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Two Mongolian Official Documents Dated by the 19th c.

Abstract: The article presents transliteration and commented translation of two official letters written by Mongolian administrative functionaries in the first third of the 19th c. Both were brought from Mongolia by A.M. Pozdneev. In 1898, handwritten copies were published by G.Dz. Tsibikov in the collection of materials, as a training manual for practical course in Mongolian language. The above mentioned letters still have not been subjected to any kind of scientific analysis. However, these documents represent typical examples of Mongolian official correspondence dated to the 19th c. Moreover they are abandoned of little-known facts about relationship between the authorities of the North Mongolian banners (khoshuns) and administrative structures, constituted personal subjects assigned to the Treasury of Jibzundamba Khutugtu (the Shabi).

Key words: official documents, Mongolian administration in the Qing period, A.M. Pozdneev, G.Dz. Tsibikov, the North Mongolian banners, the Shabi of Jibzundamba Khutugtu.

Official documents issued by the administrative institutions that existed in the Northern Mongolia during the time when it was a part of the Qing Empire presents a unique category of historical sources. State legislation, orders of authorities, official correspondence contain a huge array of diverse information about the life of Mongolian society in the late 17th — early 20th cc. Officials who compiled these documents, by virtue of their daily duties, collected, systematized and transmitted numerous messages about various events that took place in administrative centers, Buddhist monasteries and even in remote pasture areas. It is not surprising that all spheres of contemporary social reality were the object of their attention and investigation. Many specific details of the past life as well as aspirations, concerns and ex-

periences of long gone people sometimes can be distinguished behind the stingy wording typical for the official papers.

The first publications of Mongolian official documents were made by Russian researchers in the late 19th — early 20th cc. The mentioned documents were then released in several collections of copies. The latter were specified as textbooks for courses of the practical Mongolian language, which were taught by Prof. A.M. Pozdneev and his disciple G.Dz. Tsybikov at the St. Petersburg University and Oriental Institute in Vladivostok.¹ However, from an academic point of view, the importance of these publications goes far beyond the issue of ordinary textbooks. The samples of official papers that one can find here, are in many respects unique and don't have any correlation to another texts. At the same time they are full of numerous, often little-known reports about administrative, judicial, fiscal, property, family relations in Mongolian society in the middle of the 18th — second half of the 19th cc. However, the possibility of using the above mentioned collections of official documents as historical sources now remains only potential since researchers in their studies still do not pay an appropriate attention to these collections. Our notes aim to take a step towards bringing back these valuable materials on Mongolian history from undeserved oblivion.

As an object for analysis, we selected an anthology of Mongolian official papers borrowed from the collection of A.M. Pozdneev, which includes 32 copies of administrative orders, reports and accounts dating back to the early, middle and late 19th c. These copies were handwritten by G. Tsybikov and printed on lithograph in 1898.² Tsybikov also briefly described in Russian the content of each of the samples included in the anthology.³ *Two of them*,⁴ which we are particularly interested in, represent examples of official correspondence typical for Mongolian local authorities in 19th c. The Latin transliteration and commented translation of both documents are given below. Composition of the texts like of all Mongolian official letters at that time (in regards of style and terminology) corresponded to *Chinese bureaucratic tradition*.⁵

Although the authorship of the documents under discussion belongs to officials who served in two different administrative departments, they have the

¹ See POZDNEEV 1883; TSYBIKOV 1907; TSYBIKOV 1908.

² See TSYBIKOV 1898.

³ Ibid. 76–77.

⁴ In the serial numbering assigned by the publisher to the documents included in the anthology, these official letters bear numbers XXII and XXIV.

⁵ First of all, we are talking about the rules of drawing up reports belonged to the category of “zouzhe” (奏折), which were submitted on daily, operational and urgent issues by lower administrative authorities to higher (up to the Emperor).

same addressee, close in date (the first third of 19th c.) and devoted to similar matters. Namely, both dispatches deal with little-known features of relationship between the authorities of *khoshuns*⁶ and administrative institutions, supervising the property of Buddhist monasteries and clergy in North (Khalkha) Mongolia. The search for original letters in the archives of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts of Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, where the collections of Mongolian official documents assembled by A.M. Pozdnev are mainly kept, did not bring us any positive result. However, there is no reason to doubt that G. Tsybikov when publishing copies of Mongolian official correspondence in all cases provided their *full textual similarity with the originals*.⁷

Document XXII.

