Urga coincided with the most difficult crisis Russia was encountering, both internationally and domestically. Internationally, it fought a costly war with Japan, suffering a major defeat in the Battle of Mukden in Manchuria in February–March 1905, losing 90,000 soldiers. Domestically, worsening economic and political problems in Russia led to popular unrest, and the Russian defeat in the hands of the Japanese triggered a major revolution in early 1905. Russia was forced to a peace agreement with Japan on 5 September 1905 after the Russian navy was defeated by the Japanese at the Battle of Tsushima on 27–28 May 1905. Despite this debacle, Russia did not want to disappoint the Dalai Lama, but tried to keep him favourably disposed toward Russia, while not rendering him any support.³⁴

Throughout the spring and summer of 1905, the Dalai Lama had to juggle several balls, dealing with the great devotional worship of the Mongols and Buryats who rushed to Urga to get his blessing, and with the pressure put on him by the Qing government for an early departure, while waiting anxiously for a favourable Russian response. The Qing, for its part, was careful not to be too heavy-handed with the Dalai Lama, for fear of pushing him towards Russia or alienating the Mongols. It, instead, resorted to an underhand approach by driving a wedge between him and the Jebtsundamba. Thus, the Dalai Lama's request, in January 1905, for the building of a new temple in Urga as his religious base was rejected by the Qing court.³⁵ He was told that Urga was the Jebtsundamba's realm, off-limits to him, whereas his own realm was in Tibet. Subsequently the Mongol lama officials of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu and the Dalai Lama's Tibetan retinue entered an open conflict over the height of the thrones of the Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu in early February 1905, as four documents here show.³⁶ The thrones were prepared for the two high lamas' historic meeting, but the Mongol lamas were incensed at the Tibetan attempt to make the Dalai Lama's throne much

²⁷ 5_M1-1-7294. n2. x1–4.

²⁸ 10_M1-1-7294. n30. x1–8.

²⁹ For about one hundred years during the Qing dynasty, brick tea imported from Hubei province had been used as currency in Mongolia. A piece of brick tea weighing 596.8 grams was worth 1.3 silver yuans. Cf. Chen Yiming, "Zhuancha Huobi" (Brick Tea Currency). *Nei Menggu Jingrong Yanjiu* 3 (2003), 23. Document 11_M1-1-2338. x1-17 shows the use of brick to measure items offered to the Dalai Lama.

³⁰ 16_M10-3353. n2. x1–5.

³¹ 17_M9-3-8240. n60. x1–4.

³² 21_M31-2-5276. n7. x1–3.

³³ 26_M31-2-5276. n1. x1–5.

³⁴ This strategy is best described by Inessa Lomakina, *Agui Ih Bosuul* (The Great Fugitive). For the general discussion of the Great Game and its effect on Mongolia, see Nakami Tatsuo, "Qing China's Northeast Crescent: The Great Game Revisited," in *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*, vol. 2, edited by David Wolf, et al. (Leiden: Brill 2007), 513–529.

³⁵ 12_M1-1-7294. n36. x1–6; 23_M1-1-2343. x10–11.

³⁶ 20_M9-3-8240. n6. x1–11; 28_M10-2-3369. n6. x1–4; 35_M10-2-3369. n7. x1–3; 61_M10-2-3369. n9. x1–4.

higher than that of the Khutugtu. The Mongol lama officials made an appeal to the captain-generals of the four Halh aimags asking them to come up with a collective solution. They could not.

As soon as spring was in sight, in March 1905, the Qing emperor decreed that the Dalai Lama be returned to Tibet at an opportune time, and that he should travel via the official relay route from Urga to Zhangjiakou near Beijing rather than the original route from western Mongolia.³⁷ The Qing court schemed that travel through inland China would facilitate its control of the Dalai Lama, but their dream was dashed as the latter insisted on returning via the original route. After much negotiation, the Dalai Lama finally agreed to leave Urga on 17 May 1905 (Guangxu 31, IV, 14).³⁸ To the chagrin of the Qing officials, however, the Dalai Lama did not depart on time, claiming that he had caught a cold, so the departure date had to be postponed by ten days to 27 May.³⁹ But two days before his new departure date, it became apparent that his illness had worsened and that he could not leave. This sent into disarray the entire arrangement from Urga to Xining, where relays and other logistical preparations had been made through a massive mobilization of Mongol leagues and banners along his travel route. Large number of camels and horses were waiting at various relay stations, but the indeterminacy of the Dalai Lama's return date caused tremendous inconvenience and financial loss to the Mongols.

The Qing officials could not but anxiously wait for his speedy recovery from illness, but it was not until 12 September 1905 when the Amban of Urga was informed that the Dalai Lama was ready to move, but not directly. He agreed to leave Urga on 15 September via Prince Handdorj's banner and its monastery (*Daichin Vang-yin Kuriy-e*) in Tusheet Khan Aimag and Zaya Bandida Monastery in Sain Noyon Aimag, and then get out of the Halh territory through Yundundorj's banner in Zasagt Khan Aimag.⁴⁰ This change of travel route meant that new relay stations would have to be built to transport him and his large luggage. New frantic preparations were launched by the Mongols on the order of the Amban.

The Dalai Lama's visit to Prince Handdorj's banner was master-minded by the prince himself, the assistant general of Tusheet Khan Aimag, who would later become a major leader in the Mongolian independence movement, and the foreign minister in the new Mongolian government of 1911. He was anti-Qing, but pro-Russia, not least because his banner was close to the Russian border.⁴¹

It is not clear how long Prince Handdorj expected the Dalai Lama to stay in his banner. One would have thought that since the Dalai Lama agreed to return via the banner, the visit would be quick. However, instead of just passing through, he stayed there for half a year from late September 1905 to the following March. His extended sojourn there caused much anxiety to both the Mongols and the Qing officials. The Mongol officials, waiting for the Dalai Lama's passage along the relay stations, sent repeated queries about his departure date from Handdorj's banner. The Qing officials, of course, had much more strategic considerations in mind, fearing that the Dalai Lama was contemplating crossing the border into Russia. In this context, it is interesting to read a report from Prince Handdorj that although he passed on the Amban's order, the Dalai Lama would not budge, lamenting that it was really beyond his ability to do anything to make His Holiness leave.⁴²

Soon, winter set in, making travel impossible in the cold weather of Mongolia. Once again, the Qing emperor was forced to agree to his passing the winter in Halh Mongolia, sending his decree by telegram on 14 November 1905.⁴³ However, the Qing government did not leave him alone in the banner near the Russian border, but sent armed guards to "protect" the Dalai Lama. Security was at the top of the Qing mind. In early March 1906, the Dalai Lama finally agreed to leave on 21 March 1906 for Zaya Bandida Monastery.⁴⁴ A sure sign of his seriousness

³⁷ 33_M1-1-7339. n6. x1-5.

³⁸ 42_M1-1-7339. n4. x1-4.

³⁹ 47_M1-1-7340. n30. x1-5.

⁴⁰ 67_M9-3-8240. n16. x1-6.

⁴¹ J. Boldbaatar, *Erdene Daichin Hoshi Chin Van Handdorj* (Ulaanbaatar: Mönhiin Useg, 2011). Prince Handdorj's son followed the Dalai Lama to Beijing and then got killed there. Upon hearing the news Handdorj vowed: "I will not let the tracks of Manchu or Chinese shoes come further than the pass of Chiang Chia K'ou [Zhangjiakou]." Ts. Damdinsuren, *Tales of An Old Lama*, trans. with notes by Charles Bawden (Tsing: The Institute of Buddhist Studies: 1997), 46.

⁴² 72_M1-1-7339. n16. x1-4.

⁴³ 74_M9-3-8317. n71. x1-4. and 75_M1-1-7339. n26. x1-5.

⁴⁴ 98_M1-1-7339. n60. x1-6.

this time was he had sent 50 camel loads of goods to Tibet in advance of his trip.⁴⁵

When the Dalai Lama eventually did depart on 21 March, the Amban of Urga Yanzhi and the Mongol official Tserenpuntsag heaved a sigh of relief and happily memorialized the Emperor on 28 March 1906.⁴⁶ The Dalai Lama arrived at Zaya Bandida Monastery on 31 March.⁴⁷ However, much to the annoyance of the Qing officials again, the Dalai Lama stayed put there, without showing any sign of moving again. On 21 April (Guangxu 32, III, 18) the Emperor sent Bodisu, a Grand Minister in Attendance (*yuqian dachen*), as an imperial envoy, to meet with the Dalai Lama in Halh Mongolia, to urge his immediate departure. A high ranking Mongol bannerman with a title of Bulwark Duke (*Fuquo Gong*), and the grandson of Prince Senggerenchin, the last Mongol warrior who was martyred in defence of the Qing, Bodisu was accompanied by two Manchu officials and one Chinese army officer Li Tingyu with thirty cavalymen. They arrived at Zaya Bandida Monastery on 6 June.⁴⁸ On 17 June, the Imperial Envoy met the Dalai Lama and presented him the imperial edict and gifts, noting in his diary that the Dalai Lama “dispatched numerous monks who, carrying banners and blowing trumpets, invited me to enter the monastery. The Dalai Lama thereupon knelt to receive the imperial edict, while presenting two yellow ceremonial *hadags*, reverently passing his respects to the Emperor. I then handed over the objects awarded by the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, and the Dalai performed a ritual of kneeling three times and kowtowing nine times, reverently expressing his gratitude for the heavenly grace.”⁴⁹

The Imperial Envoy met the Dalai Lama nine times, constantly urging him to leave early. Finally the Dalai Lama left Zaya Bandida Monastery on 18 July (Guangxu 32, V, 27). Arriving at Sain Noyon banner on 21 July, he stayed there for one more month until 26 August, and then finally got out of the Halh territory into the old Torgut banner, or today’s Ejene banner of Inner Mongolia, on 10 September.