Indication of specific locations to pasture lands intended for Shabi (p. 57–58)⁸

⁶ *Khoshun* (or *banner*, Mong. *qoši vu*; Chin. 旗) was a unit of administrative-territorial division, which in the system of public authorities established in Northern Mongolia by the Qing government was a step lower than *aimag* (see note 9). Before Khalkha became a part of the Qing Empire, its territory was traditionally divided among seven principalities named as *khoshuns*. After the Manchu ruling house took control of North Mongolia, this tradition was gone and the former principalities were fragmented into many small parts. From 1691 to 1725 the number of *khoshuns* increased to 75, and in another thirty years reached 84. Its total number amounted to 23 in Secenkhan aimag, 20 were included into Tushiyetukhan aimag, 24 and 19, respectively, into Sainnoyonkhan and Zasagtukhan aimags, see BAT-OCHIR BOLD 2001, 104–105. The purpose of those reforms was to prevent North Mongolian nobility from the desire for political or military consolidation that contradicted to the Beijing authority's strategy of reforming the Mongolian traditional administrative system.

⁷ This can be confirmed by a comparison between the originals of the documents and their copies which were published in the anthology under consideration, but are not the subject of study in this article. For example, one of such documents is a decree of Qing Imperial authorities which prohibited the transfer of duties from one North Mongolian aimag to another. It was copied by Tsybikov and included in the anthology under the number XXV: TSYBIKOV 1898, 60–61. We find its original in the Mongolian Fund of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts RAS as a part of the collection of extracts from the texts of official papers dated to 18th–19th cc., compiled in Mongolia specially for A.M. Pozdnev: *sayisiyaltu irügeltü-yin yurbaduyar on*, 35a.

⁸ The Roman numeral indicates the place of each document in the serial numbering assigned to it by the publisher of the anthology. Titles of the documents are translated from Russian in accordance to the description of their content given by G.Dz. Tsybikov. Numerals in brackets indicate pages on which the documents are located.

Transliteration

//57// Qalq-a-yin dumdaduki cirig-i jakiraqu tusalayçi jangjun arban jerge temdeglesen jasay-un törö-yin beile. tusalayçi tüšimed-ün bičig.

Jarliy-yiar ergümjilegsen šašin-i mandayulqu amitan-i jiryayuluyçi jibjungdamba blam-a-yin kürien-ü kereg-i šitgekü šabinar-i bügüde jakiruyçi erdeni šangjotba sang-un qamuγ kereg-i bayicayan jakiraqu jasay-un ulus-dur tusalayçi güng da lamanar-dur ergün ilegebe. medegülün yabuyulqu učir. edüge man-u qošigun-u nutuytu sayuju bui erkim šabi šiü lengge sining-ün nigen otoy-un kümün nutuy-un dotor durabar tarqaju nutuytan aqui-dur ken-yien tenen-ü onoydaysan alba ba jiči ulay-a onoyolqu jerge jüyil-dür alusulaqu-yin //58// tedüi ügei. qarın qošigun-u olan arad-luy-a neng qolicaldun jiyuruldan aju arsar kereg učir edükü böged ali nigen anu nutuytaqu-dur erkebiši tasuldan alba kereg-dür tusa ügei anu büküi-yin tulada. edüge-ece ekilen šabinar-i man-u nutuy-un jegün eteged jiq-a yajar-uud-yiar nigen jalay-a-bar nutuytayulun urida-yin adali tenen-u über über-ün joriy-yiar tarqaju nutuytayulqu ügei bolyasuyai kemen yabudal-i

erdeni šangjotba güng da lamanar tan-a medegülün yabuyuluyad šabi šiü lengge šining-dür uqayulju tušiyalayad tegün-ü bey-e qariyatı nutuy-un šabınar-i abču bügüdeger nutuy-un jegün jiq-a-yin dotor-a nutuytayulun aju törögülsügei. egün-ü tula ergün ilegebe:

Translation

The dispatch sent from performing duties of *the assistant for military affairs to the foreman of aimag assembly*,⁹ standing at the head of *the troops of*