The Dalai Lama’s extended stay in Halh Mongolia and his reluctant departure could no doubt be attributed to the Dalai Lama’s grand strategy of getting the best possible position *vis-à-vis* both China and Britain, which were negotiating over the fate of Tibet. However, one cannot but notice the tremendous financial burden his stay had imposed on the Mongols. The Qing government insisted that the four Halh aimags and the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu’s Shabi administration cover all the expenses. The financial plight of the Mongols was also noted by Bodisu, the Mongol imperial envoy, who was alarmed at the amount of wealth the Dalai Lama was collecting at Zaya Bandida Monastery, and equally at the “stupidity” of the Mongols for giving up all their wealth to the Dalai. Li Tingyu, Bodisu’s body-guard, reported that the Dalai Lama’s travel team of 182 people had 600 camels and 200 horses with them, which all had to be supported by the Mongols.⁵⁰ Both of them noted in their diaries that the Mongols had been exhausted of their wealth and that they would not be able to recover within three years, as Mongols told them. This late Qing official observation of the Dalai Lama’s avarice for wealth in Mongolia tallies well with socialist Mongolian representation made by B. Rinchen, one of Mongolia’s most reputable scholars.⁵¹

The documents published here, while not directly criticizing the Dalai Lama as the Qing officials candidly noted in their personal diaries, actually furnished facts to support this view. Indeed, the majority of the documents here are about how to cover the large expenses incurred in preparing relay supports and the maintenance of his religious activities. His arrival journey was not as big a burden, because he had only 20–30 people with him. As he began to attract large numbers of pilgrims, official

⁴⁵ 97_M9-3-8316.n34. x1–8. Li Tingyu, a bodyguard accompanying the imperial envoy, wrote in his diary that 60 camel loads of goods were robbed when travelling in Qinghai. Li Tingyu, “You Meng Riji,” 667.

⁴⁶ 105_M1-1-7294. n15. x1–4.

⁴⁷ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’an’guan (ed.). *Guangxu Chao Zhupi Zouzhe*, 864.

⁴⁸ 114_M9-3-8316. n8. x1–6.

⁴⁹ Bodisu, “Suomo Jicheng,” 502. This description of the Dalai Lama performing a full *kowtow* ritual before the imperial envoy is also described by Li Tingyu. This record, however, goes against the conventional understanding of the putative equal ritual relationship between the Dalai Lamas and Qing emperors. The 13th Dalai Lama was said to have refused to *kowtow* to the Empress Dowager and the Emperor. A good explanation for the Dalai Lama’s bodily submission is that far away in Mongolia, the Dalai Lama was obliged to do so under duress, as Li Tingyu told the Dalai Lama’s Chinese speaking bodyguard that he had been ordered by the Emperor to kill the Dalai Lama if necessary. Li Tingyu, “You Meng Riji,” 572.

⁵⁰ Li Tingyu, “You Meng Riji,” 643.

⁵¹ B. Rinchen, *Üürin Tuya: Tüühen Roman* (Morning Twilight: A Historical Novel), vol. 1 (Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn Hevleh Üild-ver, 1951), chapter 21.

and unofficial, the financial capacities of the four aimags and the Jebtsundamba's Shabi administration were severely strained. With no funding from the Qing government whatsoever, several documents show that Tusheet Khan Aimag had to borrow money from Chinese merchants to support the Dalai Lama and his entourage. As of early June 1905 Tusheet Khan Aimag borrowed more than 30,000 taels of silver from a Chinese firm in Urga.⁵²

The six month long stay of the Dalai Lama and his large retinue at Prince Handdorj's banner monastery, and indeed the constant flow of high Qing officials as well as large numbers of pilgrims, posed a heavy financial burden on the banner. Prince Handdorj and the other leaders of Tusheet Khan Aimag decided that the cost be broken down and shared by all the four aimags and the Shabi administration as a matter of Halh collective responsibility. Despite repeated pleas, little had been delivered, however. In August 1906, Tusheet Khan Aimag made a list of non-compliances, and again urged the other three aimags and the Shabi treasury to share the debt.⁵³

There were two sets of costs at issue: one pertained to the costs incurred in Urga from the Dalai Lama's arrival in November 1904 to his departure in September 1905. And the second was the expenses of the Dalai Lama's stay at Prince Handdorj's banner from September 1905 to March 1906. The former was relatively unproblematic, as it was soon agreed that two eastern aimags, i.e. Tusheet Khan and Tsetsen Khan, and the Shabi administration of the Jebtsundamba should cover the expenses, as it was traditional for them to share the costs incurred in Urga. However, the latter proved to be controversial, because, contrary to Prince Handdorj and Tusheet Khan Aimag's argument, the other aimags insisted that it was the responsibility of Tusheet Khan Aimag in general and Prince Handdorj in particular because it was he who invited the Dalai Lama to stay at his banner. They argued that they had no obligation to pay for other people's expenses, and some excused themselves by saying they had no money to spare due to natural disasters. One banner prince, for instance, only donated two taels of silver.⁵⁴

This dispute invited the Qing official mediation, as in late January 1907 Sain Noyon Aimag brought the case to the general-in-chief of Uliastai,⁵⁵ complaining that if the two eastern aimags of Tusheet Khan and Tsetsen Khan and the Shabi Administration insisted that the western two aimags of Zasagt Khan and Sain Noyon share the costs of the Dalai Lama's stays at both Urga and Prince Handdorj's banner, then they should also share the expenses of his stay in Zaya Bandida Monastery and Sain Noyon banner. The Uliastai general-in-chief shared this view, further noting that there were more than 20 relay stations for the Dalai Lama to travel from Sain Noyon banner to the old Torgut banner beyond the Halh territory, which would cost 3,000 to 4,000 taels of silver per station. As for the caravan carrying the Dalai Lama's goods travelling from Zasagt Khan Aimag to Anxizhou in Gansu, there were an additional 30 stations from beyond the Mongolian border, with each station costing 1,500 to 1,600 taels of silver. If the cost of replacing dead camels was included, then the actual cost incurred by the two western aimags would be double the cost incurred by the two eastern aimags. Therefore, instead of sharing the cost between all five administrations, which would surely invite more quarrels, he suggested following the old Halh principle, namely the Dalai lama's travel cost be covered only by the respective aimags where he actually stayed. In concrete, he proposed that the cost incurred in Urga should be shared by the two eastern aimags plus the Shabi administration, and the cost in Prince Handdorj's banner should be decided by the leaders of the two eastern aimags in consultation. These costs had nothing to do with the two western aimags, and similarly, the expenses incurred in the two western aimags should be covered by these two aimags only. He noted with disgust that the Mongols, for all their Buddhist beliefs, should have quarrelled with each other, refusing to take up the expenses as soon as the Dalai Lama had left. In order not to desecrate the Yellow Religion, he admonished the Mongols to resolve their differences quickly, threatening that if they continued to quarrel, he would take the exact number of expenses incurred in the western aimags and divide them up among the five administrations if they so wished.

However, since the Uliastai general-in-chief asked the two eastern aimags to resolve their

⁵² 56_M9-3-8317. n15. x1-3. See also 59_M9-3-8240. n26. x1-3.

⁵³ 122_M9-3-8318. n6. x1-11.

⁵⁴ 129_M1-1-7463. n1. x1-3.

⁵⁵ 128_M1-1-7396. n2. x1-16 and 130_M31-2-5276. n23. x1-12.

differences among themselves regarding whether or not they should share the costs in Prince Handdorj's banner, that is exactly what they did. In response to Tusheet Khan Aimag's request made on 8 August 1907 to Tsetsen Khan Aimag and Erdene Shanzudba Treasury for sharing the debt of about 36,900 taels of silver incurred in Prince Handdorj's banner,⁵⁶ Tsetsen Khan Aimag replied bluntly ten days later that they would be happy to share the costs of the Dalai Lama's stay in Urga with Tusheet Khan Aimag and the Erdene Shanzudba treasury of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu as it was the traditional practice, but they would not pay anything towards sharing the cost incurred in Prince Handdorj's banner; instead they would like to follow the territorial principle proposed by the Uliastai general-in-chief.⁵⁷

As the protracted dispute indicates, the Dalai Lama's stay in Mongolia and its heavy costs had some adverse effect on the internal unity among the four Halh aimags. One cannot but be surprised at one most interesting phenomenon: while the Mongol officials were struggling to make the Dalai Lama's stay and his travel as comfortable as possible, incurring heavy debts themselves, the Dalai Lama remained utterly indifferent to the plight of his Mongol alms-givers. Indeed, unaware of the dispute between officials of the five administrations over the sharing the debt incurred in supporting him, the Dalai Lama sent a *tumjiy-a* (*tumjuu*) in July 1907 from Kumbum Monastery near Xining to the princes of Tusheet Khan Aimag and Tsetsen Khan Aimag as well as princes of the 49 banners of Inner Mongolia asking for alms.⁵⁸

The Mongolian term *tumjiy-a* is not glossed in any available Mongolian dictionary, but it may be a rendering of the Tibetan word *mthun sbyor*, which means "make the condition fit with [my] needs," or *mthun 'gyur*, pronounced as *thungyur* or *thunjur* in Amdo dialect, which is a polite way of saying "please help me."⁵⁹ In several documents, *tumjiy-a* was mentioned as the Dalai Lama's Tibetan letter written in yellow ink, which required a response in money. Without the actual content of the *tumjiy-a* letter available, one may conjecture that the Dalai Lama, upon knowing that he would be allowed to go to Beijing to have an audience with the Emperor,

appealed to the Mongols again for help in kind, money and services.

There is no information about the amount of money sent by Inner Mongolia. But some documents here show that the Halh response was anything but measured and slow. Interestingly, there was even a debate about whether the money should be paid only by the individuals mentioned in the *tumjiy-a* letter, or whether by the two aimags at large. In October 1907 the counsellor Prince of Tusheet Khan Aimag advised his superior that since he had "no theory to decipher the hidden meaning in the letter, and being unsure whether further offerings will have to be made," the captain-general should consult Tsetsen Khan Aimag so as to make a coordinated response.⁶⁰ On 16 December 1907, Tsetsen Khan Aimag, in their reply to a query from Tusheet Khan Aimag, said that their captain-general and assistant general would each pay 50 taels of silver, the councillor 30 taels, and these would be delivered with a letter and a *hadag* ceremonial scarf.⁶¹ This was, admittedly, an embarrassingly meagre amount of money, given the length of time it took for the aimag to collect it, but it was ceremoniously despatched on 20 January 1908.⁶²

Thus end the Mongol records of the 13th Dalai Lama's exile in Halh Mongolia in 1904–1906, and the financial repercussion for the Mongols.