⁹ *Aimag* (Mong. *aiymag*; Chin. 盟) — a unit of administrative and territorial division in Mongolia. In the Qing period, *four aimags* were established within the Northern Mongolia. Three of them Tushiyetukhan, Secenkhan and Zasagtukhan — were the elements of administrative and political system in Northern Mongolia before it became a part of the Qing Empire. These aimags remained after 1691, when Khalkhan princes recognized the Supreme power of the Qing Emperor Kangxi. The fourth Sainnoyonkhan aimag traces its history back to 1725. This year, by decree of Emperor Yongzheng prince Dashdondov was granted the title of his great-grandfather “Sain Noyon”, equal in status to the khan. The “*Draft of History of Qing Dynasty*” narrates that Dashdondov had merit in military campaigns, so he was entrusted to rule the newly created aimag: QING SHI GAO 1927, 86, 3b. By tradition, hereditary rights as

Central direction,¹⁰ having sixteen service records of merit *khoshun ruler törö-yin beile*¹¹ and officials of his *khoshun* chancellery.

aimag rulers belonged to the North Mongolian khans, but in 1727 Imperial government abolished this order. Administrative and judicial authorities in aimags were transferred to *chuulgans* (Mong. *čiyulyan*; Chin. 盟) or assemblies of local nobility. Henceforth, hereditary power of the khans over the aimags was abolished and the *chuulgan* foremen (*darga*) were put at the head of them. They were elected on the instructions of Imperial authorities from among princes who participated in assemblies. At the same time, official terminology was changed — the concept of “aimag” was transformed into “*chuulgan*”. Accordingly, the name of each aimag ceased to be consonant with the title of the khan who previously ruled it and began to correspond to the place where the assemblies of princes were held. However, as a result of these renaming traditional names of aimags did not disappear at all and continued to be used both in everyday lexicon and in official document circulation.

Administrative positions of the *assistants for military affairs to the foremen of aimag assemblies* (Mong. *tusalayči jaŋgjun*; Chin. 副将军) were established in North Mongolia in 1724 by the order of Yongzheng Emperor: QIANLONG 1988, 96; POZDNEEV 1883a, 312. Mongolian princes originally appointed to these positions were entrusted with the command of the troops of the Khalkh aimags, but only in wartime and only of the contingents in active service and not listed in reserve. Hereinafter authorities of these officials were greatly expanded. They were supplemented by responsibilities for monitoring of combat readiness of the Khalkh militia, which included all *servicing population* (“*somon people*”; Mong. *suman-u arad*; Chin. 苏木兵丁), who in time of peace dwelled in the places of their permanent residence. Code of laws “*Dai Qing huidian*” (大清会典) dated back to the times of Jiaqing Emperor (1796–1820), defined the status of bureaucratic positions we are interested in as follows: “In each of the four Khalkh aimags to appoint one assistant for military affairs to the foreman of aimag assembly and one vice-assistant to the above mentioned dignitary (Mong. *kebei jaŋgjun*; Chin. 参赞). In two wings of Dörböds [West Mongolian. — *A.P.*] to establish posts of assistants for military affairs to the foremen. For this to submit for the All Highest consideration lists of the persons in aimags and wings who are in charge of the rule over *khoshuns*, and to claim the Imperial decree appointing from among them dignitaries in these positions. The aforementioned dignitaries must be obliged with annual inspection of troops and military weapons”: JIAQING 1988, 78. Assistants for military affairs to the foremen of aimags were directly subordinate to the Qing governors in Northern Mongolia. Besides that in military-administrative sphere they had authority, equal in value to the rights and duties of the foremen. For performance of their jobs, assistants did not receive special remuneration. The salary from the Qing Treasury was assigned to them according to their aristocratic titles: SODNOMDAGVA 1961, 56–57.

¹⁰ In accordance with the Qing administrative terminology military units recruited from Tushiyetukhan aimag were named as *troops of Central direction* (Mong. *qalq-a-yin dumdadaki jam-un čirig*; Chin. 喀尔喀中路军).

¹¹ The dispatch was compiled by officials served in the administrative chancellery of the North Mongolian *khoshun* on behalf of its ruler *prince Gombotseren who beared the aristocratic title of the 3-rd degree* (Mong. *törö-yin beyile*; Chin. 多罗贝勒). That *khoshun* was attached to the Tushiyetukhan aimag. For genealogy of the aristocratic family to which *törö-yin beile Gombotseren* belonged, see SHARKHUU 1984, 177.