THE PERSONAL IS THE POLITICAL IS THE TERRITORIAL

As the archival documents show, the Mongols, especially the officials, had a difficult time in hosting the Dalai Lama because of the high costs. The Dalai Lama must also have felt miserable in Mongolia, as he was constantly told to leave not only by the Qing officials, but more importantly by the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu, the host in the land of his exile. The conflict between the Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba was open, embarrassing not only the Dalai Lama himself, but also many Mongols. It was quite extraordinary that the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu snubbed the Dalai Lama, the highest leader of Tibetan Buddhism, in which he also occupied an important place, as he did not even bother to meet the Dalai Lama in public. There was no documentary evidence from any source to

⁵⁶ 137_M31-2-5276. n24. x1-5.

⁵⁷ 138_M31-2-5276. n25. x1-8.

⁵⁸ 135_M9-3-8418. n32. x1-4. and 136_M31-2-5276. n22. x1-5.

⁵⁹ I am grateful to Hildegard Diemberger and Tsering Dawa for their illumination.

⁶⁰ 146_m9-3-8418. n29. x1-3.

⁶¹ 147_m9-3-8418. n28. x1-3.

⁶² 149_M31-2-5276. n21. x1-4.

prove that the two met even in private. There was only one memoir, namely the oral history of Boryn Jambal, an old lama in Urga at the time of the Dalai Lama's visit, mentioning that the two met in secret several times. Jambal himself, however, did not witness their meeting.⁶³ Until there is any hard evidence unearthed, we may just as well treat this as an anxious wish on the part of Mongol believers to reconcile the two highest leaders of Tibetan Buddhism.

Jambal, the old lama, did not whitewash their animosity, but acknowledged a fight between them over status and prestige, recalling:

The Holy One said: "I am a lama who was brought officially from Tibet to Mongolia to stay as Jebtsundamba. Though the Dalai Lama is great he has fled from there and has come seeking refuge in my official place. So the Dalai Lama should have sent me a ceremonial greeting scarf." The Dalai Lama said: "I am the King of the Faith. The Jebtsundamba ought to present me with a ceremonial greeting scarf." The Holy One also said: "I sent my Donir and my Soivon to welcome him and they were ignored." The Dalai Lama must have thought: "Why did the Jebtsundamba not come himself to meet me." The ordinary lamas said: "As the Dalai Lama did not come by invitation it was right for the Holy One not to go to meet him."⁶⁴

In his oral history, he gave a fantastic account of Tibetans accompanying the Dalai Lama brutalizing the Mongols as they mercilessly whipped those who went out of their way to greet the Dalai Lama on his arrival:

Cloth tents, tents and meditation tents were set up on the road by which the Dalai Lama came at Tolgoit Valley, and tea was offered to the Dalai Lama. The lamas of the various colleges and the proctors came to meet him on horseback, wearing Barga hats and bringing mandala-offerings of fifty ounces of silver or thereabouts. The Khambas, the Daa Lamas and the Shanzav and so on must have come. Several of them will have offered up the mandalas and worshipped him. But most of them could hardly escape from being beaten by the Tibetans' black punishment whips, let alone worship him. People were beaten furiously with ebony whips for crowding together to worship him. Then the Dalai Lama proceeded to Gandan, took a little tea and food and came out in a black robe to the door of the residence at Gandan and stood there with his suite of Tibetans. A lot of lamas crowded together to wor-

ship him too, and got severely beaten by the black punishment whips.⁶⁵

The brutality of Tibetan monks accompanying the Dalai Lama gained so much notoriety in Mongolia that the theme appeared in one of the best Mongolian historical novels, *Üüriin Tuya* (The Morning Twilight) written by the most renowned Buryat-Mongolian scholar B. Rinchen in 1951. There, he described several of the Jebtsundamba's officials having swollen faces, signs of being beaten up by ferocious Black Tangut (derogatory term for Tibetan) bodyguards of the Dalai Lama, but Rinchen hardly showed any sympathy for these characters, as they had treated ordinary worshippers of the Jebtsundamba in the same way. It only served them right! Indeed, as a modern nationalist scholar, Rinchen was also extremely uncharitable to the Jebtsundamba, describing him as a senile fool, a habitual drunkard, and a womanizer. In one of the episodes in the novel, Rinchen wrote about a drunk Jebtsundamba, jealous of the Dalai Lama's charisma and ability to obtain the worship of all of his own disciples and above all their sumptuous offerings, galloping on horseback to the front of the Dalai Lama with his drunk yellow-haired (meaning ugly-looking) consort, greeting the Dalai Lama as an equal, and then asking for tobacco and alcohol. The Khutugtu then jumps back on his horse and gallops off, whipping everyone unfortunate enough to stand in his way.⁶⁶

Such communist era portrayal of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu, now rehabilitated as the national hero⁶⁷ who led the independence of Mongolia in 1911, sounds blasphemous today. But how might we reconcile the Holy One's erratic, and perhaps libertine character, and the profound political skill and vision in leading the independence movement of Mongolia? Moreover, how can we understand the apparent animosity between the two highest Buddhist leaders? Such questions may come as a complete surprise to many familiar with the shared religious beliefs of the Mongols and Tibetans. I suggest that the animosity between the two Buddhist leaders may look personal, but the political lies in how to draw an ethnic boundary

⁶⁵ Ibid. 37.

⁶⁶ B. Rinchen, *Üüriin Tuya: Tüühen Roman* (Morning Twilight: A Historical Novel), chapter 21.

⁶⁷ Cf. Caroline Humphrey, "Remembering an 'Enemy': The Bogd Khaan in Twentieth-Century Mongolia," in *Memory, History and Opposition under State Socialism*, ed. Rubie S. Watson (Santa Fé: School of American Research, 1994), 21–44.

⁶³ Ts. Damdinsuren, *Tales of an Old Lama*, 35–45.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 37–38.

between the two peoples, while maintaining their religious commonality.

In fact, for much of history, the relationship between the Dalai Lama institution and the Halh Mongols was a strained and, at points, very hostile one. Although Sonam Gyatso, the head of the Gelug order recognized by Altan Khan of the Tumed Mongols as the (third) Dalai Lama, was invited to Halh, the institution did not have much to do with the Halh until the 5th Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–1682) who, with the support of the Gushri Khan of the Hoshut Mongols of the Oirat, established supremacy in the Tibetan Buddhist world, including the Halh. However, the rupture in the alliance between the Jungar (of the Oirat Mongols) and the Halh in the face of the Manchu Qing ascendancy and conquest, and the decision of the 5th Dalai Lama (through the Regent, who used his name after his death) to side with Galdan Boshogt Khan of Jungar,⁶⁸ put him in direct conflict with Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar (1635–1723), son of Tüsheets khan Gombodorj, the most senior Khan of the Halh, and the first Jebtsundamba Khutugtu of the Halh. In this struggle, the Halh under the leadership of the 1st Jebtsundamba were soundly defeated, and driven into the fold of the Qing in 1691, but the Dalai Lama was no winner.

The struggle between the 5th Dalai Lama and the 1st Jebtsundamba centred around their ritual status. Zaya Bandida Lubsang Perinlei's *Biography of the Jebtsundamba* recorded the seating order at an assembly convened in 1686 at a place called Khuren Belcheer to resolve disputes among Halh khanates over Zasagt Khan's support of the Jungar. Convened by the Qing government, representatives of the 5th Dalai Lama and the Jungar were also involved, making it a quadripartite meeting. "Following the order [from the Qing], the Jebtsundamba was invited to the assembly as the convener; the Jebtsundamba and Ganden Tripa sat on seats of the same height, engaging in careful and wide-ranging discussions."⁶⁹ This all too brief reference to the seat level made by Lobsang Perinlei glossed over a serious incident

that actually touched off the war between the Jungar and the Halh, as Galdan accused the Jebtsundamba of violating the ritual order, and above all challenging the spiritual authority of the 5th Dalai Lama.

Who was Ganden Tripa (*dGa'-ldan Khri-pa*)? Known in Mongolian as *Altan Shireet* (golden seat), he was the Holder of the Golden Throne of Ganden Monastery and head of the Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism. In the Gelugpa Buddhist order, he ranked only after the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.

An account by the French Jesuit Missionary Jean-François Gerbillon, advisor to Kangxi Emperor, who was writing in the early 18th century, provided fascinating detail of this ritual incident, which is worth quoting at length:

Accordingly the Emperor dispatch'd an Ambassador to *Dalai* Lama to engage him, at a certain time which he appointed, to send a Person of consideration into the Country of the *Kalkas* [Halhs], promising to send at the same time a Grandee of his own Court to dispose these Princes to an Accommodation, and to prevent the War, which was otherwise inevitable.

Mean time *Chasatou han* [Jasagtu Khan] dying, his eldest Son, who had enter'd into a strict Alliance with *Caldan* [Galdan] King of the *Eluths* [Ööld] his Neighbour, succeeded him and was made *Han*: This Prince likewise press'd the Restitution of his Effects and the Envoys of the Emperor and Dalai Lama being arriv'd at the Court of *Touchetou han* [Tüsheets Khan], they conven'd a second time the Estates of the *Kalka* [Halh] Princes. The Envoy of the Emperor was the first President of the Tribunal of the *Mongous* [Mongols] which is in a manner of the fame Dignity with the six chief Tribunals at Peking; the Name of this Envoy was *Argni*, and from him it was and the other Mandarins that accompany'd him, that I learnt the Particulars of this Negotiation.

The Envoy of *Dalai* Lama was also one of the most considerable in his Court and as he represented the Person of *Dalai* Lama, every one in the Assembly yielded him the first Place, except the Brother of *Touchetou han* who being also a Lama and professing himself a living *Fo* [Buddha], pretended to be equal with that High Priest, and insisted upon being treated with the fame Distinction.

The King of the *Eluths* had also his Envoys at the Assembly to support the Interests of his Friend and Ally. These highly protested against the Pretensions of the *Kalka* Lama which they look'd upon as an enormous Outrage against their common High Priest, whose right it was to preside by his Legate in the Assembly; but this Lama would make no Concessions, and the *Eluth* Envoys retir'd in great Discontent.

In short, to avoid a greater Difference than that they came to terminate, the Envoy of *Dalai* Lama was oblig'd to consent that the Lama, Brother to the

⁶⁸ Galdan's authority came from the support of the 5th Dalai Lama, who happened to have studied under the 5th Dalai Lama. In 1671 the Dalai granted the title Hongtaiji and in 1678, he awarded Galdan the highest title Boshogt Khan.

⁶⁹ Lubsang Perinlei, *The Biography of the First Jebtsundamba*. In Jin Chengxiu, *Ming Qing zhi ji Zangchuan Fojiao zai Menggu Diqu de Chuanbo* (The Spread of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongolian Region from Late Ming and Early Qing Periods) (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chuanshe, 2006), 195.

King of the *Kalkas*, should sit opposite to him. This Contest once over affairs were soon regulated in the Assembly, and *Touchetou han* and the Lama his Brother solemnly promis'd that they would faithfully execute what had been there decreed: After which the Estates separated but instead of keeping their Word they continued their usual Delays under divers Pretences.

Mean time the King of the *Eluths*, offended at the little regard he had to his Envoys, and the Affront offer'd *Dalai* Lama in the Person of his Legate, as also press'd by *Chasactou han* to hasten the Restitution of his Effects, of which they still detain'd the best part, sent an Ambassador to *Touchetou han*, and the Lama his Brother, to exhort them to perform their Promise; and in particular to complain of the *Kalka* Lama's having disputed Precedence with the Legate of *Dalai* Lama, who had been their common Master. The *Kalka* Lama, could not contain his Fury, but loaded the Ambassador with Irons, and having sent back some of his Retinue with injurious and threatening Letters to the King of the *Eluths*, immediately put himself with his Brother at the head of a large Body of Troops to surprise *Chasactou han*: This Prince, who expected nothing less, could not escape the Fury of his Enemy, but fell into the Hands of the Lama who order'd him to be drowned . . .⁷⁰

The fight over seat height sounds fantastic today, but it did have a material effect. What transpired here was the original lowly status of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu in the ritual order of the Tibetan Buddhist world as set out by the 5th Dalai Lama. In his autobiography, the 5th Dalai Lama wrote that in 1672 he reset the ritual ranks of the clergy and the lay nobles to solve disputes. The ranks were determined by the layers of cushions, mats and quilts. He himself would sit on a 5 layer lotus cushion; seats of 4 layer cushions were reserved for the leaders of other sects, whereas Ganden Tripa and the Panchen Lama would sit on three-layer cushions. The Jebtsundamba was entitled to only a two-layer cushion.⁷¹

This ritual order meant those with higher ranks would not only sit higher than those with lower ranks, but they would also exercise more power. Should the Jebtsundamba not be allowed to sit at the same height with Ganden Tripa, the personal representative of the 5th Dalai Lama who was supporting the Jungar, the Halh would lose their negotiating power at the assembly to defend or fight for their own interest. One may thus argue here that by challenging the seating order, the Jebtsundamba asserted the independence of his institution from the Dalai Lama, which was, of course a heinous crime in the eyes of the supporters of the order. The dispute could not be resolved without a full-blown war.

The Jebtsundamba might have won the ritual equality at the Khuren Belcheer assembly, but the consequence was severe. Indeed, it was evidently acknowledged by Lubsang Perinlei that this seating order was actually arranged by the Qing. In 1691 Zanabazar, the 1st Jebtsundamba, led the Halh into the Qing order, and the Dalai Lama also subsequently lost his influence upon the Mongols with the thorough defeat of Jungar Mongols. In 1718 the Qing officially made the Jebtsundamba head of Buddhism in Halh Mongolia, recognizing him as equal in status to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.⁷²

Soon, however, the Manchu overlord came to have second thoughts about the paramount position enjoyed by the Jebtsundamba among the Halh, which they had supported. In the wake of the rebellion of the Halh prince Chingunjav in 1756–1757 against the Qing, after the death of the 2nd Jebtsundamba, the Qianlong Emperor personally announced in 1761 that the reincarnation of the Jebtsundamba was found in the Litang region of Tibet.⁷³ This decision was formalized in 1783 when

⁷⁰ "Historical Observations on Grand Tartary, extracted from the memoirs of the P. Gerbillon," in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *The general history of China: Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea, and Thibet. Including an exact and particular account of their customs, manners, ceremonies, religion, arts and sciences. The whole adorn'd with curious maps, and variety of copper plates.* Volume the Fourth. Second edition Corrected. (London: John Watts, 1739), 169–170.

⁷¹ Dalai Lama V Nag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-rgya-mtsho, *Wushi Dalai Lama Zhuàn* (Biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama), trans. Chen Qingyin, Ma Lianlong, Ma Lin (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2006), 84–85.

⁷² Wang Li, *Mingmo Qingchu Dalai lama Xitong yu Menggu zhubu hudong guanxi yanjiu* (A Study of the Interactions between the Dalai Lama Institution and various Mongolian Tribes from the Late Ming to the Early Qing) (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2011), 269.

⁷³ The decree reads: "To the khans, princes, dukes and nobles of Halh: Earlier I sent the following order to the Demo Khutuktu (at that time the regent for the eighth Dalai Lama) in Tibet: The Jebtsundamba Khutuktu is an important lama, and the saint revered by the Halhs. Several years have passport since he departed this life, and he has been searched for throughout Halh. So far there has been no sign of his rediscovery, and according to the words of old disciples of the Khutuktu it says in the biography of the Jebtsundamba that the re-incarnation of the Khutuktu will not dwell for more than a hundred years in Halh but will then return to his own land. Therefore I am in

the Qing court decided that no Mongol noble families would produce their own child incarnations.

Although the Halh Mongols had always had misgivings about the Tibetan identity of the subsequent Jebtsundambas, there was no disputation about the institution as being thoroughly Mongol and Halh. The eighth Jebtsundamba was particularly successful in asserting his Chinggisid identity thereby challenging the slighting of his Tibetan identity by nobles from the Tusheet Khan lineage. In an epistle written in 1891 and sent to the princes of Tusheet Khan Aimag, who challenged his abuse of power, the Jebtsundamba argued:

Minu Šangjudba-ača darayalan ta бүкүн чөм ниген ебүге-еңе үрејгисен көбегүд аңинар тула гијүн ванги қамаялаңауақу чу амуй-а. Гебеңү би баса Қалқ-а-йин Түсийетү қан Дарқан чңг ван-ун көбегүн кемејү ябуысан-у јалымјилaysан күмүн кемең оролају буй тула, алтан уруу-ун дотор-а бајтауају е-ким šабинар-ун қараялјиқу-йи јууумуй.

You have protected Giyun Vang [Prince of the second rank] because from my treasurer down you are all descendants of one and the same ancestor. However, since I also have been recognised as a successor to the son of Tusheet Khan or Prince Darhan Qing Vang of the Halh, thus belonging to the golden lineage, I only beg to take care of my own eminent disciples.⁷⁴

The Jebtsundamba's unrivalled supremacy among the Halh Mongols made him the natural person to lead the independence movement of Mongolia and "elevated by all" as the "Sun-shining, Infinite-Longevity-enjoying Holy Khaan" of the newly independent Mongolia on 29 December 1911. The eulogy presented to him on the occasion from all the Halh

great anxiety on behalf of the Halhs. Please inquire carefully into this . . . so as to have the re-incarnation of the Khutuktu discovered as soon as possible, and so cause the faith to flourish in the aimaks of Halh." Quoted in Charles Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989 [1968]), 133.

⁷⁴ I follow the transliteration provided by Futaki Hiroshi, "Chibetto Jin Katsubutsu ga Mongoru Kokuou toshite Sokui suru tame no Jouken: 19 Seiki sue no Mongoru Go Bunsho Shiryou no Bunseki" (The condition for a Tibetan Reincarnated Lama to succeed to the throne of Mongolian Khan: an analysis of the Mongolian language historical documents in the late 19th century), in *Bunsho Shiryo kara mita Zenkindai Ajia no Shakai to Kenryoku* (Early Modern Asian Societies and Power seen from Documentary Materials), ed. Futaki Hiroshi (Tokyo: Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku Daigakuin Chiiki Bunka Kenkyu-ka, 2007), 83. The same text and its English translation can be found in Alice Särközi, *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in the 17–20th Centuries* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 100–111. However, Särközi's transliteration contains some mis-reading, which finds its way into her translation. I have therefore provided my own translation.

princes and high lamas praised him as "a manifest incarnation of the sons of descending generations of Tusheet Khan, descendant of our Mongolia's ancient Great Chinggis Khaan (*manai Mongol ulsyn ertnü ih Chingis Haany üriin ür Tüsheets hany hövgüüdees daraalan шинј темдег онтс тодорхоигор хувилј*)."⁷⁵

Thus, in 1904 when the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan entourage might have still regarded him as a lower ranking lama, the Jebtsundamba's position was actually much more powerful. The lamas and nobles of the Halh might have shown respect to the Dalai Lama as the spiritual head of the Gelugpa Buddhism, and have tried their best to make his stay in Mongolia comfortable, and although they might have been embarrassed or even dismayed at the inhospitality shown by the Jebtsundamba, there was no doubt about to whom they should show their political loyalty.

Of course, the discord between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 8th Jebtsundamba was also the working of the Qing government which had a long record of dividing and ruling the Mongols and Tibetans as we have noted. The Dalai Lamas had never set their feet in Halh since the 3rd Dalai Lama's visit in 1586. Thus the 13th Dalai Lama's arrival in Halh Mongolia in 1904, for the first time in more than three hundred years, was surprising to both the Mongols and the Qing. While the Mongols thought more in terms of religion, the Qing suspected that Russia was behind the whole operation. Indeed, by this time, the Halh Mongols had already approached Russians for support for Mongolia's independence. Lianshun, the Manchu general-in-chief of Uliastai wrote to the throne that before the Dalai Lama's arrival at Urga, he had already "sent a secret letter to the Jebtsundamba, telling him not to mix with the Dalai, as we are not clear of the situation because the Dalai has just arrived at Urga and the Russians might have ulterior intentions."⁷⁶

In this context, recall the refusal of the Mongol lamas to accept a lower seat for the Jebtsundamba than that for the Dalai Lama, insisting that although the Dalai Lama was a universal leader of Buddhism, the Jebtsundamba was nonetheless the religious

⁷⁵ Emgent Ookhnoi Batsaikhan, *Mongolyn Süülchiin Ezen Khaan VIII Bogd Javsandamba: Am'dral ba Domog* (The Last Emperor of Mongolia, Bogdo Jebtsundamba Khutuktu: The Life and Legends) (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2011), 149–150.