Hereby we address with respect to *Erdeni Shanjotba*,¹² who handle the affairs of the monasteries and control the *Shabi people*¹³ attached to *Jibzundamba*

¹² *Erdeni Shanjotba* (Mong. *erdeni šangjotba*; Chin. 额尔德尼商卓武巴) was the official in charge of affairs of the monasteries headed by Jibzundamba Khutugtu and of the governance over subordinate to the latter *Shabi people* (see note. 13). The earliest mention about this official related to 1650, see: NASANBALJIR 1969, 143. Initially, Jibzundamba Khutugtu himself carried out the selection of candidates for the position of *Erdeni Shanjotba* from among North Mongolian Lamas. But since 1723, the right of appointment of *Erdeni Shanjotba* transferred into the sphere of authority of Central Qing government. Then Lama Dashdondov was assigned to this post by the Emperor Yongzheng. Dashdondov as *Erdeni Shanjotba* was entrusted with supervision of the life of Jibzundamba Khutugtu monasteries and with control above “the people who accompanied him” (Chin. 徒众). At the same time for the management of “affairs dealing with Religion, and to control the clergy”, in an environment of Jibzundamba Khutugtu Qing authorities created position of special officer with the title of Khambo Nomun Khan, see QIANLONG 1988, 111. In 1754, control of all the *Shabi people* assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu transferred to the special department (Mong. “*yeke šabi*”, “*erkim šabi*” or “*boγdo-yin šabi*”), headed by *Erdeni Shanjotba*. Simultaneously the latter position was given to Lama Sundeв-Dorji with the title *Secen-toyin*, see POZDNEEV 1896, 66. At first, activities of *Erdeni Shanjotba* as well as subordinate to him administrative structures were put under the direct control of the Qing Imperial authorities. But in 1758 when the post of the Qing governor (Chin. 钦定库伦办事大臣; Mong. *jarliy-iyar jaruysan kürren-dür següjü kereg sitegči sayid*) was established in Da Khüriye, supervision over the *Shabi Department* moved to that dignitary. In 1822 administrative status of that department was equated to the administrative chancelleries of the four North Mongolian aimags. During 19th c. the *Shabi Department* in terms of population and economic importance of territories under its administration was comparable to an aimag: BAT-OCHIR BOLD 2001, 139. *Erdeni Shanjotba* who headed that Department was not granted with any governmental financial allowance, but had official permission to use all he needed at the expense of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu Treasury, see: POZDNEEV 1887, 167.

¹³ *Shabi people* (Mong. *šabi-nar*; Chin. 沙毕), formally “disciples” or “followers”. *Shabi* were a stratum of Mongolian labor bound and tax-paying population subordinate to the Treasury (Mong. *sang*) that belonged to Buddhist priests of highest ranks, bearing the titles of *Khutugtu*. A distinctive feature of the *Khutugtu Treasury*, compared with the property of ordinary monks, was the existence of *Shabi* along with property and livestock, see: SKRYNNIKOVA 1988, 55. *Shabi* as a social class originally appeared on the legal basis of the canonical Buddhist principles of relationship between “disciple and teacher”. The first mention of *Shabi* assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu dates to 1640, see: NATSAGDORJ 1978, 202. Initially, in the first half of 17th c. internal social structure of the mentioned class was very heterogeneous. Among *Shabi* there could be met representatives of lower aristocracy and even Lamas who possessed dignities of *khubilga* (emanations of Buddhist saints), see: KUZ'MIN 2016, 52–53. But mainly, communities of *Shabi* assigned to the Treasury of supreme Buddhist hierarchs raised up due to the “donations” of people made by Mongolian princes and due to the voluntary transition of representatives from lower social strata. Many of them were beggars and vagabonds: NATSAGDORJ 1978, 202. When the Qing Empire spread administrative control over Mongolia, “voluntarily” (i.e. not sanctioned by the Imperial authorities) transition of secular population into the class of *Shabi* was banned. This prohibition was established by a special provision included in the first (1817) and subsequent editions of the “*Code of Lifanyuan*” — the basic set of Qing laws intended for the management of Mongolia: “As for *Shabi people* assigned to persons with high ranks of Buddhist saints, it is not allowed to add new ones, except those who are signified in the registers

damba Khutugtu,¹⁴ the latter being promoted to his rank by the All Highest decree, exalting religion and bringing joy and bliss to all living beings. Also we address to *jasay-un ulus-dur tuslagchi gong*,¹⁵ who is in charge of supervision and superintendence of the Treasury of this esteemed *Khutugtu* and to *Da-Lamas*.¹⁶

Reasons that induced our addressing you with this dispatch are as follows. Now within the pasture lands of our *khoshun* is settles the *otog*¹⁷ of Shabi people headed by *shulenga*¹⁸ Xining and assigned to *Jibzundamba Khutugtu*.

contained in the Chamber [On the Governance of Affairs in Outer Mongolia, i.e. in *Li-fanyuan*. — *A.P.*]: *qauli jūyil-ün bičig* 1817, 59, 12a.