⁷⁶ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.), *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian*, 83.

lord of the Halh land, and recall old lama Jambal's recollection of the mental dialogue between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 8th Jebtsundamba. They are a fascinating revelation of the territorialisation of Buddhist institutions in Tibet and Mongolia: the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama had jurisdictional power only in Ü and Tsang regions of Tibet,⁷⁷ whereas Halh Mongolia was under the jurisdiction of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu.

The jurisdictional problem between the Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba was, however, happily resolved a few years later. On 11 January 1913, a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed between the governments of Mongolia and Tibet. The preamble and the first three articles read:

Mongolia and Thibet, having freed themselves from the dynasty of the Manchus and separated from China, have formed their own independent States, and, having in view that both States from time immemorial have professed one and the same religion, with a view to strengthening their historic and mutual friendship the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nikta Biliktu Da-Lama Rabdan, and the Assistant Minister, General and Manlai baatyr beiseh Damdinsurun, as plenipotentiaries of the Government of the ruler of the Mongol people, and gudjir tsanshib kanchen-Lubsan-Agvan, donir Agvan Choinzin, director of the Bank Ishichjamtsu, and the clerk Gendun Galsan, as plenipotentiaries of the Dalai Lama, the ruler of Thibet, have made the following agreement.

Article 1. The ruler of Thibet, Dalai Lama, approves and recognizes the formation of an independent Mongol State, and the proclamation, in the year of the pig and the ninth day of the eleventh month, of Chjebzun Damba Lama of the yellow faith as ruler of the country.

Article 2. The ruler of the Mongol people, Chjebzun Damba Lama, approves and recognizes the formation of an independent (Thibetan) State and the proclamation of the Dalai Lama as ruler of Thibet.

Article 3. Both States will work by joint consideration for the well-being of the Buddhist faith.⁷⁸

This treaty was of course controversial and its international legal status obscure. Some have accepted it as the proof of the independences of both Mongolia and Tibet from China. What interests me here is as much about the Dalai Lama and the Jebtsundamba finally agreeing to their mutual jurisdictional equality and independence, while sharing a common obligation to promote the Buddhist faith.⁷⁹

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGN ENTITLEMENT

One of the striking characteristics of many of the Mongolian documents is what looks like an excessive use of titles by the addressers and addressees alike. One typical example is this:

Sidar-tur yabuqu qalq-a-yin jegün yar-un čireg i jakiraku tusalayči jangjun qorin jerge nemegsen tabun jerge temdeglesen cireg-ün yabiy-a dur nigen jerge nemegsen jasay hošoi čin vang, tuslayči tūsimed-ün bičig.⁸⁰

Letter from the assistant general who serves the Emperor and commands the right wing army of the Halh, who is the ruling imperial prince of the first rank with twenty ranks raised, five ranks marked, and one rank added due to military distinction, and his administrators.

At the beginning of this introduction, I have noted that the Qing court divested the 13th Dalai Lama of his title after his disappearance. Throughout his two year stay in Halh Mongolia, he had no position in the Qing political and religious officialdom, which must have contributed in some way to the Jebtsundamba's snub at him. Indeed, in all of the Mongolian texts in this volume, the Dalai Lama is addressed simply as "*Dalai Blam-a*" without any further title, whereas the Bogd Gegeen or the Holy One is addressed as *Jarliy-iyar ergümjilesen šasin i manduḡulaqu amitan i jiryayuluyči Jibzundamba Qutuytu* (The Jebtsundamba Khutugtu, Enlightener of the Faith and Benefactor of Animate Beings, by Royal Decree).⁸¹

⁷⁷ The territorial and jurisdictional division came to haunt the Dalai Lama later when he decided to modernize Tibet by imposing uniform taxation in the Tsang region controlled by the Panchen Lama. In defiance, the 9th Panchen Lama fled to inland China in 1923, and never came back to his homeland in his lifetime. The jurisdictional source of dispute between the two highest Tibetan Buddhist leaders remains even today.

⁷⁸ B. Altangerel, U. Bulag, S. Chuluun, and D. Shurkhuu (eds.), *Trans-Continental Neighbours: A Documentary History of Mongolia-UK Relations* (Cambridge: Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit & Ulaanbaatar: Institute of International Studies and Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, 2013), 15.

⁷⁹ For a similar perspective on the localization of Tibetan Buddhism during the Qing dynasty, see Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

⁸⁰ 78_M9-3-8240.m18. x1-5.

⁸¹ 20_M9-3-8240. n6. x1-11. This title was conferred by the Qianlong Emperor in 1755. See A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, trans. J. R. Shaw and D. Plank (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1971), 347-348.

It was not until November 1908 that the Dalai Lama got his title back from the Qing, as the *Qing Shi Gao* (Draft History of the Qing Period) notes:

In accordance with the old rules the Dalai-Lama received already the title of 'Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the Western Heaven'. His title shall henceforth be 'The Sincerely Obedient, Reincarnation, Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the Western Heaven'.

Furthermore, an annual stipend of ten thousand taels is accorded [the Dalai-Lama], to be paid quarterly out of the Provincial Treasury of Szu-ch'uan.⁸²

Title or rather the right to grant titles is a defining character of a premodern polity. Chang Chi-hsiung at the Academia Sinica has recently advanced a theory of "*mingfen zhixu lun*" (status order), arguing that maintaining status order is the central concern of the "Chinese world order" and conferring titles of nobility is the sole prerogative of a Chinese monarch.⁸³

This much is clear, but the picture gets more complicated but no less interesting if we realise that the title "Dalai Lama" was actually first given by Altan Khan of the Tumed Mongols, and Tusheet Khan of Halh Mongolia got his title from the third Dalai Lama, as did Galdan Boshogt Khan of the Jungar Mongols from the fifth Dalai Lama. To understand the bizarre situation of a title-less Dalai Lama at the turn of the 20th century in a land whose khans obtained their titles from earlier Dalai Lamas, we need to investigate the changing nature of polity in Inner Asia after the 16th century and the place of the Dalai Lama institution in Mongolia and the Qing rulership at large.

The post-Yuan Mongol history was one of intense rivalry among petty rulers of the Mongols in the absence of a powerful leadership. As the Mongols splintered into autonomous political groups defying the nominal Great Khan, powerful Chinggisid and non-Chinggisid princes began to seek alternative sources of legitimacy and prestige to rival one another. The precedent was established by Altan Khan of the Tumed, who, after forcing the Great Khan to bestow the title "*Gegeen Khan*" to him, built a new polity with him in the centre. In 1578 he conferred the title "Dalai Lama" to the Tibetan Gelugpa Buddhist leader Sonam Gyatso, who in turned declared Altan Khan the reincarnation of Khubilai Khan. Two years later in 1580, Altan Khan conferred the title "Tusheet Khan" to Abatai, leader of the Halh, an act which effectively undermined the centralised authority of the Great Khan. In 1586, shortly after Altan Khan's death, an ambitious Abatai met the Dalai Lama, and obtained from him a new title called *Vačirbani/Vajrapani Khan*, thereby becoming the second Chinggisid prince to obtain a royal title from the Dalai Lama.⁸⁴ Their conversion to Tibetan Buddhism and obtainment of royal titles from the Dalai Lama brought about a fundamental change to the Mongol polity, ultimately elevating the institution of the Dalai Lama above Chinggisid rulers. One is tempted to suggest that a new, though ephemeral, Tibeto-Mongolian polity was in the making at the time of the 5th Dalai Lama. The theocratic supremacy the 5th Dalai Lama enjoyed in this polity can be gauged from the number of titles he conferred upon leaders of almost all the major Mongolian groups, as shown in the following table:⁸⁵

Mongol group names	Number of times	Number of people	Khan, Hongtaiji (crown prince)	Other titles (Taiji, Jinong, Daichin, Baatar, Darhan)
Hoshut	19	Over 21	6	5
Jungar	5	3	5	0
Torgut	2	2	2	0
Halh	5	7	1	6
Inner Mongolian groups	1	1	1	0
Total	32	Over 34	15	11

⁸² Josef Kolmaš, "Ch'ing Shih Kao on Modern History of Tibet (1903–1912)," *Archiv Orient.* 32.1 (1964): 95–96.

⁸³ Chang Chi-hsiung, *Wai Meng Zhuquan Guishu Jiaoshe: 1911–1916* (Disputes and Negotiations over Outer Mongolia's Sovereignty, 1911–1916). Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1995.

⁸⁴ For an insightful and comprehensive discussion of the origin of the Halh Mongolian khanship, see Wuyunbilige (Oyumbileg), "Ka'erka San Han de Dengchang" (The Ascendance of the three Halh Khans), in his *Shiqi Shiji Menggu Shi Lunkao* (Examinations of the Seventeenth Century Mongolian History), 210–229 (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu Renmin Chubanshe, 2009).

⁸⁵ Wang Li, *Mingmo Qingchu Dalai lama Xitong yu Menggu Zhubu Hudong Guanxi Yanjiu*, 283.

In contrast to the numerous titles the Dalai Lamas conferred on the Mongols after the 16th century, only twice did the Mongols award titles to Tibetan Buddhist leaders: Altan Khan to Sonam Gyatso in 1578, and Gushri Khan of the Hoshut, after helping the 5th Dalai Lama to eliminate his opposition and made himself the King of Tibet, awarded the title Panchen Bogd—Pandita the Holy—to his teacher in 1645, thereby establishing the second highest institution in the Tibetan Buddhist world.

That no Mongol leader awarded religious titles to Tibetan monks after 1645 was symptomatic of the declining power of the Mongols who showed extreme deference to the Tibetan Buddhist institutions they themselves had propped up. Yet, while they were fervently fighting each other to access the spiritual power from the Dalai Lamas, the 5th Dalai Lama became subordinate to the Qing Empire, accepting a title called “Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the Western Heaven” from the Shunzhi Emperor after their historic meeting in 1653. For a short time thereafter, it appeared that the Halh Mongol leaders, both lay and religious, would get titles from the 5th Dalai Lama first, and then report to the Qing court.⁸⁶ The Qing was not amused by this triangular relationship, and certainly found the Mongol deference to the Dalai Lama too excessive to tolerate. In 1680 in his edict to Lifanyuan (Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions), the Kangxi Emperor noted with displeasure that the tributes from the Mongols were accompanied by certificating documents from the Dalai Lama. He wrote, “if the Dalai Lama’s letter is taken as proof, it would seem that the Mongols on the outside (*wai-fan menggu*) on my territory only follow the Dalai Lama’s instruction.” Thus he explicitly instructed: “From now on, when the Mongols bring in tribute, the question of whether it should be accepted should be decided and reported (to me) by this Yamen [Lifanyuan], rather than relying on the Dalai Lama’s document as proof.”⁸⁷

Subsequently, the Qing court monopolized the award of titles of both lay nobles and high lamas, each being given a specified salary and allocated clear boundaries of jurisdiction. The Lifanyuan regulated the obligatory tributary visits of all the major lay and religious leaders to the capital every three years to perform their duty. Both Mongolia and Tibet were incorporated into a unified imperial polity of

the Qing, in which the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, and the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu had clear territorial jurisdiction, and barred from transgression. Communication between them would have to be mediated by the Lifanyuan, as was the control of the Jebtsundamba’s reincarnation in Tibet. One is thus tempted to argue that the Qing rule of Inner Asia, for all its unique Inner Asian characteristics, actually subscribed to the Chinese world order system in which titles were a fundamental political instrument of control. It provided a structure of opportunity in which Mongol and Tibetan nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, derived their prestige and dignity. It was not surprising that the Mongol officials, when they communicated with each other and with the Qing government, meticulously listed all the titles they had inherited or earned.