¹⁴ *Jibzundamba Khutugtu* — the line of reincarnated Buddhist saints, which existed in the Northern Mongolia from 1639 to 1924 and is known among the Khalkhas also under the name of *Bogdo-gegen*, and among the Southern Mongols under the name *Ar* (i.e. Northern) *Bogdo*. In the Buddhist pantheon *Jibzundamba* (from Tibetan *rJe-btsun Dam-pa*, Reverend Noble One) were considered a continuation of a long line of incarnate lamas in India and Tibet, expanding from the time of Shakyamuni Buddha to the '*Jo-nang-pa hierarch rJe-btsun* (reverend) *Taranatha* (1575–1634). Despite this sequence, *Jibzundambas* are numbered from first Mongolian one, see: SKRYNNIKOVA 1988, 39; ATWOOD 2004, 267. In all it is known about eight emanations of *Jibzundamba Khutugtu*, moreover the first two were discovered in Khalkha Mongolia respectively in 1649 and 1737. According to the rules imposed by the authorities of the Qing Empire, the next incarnations were entirely identified in Tibet. The document we are interested in, judging from the names of Mongol princes indicated in it (see note. 11) most likely was drawn up during the years when Abbot chair of *Jibzundamba Khutugtu* was occupied by his forth incarnation named *Lubsang Tubdan Wangchug*.

¹⁵ Mongolian princes and officials from the two Eastern Khalkha aimags (*Tushiyetukhan* and *Secenkhan*) were obliged to participate in an official duty (Mong. *jisiy-a*; Chin. 年班) in *Da Khūriye* after the chancellery of the *Qing governor* (see note. 12) was located there. Duty for a period of 4 months was performed in turn: SODNOMDAGVA 1961, 36. In particular, princes who were involved in the performance of such services were in charge of supervision and control over the Treasury of *Jibzundamba Khutugtu* which the latter owned separately from the property of his monastery. The official dispatch being commented here says that at the moment it was compiled the post of that serviceman was occupied by a prince of the 6th degree with the rank of *khoshun sovereign* (Mong. *jasay-un ulus-tur tusalayči gūng*; Chin. 旗长辅国公). During the period under consideration thirteen Mongolian nobles possessed similar ranks in two mentioned aimags. Regrettably, we were unable to determine who exactly of these thirteen carried out the duty for supervision of the *Khutugtu Treasury* at that time.

¹⁶ *Da-Lamas* — the titles of two aids assisted *Erdeni Shanjotva* in performance of his duties, see: POZDNEEV 1887, 168.

¹⁷ *Otog* (Mong. *otoy*) in 15th–17th cc. meant a group of Mongolian nomadic families united by collective occupation of a certain area as a pasture. *Otog* at that time existed as the basic social and economic unit: VLADIMIRTSOV 1934, 132. During the Qing period in the Northern Mongolia this concept transformed into the designation of a basic unit of territorial division and administrative organization of Shabi people assigned to *Jibzundamba Khutugtu*. According to Ch. Atwood, by 1830 there were 114 such units, see: ATWOOD 2004, 211.

¹⁸ *Shulenga* (Mong. *siülengge*) in 17th c. was a title of Mongolian official or tax collector. During the Qing period this title was assigned to a head of *Shabi otog* (see note 17).

People from this otog wander in our grounds and disperse around at their own discretion. All the aforementioned Shabi neglect obligatory services as well as *ignore duties to supply transport facilities for official needs*.¹⁹ In addition, according to the custom already established among them, they in a fair disorder *mix up with people, witch belong to the khoshun subordinated to us*.²⁰ Since this situation is of no benefit in performance of state service,