Title management, that is, its conferment and divestment, and its elevation or reduction, was thus a central method used by the Qing to control the Inner Asian frontiers. In 1904 the Qing court, even with one foot in the grave, did not show the slightest hesitation when it decided to divest the Dalai Lama of his title as a punishment for his alleged misconduct.

One incident involving the 13th Dalai Lama and his relationship with the Arjia Khutugtu in Kumbum Monastery is particularly instructive of the political function of titles during the Qing. Kumbum is a symbolically important monastery near Xining, and it was the preferred place for the Qing court to accommodate the Dalai Lama before the settlement of Tibetan issues, not least because Yanzhi, the new Amban in Urga, who handled his case, was previously assigned to Xining. However, after settling in Kumbum, once again the Dalai Lama had a miserable time as he had an open confrontation with the Arjia Khutugtu, the abbot of Kumbum monastery, and reincarnation of the father of Tsongkapa, founder of the Gelug School of Buddhism. He was also one of the eight powerful Khutugtus resident in the imperial temple of Yonghe in Beijing. The sixth Arjia (1871–1909) was an unusual lama. Skilled in martial arts, he fought Muslim rebels who tried to storm Kumkum in 1895. He taught and socialized with Japanese Buddhist agents such as Teramoto Enga, and in 1901, he visited Japan leading a Buddhist delegation of eight high-ranking lamas.⁸⁸ During

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 95.

⁸⁷ Qing Court ed., *Qing Shengzu Shilu* (Qing Veritable Records of Shengzu Reign) vol. 91 (*Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985*), 4–5.

⁸⁸ Qin Yongzhang, *Riben She Zang Shi: Jindai Riben yu Zhongguo Xizang* (A History of Japan’s Interference with Tibet: Modern Japan and China’s Tibet) (Beijing: Zhongguo Zang Xue Chubanshe, 2005), 94–139. Scott Berry, *The Rising Sun in the*

his one year stay there, the Dalai Lama rewrote the regulations of the monastery in order to bring back some discipline to what he believed to a hopelessly corrupt place, but that was the most he could do at the time. He had no way of reining in the unruly Arjia, who was young and ambitious.

After returning to Kumbum from Beijing with his title reinvested (but at a lower level) by the Emperor, on 2 March 1909, the 13th Dalai Lama sent a memorial to the throne via Qing Shu, the Xining Amban, asking for punishment to be meted out to the Arjia by divesting him of his title. He accused the Arjia of smoking, drinking, hunting, and having an intention to destroy the yellow religion, i.e. Buddhism. "When the imperial edict arrived in the 4th month of the 33rd year of Guangxu reign, the Khutugtu should have followed me to meet the imperial envoy respectfully, but instead, he led his disciples, carrying umbrellas, sitting on roof top, and watched with binoculars, showing his displeasure." He also complained that on his return journey to Kumbum from Beijing, while local officials along the way had taken care of him, only the Arjia totally ignored him. The Dalai found that in his absence the Arjia had confiscated the new regulations he had distributed to the monastery. Most extraordinarily, he made the removal of the Arjia's title a condition for his return to Tibet: "Once this issue is resolved, I, the Dalai Lama, will return to Tibet speedily. If it is not resolved, then the date of [my] return to Tibet will become indeterminate."⁸⁹ The Qing court satisfied his demand. Unfortunately, in late May 1909, just before his departure for Tibet, the Arjia died. Kumbum monks alleged that the Arjia was killed by the Dalai Lama's sorcery, which he strenuously denied.⁹⁰

The 13th Dalai Lama may have gained back his respect before the Tibetan lamas, but the incident suggests that his new prerogative to punish the Arjia would not be possible without the Qing empowerment of him through conferring a new title. One cannot but wonder how he, had he been a fully titled Dalai Lama, would treat the erratic Jebtsundamba Khutugtu, who seemed to have violated all the rules of the Gelug order. Apparently he did try, though

without much success. G. Navaannamjil wrote the following based on Mongolian archival materials and his own experience as a scribe working in the Bogd Khan Mongolian government:

The Dalai Lama and the big Tibetans beside him got angrier when they saw this [i.e. the Jebtsundamba allowing his monk officials to destroy the Dalai Lama's throne in Gandan Monastery], beginning to denounce him and sue him by repeatedly writing memorials in Tibetan yellow-ink to the Manchu Khan and the then Amban in Urga, asking for him to be sent to Tibet to be disciplined and to be replaced by a fully ordained monk. In order to mediate the disputes between the Dalai Lama and the Holy Jebtsundamba Khutugtu to make them reconcile with each other, the five administrations of four aimags and the Shabi had made mandala offerings with not a small amount of things, and they had given many tens of thousands of silver taels to the senior Manchu ministers in order to make the disputes pass by without danger. Thanks to the deep protection and worship from all the Halh, the Holy One got through unscathed in this conflict, whereas the Manchu government had urged the Dalai Lama to return to his homeland as quickly as possible.⁹¹

Careful readers may have noted that the 13th Dalai Lama, throughout his struggle with the Qing court, presented his memorials not directly but always through the amban or general-in-chief or other Qing officials of one kind or another. In the Qing Chinese world order of things, the Dalai Lama, although acknowledged as the unquestioned leader of Tibetan Buddhism, was no more than that. This was a problem for the Dalai Lama, because, in the Qing regulations, the Dalai Lama had rights to present to the throne some ceremonial folded memorials, such as "*qing'an zhe*" (greetings), and "*hebiao*" (congratulations) commensurate with his religious title. However, matters concerning the military and political affairs in Tibet must be reported through the Amban in Lhasa. This explains the lack of any direct voice on the part of the Dalai Lama in these documents or elsewhere in his dealings with the Qing government. Indeed, lacking his own direct line of communication, the Dalai Lama was structurally incapacitated to explain his side of the dispute with Youtai, the Amban in Tibet who punished him in the first place. In late 1908 while he was in

Land of Snows: Japanese Involvement in Tibet in the Early 20th Century (New Delhi: Ardash Books, 2005), 58–79.

⁸⁹ Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.), *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian*, 205.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 219.

⁹¹ Galsangyn Navaannamjil. *Avtonomiytn Üyeiin Gadaad Mongol Ulsyn Tüüh* (The History of Outer Mongolia during the Period of Autonomy), in *G. Navaannamjilyn Buteeliin Deejis* (The Best Works by G. Navaannamjil) (Ulaanbaatar: Shinjleh Uhaany Akademi Tüühiin Hüreeleen, 2011), 24.

Beijing before meeting the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, he made a request to the Lifanbu, the successor of Lifanyuan, of the Qing government that he be given rights to report to the Emperor directly, or rights to memorialise the Emperor jointly with the Amban:

Lifanbu forwarded a petition from the Dalai Lama: "The Dalai Lama presents a memorial which reads: 'Yours humbly the Dalai Lama, thinking quadrice, realises that the four peoples of the Manchu, Mongols, Han, and Fan (Tibetan) all believe in Buddhism, and all are eternally tranquil. All monasteries and temples of various sizes have been accommodating me the monk to read sutras. This is all because of the imperial grace given to me. I sincerely bow to accept the imperial decree to cultivate peace in activity as usual, and to follow eternally the tradition of the Yellow Religion. This is what I beg of you. Henceforth, in all important matters concerning Tibetan affairs, I beg you to allow yours humbly the Dalai Lama to present memorials on my own, or to present memorials jointly with the Imperial Commissioner in Tibet, so as to solidify the frontier and promote peace between Tibetans and the Han. This is not a new proposition, but based on the past tradition. Otherwise it is really causing much inconvenience to reorganising the Tibetan affairs.'"⁹²

Court officials then debated whether there was any precedent for the Dalai Lama to make memorials directly to the Emperor, and what to do. The Dalai Lama might have thought that by gaining the rights to memorialise the Emperor directly, he would get more autonomous power for himself. However, Zhang Yintang, who had just retired from his post as Amban in Tibet, intuitively realized one important issue missed by the Dalai Lama and others who rejected his petition, namely: granting the Dalai Lama the rights to report to the Emperor was actually an opportunity to give him a different title as a government minister, integrate Tibet into the Qing administrative system and allow China to exercise sovereignty over Tibet. His argument is worth quoting at length as it also concerns the logic of entitlement:

I just heard that the Dalai Lama petitioned the Lifanbu to present a memorial on his behalf, asking for rights to make memorials jointly. Some say that reincarnations of the Dalai have been presenting memorials through the amban in Tibet, so the

old rule must be maintained. Others say that since the Dalai Lama is in charge of the Yellow Buddhists, therefore, he should be allowed to present memorials if they concern religious matters, but political matters should be out of bounds for him; this is to give him certain rights while being reminded that he is still restrained. Yet others say that should the Dalai Lama be allowed to present memorials, the Dalai's power would increase, and that of the ambans would decrease. All of the above sounds plausible. However, I think that if the Dalai Lama asks for rights to present memorials by himself, that should not be allowed, whereas if he asks for rights to present memorials together with the imperial commissioner in Tibet, it won't hurt. Why so? This is because the current Tibetan situation is different from that in the past, and sticking to the past rule won't do us any good. Moreover, since politics and religion are mingled up, no division of labour is achievable, it is difficult to determine where to restrict them. Also, as far as the Tibetan governance is concerned, while the once powerful ambans in Tibet have long become defensive, all power has actually gone into the hands of the Dalai.

Now that he is making a request, we should really exploit this opportunity and rescind his power. If he is to present a memorial together with the imperial commissioner, then, in all important issues concerning Tibet, the Dalai Lama must await imperial approval before implementation. And all the items he presents must be transmitted by the amban who will then be able to check and restrict them. Besides, if he is allowed to make joint memorials, then, he cannot make a memorial by himself, in which case, if the amban in Tibet finds anything unreasonable, he may refuse to sign his name, thereby preventing him to present a memorial. Even in the event of a memorial being jointly submitted, the right to approve or reject it is in the hands of the government. Should there be any doubt, it could be discussed, and the Lifanbu could still restrict it. Should everything be presented to the court for decrees, then the rights of the suzerain country (*zhuguo*) will be further solidified. . . .

*If he were to be allowed to present memorials to the Emperor jointly, the one who used to call himself little monk should change his title to a minister integral to the system. If so, it means that the Dalai may now be content to rank himself among the servants, and it won't hurt our foreign affairs whatsoever. Therefore, I think he should be granted the requested rights for joint memorial submission.*⁹³

In the event, however, the Manchu rulers deemed the "Chinese world order" too important a tradition to abandon. The imperial decree restoring his title quoted above reiterated the old rule:

⁹² Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an'guan and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin (ed.), *Qingmo Shisanshi Dalai Lama Dang'an Ziliao Xuanbian*, 170.

⁹³ Ibid. 163. Emphasis added.

“Anything which he may have to communicate must be reported, according to the Regulations, to the Minister-Resident in Tibet, who will always memorialize for him, and he must respectfully await the decision.”⁹⁴

Given the eagerness of the Dalai Lama to get his title back from the Qing court and struggle to obtain rights to communicate with the Emperor directly, one is tempted to agree with Tom Grunfeld’s acute observation made for a different context: “Ironically, at the time of the Manchu Empire’s greatest weakness, it had successfully regained its lost power and prestige in Tibet.”⁹⁵

Unfortunately for the Qing, the Dalai Lama fled again in February 1910, this time to India. And once again, the Qing court resorted to “deposing” him by an imperial decree issued on 25 February 1910 alleging that “ever since he assumed control of the administration, he has shown himself proud, extravagant, lewd, slothful, vicious, and perverse without parallel, violent and disorderly, disobedient to the Imperial Commands, and oppressive towards the Tibetans.” The imperial decree continues,

He is not fit to be a Reincarnation of Buddha. Let him therefore be deprived of his Titles and of his position as Dalai Lama as a punishment. Henceforth, no matter where he may go, no matter where he may reside, whether in Tibet or elsewhere, let him be treated as an ordinary individual.⁹⁶

More unfortunately for the Qing, two years later, on 12 February 1912, before the Dalai Lama was brought to justice, the Qing Emperor lost his own title as the Son of Heaven, as Empress Dowager Longyu had to issue an imperial decree announcing the abdication of the last emperor of the Qing dynasty. A few months later, on 28 October 1912, the new Chinese Republican government, which overthrew the Qing dynasty, went “subimperial,”⁹⁷ issuing a presidential mandate to restore his title:

Now that the Republic has been firmly established and the Five Races united into one family, the Dalai Lama is naturally moved with a feeling of deep at-

tachment to the mother country. Under the circumstances his former errors should be overlooked, and his Title of Loyal and Submissive Vice-Regent, Great, Good, and Self Existent Buddha is hereby restored to him, in the hope that he may prove a support to the Yellow Church and a help to the Republic.⁹⁸

To the Chinese subimperial gesture, the Dalai Lama gave a thoroughly nationalist response by issuing a proclamation to his officials and subjects throughout shortly after his return to Tibet in January 1913, announcing Tibet’s independence from China. Rejecting any lay political overlord above him, he presented himself to the Tibetan people as “the Dalai Lama, most omniscient possessor of the Buddhist faith, whose title was conferred by the Lord Buddha’s command from the glorious land of India.”⁹⁹

The Dalai Lama was not the only one who was suffering from the loss of titles in late Qing. The Mongols also were. However, in contrast the Mongol response was striking because they brought their grievance of loss of titles to Russia as we can read the following in the petition they made to the Russian Tsar on 29 July 1911:

Regarding the legal inheritance of the titles of Khans, Vans, ruling princes and non-ruling princes, and the appointment of high-ranking officials, Manchu-Chinese officials would only memorialise to the throne for permission for [the Mongols] to inherit such titles after they had taken large amount of silver from them. There are many ruling princes, non-ruling princes and high and low-ranking officials who have not inherited their titles because they could not pay a large amount of silver [to Manchu-Chinese officials] and thus their inheritance has been delayed for many years.¹⁰⁰

The Mongol solution to this grievance of loss of titles was to declare independence and build a state of their own. On 29 December 1911, at the inauguration ceremony, after the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu was “elevated by all” as the Holy Khan of Mongolia, the first decree he issued was to distribute his favours and grace by awarding highest titles to the lamas, nobles and others who had contributed to the founding of the new Mongolian state.

⁹⁴ Josef Kolmaš, “Ch’ing Shih Kao on Modern History of Tibet (1903–1912),” 96.

⁹⁵ A. Tom Grunfeld, *The Making of Modern Tibet* (Armonk NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 63.

⁹⁶ Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 16–17.

⁹⁷ For my extended discussion of Chinese “subimperialism” in Republican China, see Uradyn E. Bulag, *Collaborative Nationalism*, 66–69.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹⁹ “The Dalai Lama’s Proclamation of Independence,” in Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New York: Potlax Publications, 1984), 246–48.

¹⁰⁰ Urgunge Onon and Derrick Pritchatt, *Asia’s First Modern Revolution*, 10.

The response of the Republic of China, which was founded three days later on 1 January 1912 and yet claimed to be a successor state to the Qing,¹⁰¹ was characteristically as “Chinese” as subimperial, namely, combining both stick and carrots. In a calculation to squash Inner Mongolian secessionism and effort to join the Bogd Khan Mongolia, in 1912 the Republican government decided to keep the aristocratic titles of Mongol nobles and even increase their ranks should they support the Republican Chinese government, while simultaneously weakening their control of their banners.¹⁰² In 1915, upon the signing of the Kyakhta Tripartite Agreement that abolished Mongolia’s independence and made Halh Mongolia an autonomous “Outer Mongolia” recognizing the Republic of China’s status of suzerainty, the Chinese government bestowed a new title to the Jebtsundamba as “the Holy Jebtsundamba Khan of Outer Mongolia” (*Wai Menggu Buogeduo Zhebuzundanba Huteketu Han*). However, it took the Chinese government more than one year to force the Jebtsundamba to agree to a ritual to accept the title.¹⁰³

Following this logic of political entitlement, we may suggest that it took a communist revolution in Mongolia in 1921, a decision not to find the reincarnation of the Jebtsundamba Khutugtu after his death in 1924, and abolishment of Qing aristocratic titles that finally freed Mongolia from the Chinese world order. In other words, it was the liberal use of the title weapon to punish the Dalai Lama and the Mongols by the late Qing government and the Republican Chinese government that finally forced the Mongols to disentitle themselves. National independence is thus as much about territorial sovereignty as it is about an ability not to accept titles from an alien power.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion about the Chinese claim of the Republic of China to be a parent state to Mongolia, see Uradyn E. Bulag, “Independence as Restoration: Chinese and Mongolian Declarations of Independence and the 1911 Revolutions,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 10, Issue 52, No. 3, 31 December 2012. http://www.japanfocus.org/-Uradyn_E_-Bulag/3872

¹⁰² Kishi Toshihiko, “Nei Menggu Diqiu Yuan Shikai Zhengquan Tongzhi Tizhi de Xingcheng: Mengzangyuan de Chengli he Nei Menggu sange Tebie Xingzhengqu de Shezhi” (The Formation of Ruling System in the Inner Mongolia Region by the Yuan Shih-k’ai Regime: The Organization of Mengzangyuan and the Establishment of Three Special Administrative Districts), *Guowai Zhongguo Jindaishi Yanjiu* 21 (1992): 121–140.

¹⁰³ Chang Chi-hsiung, *Wai Meng Zhuquan Guishu Jiaoshe: 1911–1916*, 269–304.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION: THE 13TH DALAI LAMA
ENTERING THE AGE
OF MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION

The cover picture of this book is a pencil portrait of the 13th Dalai Lama drawn in July 1905. Measuring 30cm wide and 56 high, the portrait drawn on a piece of hard white paper has a title written in Tibetan, which reads,

rgyal bstan yongs kyi bdag po/ thams cad mkhyen
pa badzra dha ra ta’ la’I bla’ma’i skye phreng bcu
gsum pa pad dkar ‘dzin pa’i sha’kya’i dge sbyongs rje
btsun ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho
‘jigs bral dbang phyug phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba’i
sde’i ‘dra thang/

Portrait of Lord of the Doctrine, the Omniscient Vajradhāra, the Thirteenth Incarnation of the Dalai Lama, Holder of the White Lotus, the monk (*bhikṣu*) from the Śākya [spiritual lineage], the Venerable Ngawang Thubten Gyatsho, fearless powerful lord victorious in all directions (Jigdrel Wangchug Chogle Namgyal)

Currently deposited in the archives of the Russian Geographical Society (fond 18/opis 7/№573–583/), the portrait was commissioned by the renowned Russian explorer Colonel Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov, and was drawn by Nikolai Yakovlevich Kozhevnikov, a middle school art teacher in the Siberian town of Kyakhta bordering Mongolia, who was then temporarily employed in Kozlov’s exploration team. Two smaller portraits drawn by the same artist on the basis of this original portrait were presented to Nicholas II, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias. The Tibetan title on the portrait was obviously inserted by one of the Dalai Lama’s Tibetan secretaries, for Kozhevnikov knew no Tibetan.

Regarding the origin of the portrait, we found the following lines in a letter accompanying the portraits sent to the General Staff of the Russian Army sent by Colonel Kozlov who asked it to forward them to the Russian Tsar:

These are two small portraits of the Dalai Lama drawn in pencil and with his name written in gold, which are presented to His Majesty via me as a gift in return for the portrait of His Majesty decorated with precious stones given to him as a gift. Please be sure to pass on my message that he has never had a portrait drawn of him, nor has he ever allowed to be photographed before. Therefore, these portraits of the leader of Buddhism are unique objects.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Inessa Lomakina, *Aguu Ih Bosuul*, 138.