¹⁹ The case we noted in the text of the document definitely was not a single one. In the second half of 18th — middle of 19th cc., such conflicts often added difficulties in administrative activities of the Mongolian officials, served in Shabi department as well as in administrative chancelleries in aimags and khoshuns. Confirmations of this conclusion can be found in the content of their official correspondence. For example, we will refer to a dispatch dated to the spring of the 55th year of Qianlong (1790), which the foreman of Tushiyetukhan aimag prince of the 4th degree (*beise*) Sundewdorji sent to the Qing Governor in Da Khüriye. Addressing up the chain of command *beise* complained about the routine, which imposed a ban on the use of transport facilities, supplemented by Shabi otogs for long-distance conveyance of governmental officials and state-owned cargo. According to Sundewdorjis testimony, other people illegally used such rules to systematically evade responsibility for ensuring long-distance transport services, falsely gave their cattle for Shabi ownership, thereby creating fake impression of their poverty and inability to bear public service. As the aimag foreman wrote, it is impossible to understand, where whose livestock was, therefore unforeseen obstacles presented themselves in the administration of official affairs. The complaint presented by *beise* Sundewdorji was investigated, which resulted in cancellation of duty benefits provided for Shabi people. At the same time the Qing Governor confirmed that herds belonging to the Treasury of Jibzundamba Khutugtu were exempt from the mandatory supply of cattle for state-owned carrier, and other service needs: *Jar-laĵu toytarĵan qauli*, 5a-b.

²⁰ Selected fragment of the document sheds light on the circumstances that Shabi people assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu traditionally enjoyed the right of free movement throughout the territory of Khalkha, and unlike other population were not subject to the ban on crossing the borders of khoshuns. Sh. Natsagdorj mentioned that Mongols in their traditional sayings used to compare Shabi with white antelopes, because both did not have a permanent *nutug* (i.e. pasture lands): NATSAGDORJ 1972, 47. It is quite natural that this state of affairs was the source of constant disputes and conflicts over pastures, in which Shabi people contradicted to the permanent residents of aimags and khoshuns. In order to avoid such problems and to exclude “mixing” of different categories of population, in 1826 foremen of the four North Mongolian aimags made some decisions, which were later approved by the Qing Imperial authorities. According to those decisions, people who permanently reside in khoshuns should not voluntarily expel Shabi from their pastures. At the same time Shabi people should not arbitrarily occupy the lands on which the inhabitants of khoshuns herded their cattle for a long time. To ensure the compliance with these rules the so-called “registered” pastures were assigned as permanent places of residence for Shabi: *ibid*. However the document being commented here notifies how difficult it was to establish such an order in the daily life conditions of the Khalkh khoshuns in 19th c. Obviously, over the years the local Mongolian authorities continued to face the above mentioned conflicts over pastures. This can be confirmed by contents of the report, which the foremen of four North Mongolian aimags sent to Lifanyuan in 1849. They asked the government authorities to approve their joint decision as follows: “From now on, Shabi people assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu, which have the right to reside everywhere, must roam in the areas where they herd their cattle now. All unau-

insofar we hereby inform your Excellencies Erdeni Shanjotba, gong and Da-Lamas asking that Shabi people should be encouraged to roam in one single community on the lands at the Eastern border of our khoshun and not to disperse, as before, everywhere on their own. Please supply shulenga Xining with instructions that he should thoroughly bring together people of his subordinate otog and settle them on residence to the Eastern edge of our land. To this end, present dispatch is sent for your High consideration.

Document XXIV.

On transfer to the class of Shabi (pp. 59–60)

Transliteration

//59// ʃasay-un terigün ʃerge tayiʃi baʃarsida-yin tamay-a-yi qamiyaruysan tusalayči tayiʃi ʃomboʃab tūsimed-ün bičig:

ʃarliy-yiar ergümʃilegsen sasin-i mandayulqu amitan-i ʃiryayuluyči ʃib-ʃungdamba blam-a-yin kürien-ü kereg-i //60// sitgekü šabinar-i bügüde ʃakiruyči erdeni šangʃotba. sang-un qamuy kereg-i bayicayan ʃakiraqu ʃasay-un ulus-tur tusalayči güng da lamanar tan-dur ergün ilegebe. medegülükü-yin učir. edüge man-u qosiyun-u arad kesig-tü-yin medegülügsen ʃaʃar-a. bi öber-ün köbegün lama lubsangyaldan-i degüü keüken süli-yin qamtu nige erüke qoyiar ama-yi qorin qoyiar boda arban tabun qonin-u qamtubar