The portrait thus proves to be the first and the only image of the 13th Dalai Lama prior to 1910 when he was first photographed in India, during his second exile. Not that the Dalai Lama had not known photographs before, but he steadfastly refused to have his photograph taken, declining repeated requests by many of his trusted friends, including Kozlov, F. Sherbatskoi and even the Buryat explorer Gombojab Tsybikov, whose 200 photos of Lhasa the Dalai Lama particularly admired. He repeatedly claimed that his personal doctor advised him not to have photos taken, without specifying the exact reason.¹⁰⁵

Inessa Lomakina, in her recent book entitled *Belikii Beglets* (Great Fugitive), revealed some fascinating stories about the production of the portrait, and I herewith provide some of her findings.

In a meeting with Colonel Kozlov on 6 June 1905 when he showed some photos in his book *Mongoliia i Kam. Trudy ekspeditsii Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva, sovershennoi v 1899–1901 gg* (Mongolia and Kam. Works of the Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in 1899–1901), the Dalai Lama agreed to leave an image of himself, not a photograph by camera, but a portrait by a painter.¹⁰⁶ The artist Kozlov found was a middle school teacher from Kyakhta called Nikolai Yakovlevich Kozhevnikov, not an accomplished artist, though the best one around. Starting on 18 June, the sittings lasted two weeks. Apparently, Kozhevnikov made two sketches. The first drawing was abandoned, because the amateur artist left out the tail of the Dalai Lama's cat he was holding.¹⁰⁷ Otherwise satisfied with the skill of the artist, the Dalai Lama asked him to do another one, this time posing in a more saintly manner with a Tsongkapa style long-pointed hat on and sitting on a lotus cushion. This second one was the Dalai Lama's own choice, but one could not but feel that there was much left to be desired of this portrait. For one thing, his arms and hands look disproportionately narrow and small. Based on this portrait, Kozhevnikov drew two additional smaller ones with more Buddhist regalia inserted by some Tibetan lamas. These two were presented to Tsar Nikolai II, and they are kept in the State Hermitage, Moscow.

However, in early 1906, Kozlov received a telegram from the Dalai Lama's Buryat interpreter

Dylykov who said that the Dalai was dismayed to find that his portrait drawn by Kozhevnikov had been printed in large numbers, and copies were spreading into Mongolia in February 1906. Feeling betrayed by Kozlov who had made a solemn promise that the three portraits were for the eyes of the Russian Tsar and him only, an outraged Dalai lodged an official protest to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs via the Russian Consul in Urga. And the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered the Russian Consul in Urga to confiscate any Dalai Lama portraits found in Halh Mongolia.

Naturally Kozhevnikov was the suspected culprit, for he had every motivation to reproduce the portrait for profit, as there was a huge demand for the Dalai Lama's portrait among the Halh and Buryats. He defended himself, claiming that he only drew an additional sketch based on memory, but it went missing after his house was burgled. However, one of his colleagues reported to Kozlov that "Kozhevnikov has photographed the portrait he himself drew and has printed numerous copies in big and small sizes. He has been seeking official permission to sell them to the Buryats. The Buryats wanted to pay 1,000 roubles for a copy. However, the portrait is being secretly sold for one rouble per copy."¹⁰⁸

Lomakina did not tell us whether the Russians had any luck in retrieving all the illegally sold portraits of the Dalai Lama. A recent blog page contains eight variations of the same portrait, some with signs in English, German, Chinese, and Mongolian, clearly indicating a wider world-wide circulation.¹⁰⁹

It is curious, however, why the Dalai Lama went to such an extreme as to ban distribution of his own portrait among the Buryat and Halh Mongol believers. It looks especially odd today when his successor the 14th Dalai Lama's photo is banned in China, while he himself basks in the world-wide media spotlight. Indeed, it took the 13th Dalai Lama another five years before he finally agreed to be photographed. One clue may be found in the Tibetan tradition of drawing portraits in *thankas*, highly styled Buddhist paintings. *Thanka* paintings are religious objects of worship, and Tibetans are extremely reluctant to commercialize them, for fear that they may be desacralized. This religious idea

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 95, also p. 125.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 122.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 134.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 139.

¹⁰⁹ <http://thubtengyatso.blogspot.co.uk/2010/08/premieres-representations-du-13-eme.html> (accessed 9 May 2013)

may have informed the Dalai Lama's displeasure at seeing his portrait being sold at such a low price of one rouble per copy. The Dalai Lama must be in agreement with Walter Benjamin that mechanical reproduction connotes the loss of aura, disenchantment, deprivation of an authentic religious experience. Repetition or mechanical reproduction, for Benjamin, represents a genuine revolution as a rupture in history, ushering in a new capitalist age of disenchantment.¹¹⁰

Of course, one could in fact argue for the opposite, that mechanical reproduction might also enhance the spiritual association with the image, through what Tsering Shakya called "likeness." According to Shakya, in the 1930s Tibet,

there was no tradition of portrait painting in the Western realist style, instead there was the centuries-old tradition of *thangka* painting which included portraits of great lamas, their disciples and secular patrons in a highly stylized manner. Kanwal's paintings therefore different in both their style and composition from anything that had existed in Tibet before. Perhaps the popularity of photography among the nobility and, more importantly, the wide-spread distribution of photographs of the 13th Dalai Lama, had led to a change in notions about how a subject could be represented. The idea of capturing a likeness constituted the modern. Even today, among Tibetans, the idea of modern art is characterised by a realistic depiction of a subject.¹¹¹

If this is the case, then, the spread of the 13th Dalai Lama's portrait started among the Buryat and Halh Mongols as early as 1906, ushering in a new age of modernity. It was an enchanting modernity, because people were enthralled to have a real-life image of the 13th Dalai Lama displayed at the religious altars of their homes. In this regard, the putatively conservative Dalai Lama, who banned his own portrait, became the very agent in promoting at least one form of the modern among the Mongols.

To be sure, one could read this controversy from a more political perspective. It should be recalled that the 13th Dalai Lama agreed to the pencil portrait not because he wanted to be known through it, but he tried to reciprocate the gesture of the Russian

Tsar who gave his own portrait as a personal gift. Throughout his sojourn in Halh, the Dalai Lama had anxiously sought Russia's support, but Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War during his stay forced Russia not to antagonize Britain and China by supporting the Dalai Lama or conceding to the demand of the Buryat Buddhist leaders headed by Agvan Dorjiev who wanted to use the Dalai Lama to build a pan-Buddhist Tibetan-Mongolian Kingdom under Russian patronage. In this light, the portraits were the objects of the Dalai Lama's diplomacy to win the support of the Russian Tsar, and the mass mechanical reproduction and the sale of what he believed to be his diplomatic gift was a sure sign of the Russian government's abandonment of its previous promise of support in his eyes. It was thus not surprising that the Dalai Lama had to protest officially to the Russian government. I am therefore tempted to suggest that the 13th Dalai Lama's decision to give up on his dream of obtaining Russian support and to return to Tibet as the Qing government had repeatedly urged him in March 1906 was in no small measure influenced by the incident, which happened about a month earlier.

Photography gained a more existential saliency for the Dalai Lama on his way back. Before his return, he decided to visit some of the famous monasteries in Mongolia. An impatient Qing court sent Bodisu, a Grand Minister in Attendance (*yuqian dachen*) as an imperial envoy, to meet with the Dalai Lama in Halh Mongolia, to urge his immediate departure. As mentioned earlier, he had a Chinese army officer Li Tingyu with thirty cavalymen. Meeting the Dalai Lama at Zaya Bandida Monastery in today's Arhangai Aimag in late June 1906, Li Tingyu and Bodisu played a duet, Bodisu delivering the Emperor's benign concern for the Dalai Lama, while Li showed his military muscle to intimidate the Dalai Lama. In the preface to his diaries about his trip to Mongolia, Li made the following comments:

I orderd Li Feipeng to do military exercise everyday, practicing assault, while spreading rumours, in order to instill fear among the Tibetan monks. One day I bumped into the Dalai's commander of bodyguards called Damdin, who spoke Chinese. He claimed to be from Jinchuan and believe in Buddhism. He invited me for a drink, and then inquired about the intention of Bodisu's visit. Feigning drunkenness, I told him that I have been ordered by the Emperor to kill the Dalai Lama, but since Bodisu believed in Buddhism, he was too kind to put his hands (on the Dalai). We had to obey his will. After that, the Dalai Lama often entertained us with food and kind

¹¹⁰ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (London: Fontana, 1968), 211–244.

¹¹¹ Tsering Shakya, "Cities and Thrones and Powers: The British and the Tibetans in Lhasa, 1936–1947," in *Seeing Lhasa: British Depictions of the Tibetan Capital 1936–1947*, eds. Clare Harris, Tsering Shakya, Elizabeth Edwards (Chicago, IL: Serindia Publications, 2003), 108.

words, while asking Mongols to perform dances for us. He invited Duke Bodisu and us with an aim to please us. I followed Duke Bodisu sitting on the left hand side, while the Dalai, facing south, sat on several layers of lotus cushion to demonstrate his paramount status. I took the camera and sat opposite him to take photos. Holding the camera pole, it made an explosive sound. Startled, the Dalai Lama left the platform, never to return. The following day, he sent someone to query why an armed man sat opposite to him making a hand trick, and what that was intended for. Duke Bodisu replied by saying that taking pictures was common for soldiers, there was nothing surprising about it. After this incident, the Tibetan abbots became more friendly to me; every time we met on the road, they all greeted me with smiles, or invited me to food or drinks. When they made occasional inquiries, I always replied that Bodisu had no other intention than hoping that the Dalai Lama could immediately return to Tibet.¹¹²

It was not clear whether Li succeeded in taking a photo of the Dalai Lama, and whether the sound came from the flash lamp or it was simply Li Tingyu's mischievous hand clap. What is certain is that no photo from that occasion has come to light. Startled by the sound coming from the camera, the Dalai Lama ran for his life.

In 1910, during his second exile, and this time in India, fleeing the punitive Qing army, to get the support from his former enemy, the British, he finally had first photo taken, thereby introducing the new age of the modern for Tibet.

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¹¹² Li Tingyu, "You Meng Rijì" (Diary of Visiting Mongolia), 575–576.

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