Gegegen tan-a ergüjü šabi bolʃay-a kemen sanaysan bile kemen ʃuyuyusan-i yosuyar bolʃaju egün-i erdeni šangʃotba. güng. da lama-nar tan-a medegülün egün-ü tula ergün ilegebe:

törö gereltü arban tabuduyar on qoyiar sara-yin ʃučin-a:

thorized aspirations to evict them outside the borders of aimags and khoshuns must be prohibited. If it happen a drought and Shabi will need to migrate to other places, the office of the Erdeni Shanjotba is invited to an obligation for carrying out careful check of all circumstances, find out the real needs in their travel and identify which aimag and which khoshun the affected population should be directed to. Therefore all authorities involved in such cases must be notified in advance about the mentioned incidents. Officials and residents of the four aimags should be prohibited to drive out of pastures those Shabi people who migrated to their areas and must be told that they, on the contrary, must live with those people in peace and harmony. When the situation in drought-affected territories will become normal, Shabi as soon as possible must be returned to the former places of their residence”: *urida sitgen öng-geregülügsen kereg-iüüd amu*, 129b.

Translation

The dispatch sent from *tuslagchi taiji*²¹ Gombojab, temporarily assuming the position of khoshun ruler *taiji of the first degree Bajarshida*,²² and officials of his khoshun chancellery.

Hereby we address with respect to Erdeni Shanjotba, who handle the affairs of the monasteries and control the Shabi people attached to Jibzundamba Khutugtu, the latter being promoted to his rank by the All Highest decree, exalting religion and bringing joy and bliss to all living beings. Also we address to *jasay-un ulus-dur tuslagchi gong*, who is in charge of supervision and superintendence of the Treasury of this esteemed Khutugtu and to Da-Lamas.

²¹ *Tuslagchi taiji* (Mong. *tusalayči tayiji*; Chin. 协理旗务台吉) — a title of assistant to the ruler of khoshun in Mongolia. This position was established in 1682 by the decree of Emperor Kangxi: DAI QING HUIDIAN ZELI 1748, 140, 18b. Hereinafter the content of that decree was included into all major collections of the Qing legislation related to the management of Mongolia, in particular, into the “*Code of Lifanyuan*”: “In all of the Mongolian aimags, in each of the khoshuns to establish a position of taiji helping with management of khoshun. The above mentioned taiji should be entrusted with responsibility to assist khoshun sovereign in his administrative affairs. When there appears a vacancy for this position, sovereign must select two candidates from among the princes of the first to sixth degree subordinated to him, who are not in state service, who can be able to serve as officials and stand out for good behavior, so that candidates will be able to cope with the responsibilities of this post. From among the candidates one must be chosen as the first and another as the second. Thereafter the aimag foreman relevant to such case must be notified of the mentioned choice and should be made aware of the behavior, skills and abilities demonstrated by candidates. Foreman then has to forward all these messages to Lifanyuan. The latter chamber is obliged, having studied all circumstances involved in the case, to call the candidates to Beijing and present their appointment for the All Highest consideration”: *qauli jūyil-ün bičig* 1817, 6, 16a-b. Our sources contain sufficient evidence of the fact that the Imperial authorities widely used their right to select and approve candidates for the positions of assistants to the rulers of Mongolian khoshuns. For example, in the 20th year of Jiaqing (1815) the foreman of Sainnoyonkhan aimag in the letter addressed to Lifanyuan asked to approve the decision on dismissal from service *tuslagchi taiji* Dzamiyandorji from the khoshun ruled by prince of the second degree (junwang) Bat-Ochir. The reasons given for this decision were that Dzamiyandorji was a poor man having no livestock and property, and therefore unable to help his sovereign in the management of the khoshun. In response, Lifanyuan decided as follows: “Since there is no law, according to which poverty and inability to support own existence can be a reason for one being dismissed from an official position and instead appointed the other, insofar *tuslagchi taiji* Dzamiyandorji is to be left under his previous post and selection of candidates to replace him must not be allowed”: *urida sitgen önggeregülgönsen kereg-üüd anu*, 56a.

²² *Taiji of the first degree Bajarshida* occupied the post of the khoshun ruler in Tushiyetukhan aimag of Khalkha from 1830 to 1862: SHARKHUU 1984, 121.

Reasons that induced our addressing you with this dispatch are as follows. Now a man from our khoshun named Hishig approached us with a petition, in which it is said, “I intend to bring a gift to his Holiness Jibzundamba-Blama by transfer into the class of Shabi one *erüke*²³ of two subjects — my own son Lama Luvsanvandan along with my youngest daughter Suli, with whom there are 22 *bod of cattle*²⁴ and 15 head of sheep”. *It was decided to accept what was requested*,²⁵ which we hereby respectfully bring to the attention of your Excellencies Erdeni Shanjotba, gong and Da-Lamas.

²³ *Erüke* (or tax-paying family) in Mongolian administrative terminology of the Qing period designated a conventional unit for deployment of official duties, equal to two adult “male souls” liable for military service: alba tegsitgesen dangs-a 1962, 6. However, the concept of “erüke” in the 19th c. existed in a different semantics traditional for the Mongols — the felt covering smoke-hole circle (or *toono*) in a yurt (*ger*), i.e. home — family, family — homeland, house, farm, property i.e. yurt, etc.: *Mongolian-Russian Dictionary* 1895, 110.

²⁴ *Bod* or *bod mal* in Mongolian means a big herd animal. In legislative and administrative lexicon *bod* designated a statistical unit used in the calculation of livestock of different herd animals in comparison to one conventional head of big cattle. For example, in the 17th c. one *bod* equaled to one horse, or one cow and five sheep; two *bod* equaled to one camel etc.: KHALKHA JIRUM 1965, 104.

²⁵ The document under consideration is interesting, first of all, because it makes evident the practical effectiveness of the Qing legislation, which prohibited *military and labor-bound Mongols* (Mong. *suman-u arad*; Chin. 苏木兵丁) to make independent decisions about their own transfer into the category of Buddhist monks or in the class of Shabi without official permission issued by the Imperial administration. Close attention paid by the Central authorities of the Qing Empire in the first half of 19th c. to improve legal barriers that prevented the erosion of social stratum of labor-bound and tax-paying population, becomes obvious from the decree of Emperor Daoguang, which is dated from two years after the official letter being commented here was drawn up. This decree was issued in winter of 1836 as the result of investigation of a complaint received by Lifanyuan from some taiji Goncigjab who was the inhabitant of the khoshun ruled by jasag-taiji Namjildorji in Sainnoyonkhan aimag of Khalkha. In the complaint, the khoshun sovereign was accused of arbitrarily moving a few subordinate herdsmen to the class of Shabi, whom the author of the appeal called rich and having an abundance of cattle. In the complaint it was also stated that jasag-taiji Namjildorji by his own order supplemented the economy of those herdsmen with cattle which was bred in the khoshun especially for use in accordance with the needs of official service. Having explored the facts notified by taiji Goncigjab, dignitaries from Lifanyuan sent a report “to the All Highest consideration” where they wrote: “We revealed non-compliance with the established rules, according to which, with all care and diligence, it should be investigated who are the people that want to transfer into Shabi assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu. Now in fact the transition to Shabi takes place in accordance to the order, which existed prior to the establishment of afore mentioned rules. Therefore, we consider it necessary to submit for All Highest consideration a proposal about the possibility of supplementing the laws existing now in Mongolia with the following provisions. From now on, it should be set the strict ban to transfer all the taiji who inherited their titles as well as military and labor-bound commoners to Shabi assigned to Lamas of all grades. If among people who are in service with the Mongol wangs,

The 30th day of the second moon, the 15th year of Toro Gereltu.²⁶

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alba tegsitgesen dangs-a 1962: *dörben ayimay-un alba tegsitgesen dangs-a. Kheveld belt-gegsen Ts. Nasanbaljir* [Registers containing records on decisions of the equation of the duties assigned to the four aimags of Khalkha. Prepared for publication by *Ts. Nasanbaljir*]. Monumenta historica, T. IV. Fasc. 2. Ulaanbaatar (in Mongolian).

gongs and jasag-taiji [in the text of the document such people are referred to as “domestic workers” (ger-ün kümün). Otherwise they were named “khamjilga” (qamjily-a). — *A.P.*], or among the elderly and out of service military and labor-bound commoners, or among illegitimate sons, or among women without means of subsistence and their daughters, or among taiji who are under the age of majority or taiji-Lamas there are people who willingly wish to go into the service to any Khutugtu or Lama, the khoshun chancelleries that may be involved in such a circumstances should collect accurate information about all of these people and send inquiries on their cases to Lifanyuan. This chamber, after having examined all the mentioned circumstances, should be empowered to make final decisions of such cases, which should be brought to the attention of the appropriate authorities. Upon receipt of the Chamber's permission, relevant khoshun rulers should supply people who are going to enter Shabi with certificates confirmed by seal stamps. Once these rules have been established, it will be easy for the Mongols to act in accordance with them in the execution of this category of administrative affairs. In addition, these rules will allow to get rid of the drawbacks in the performance of official services”: *urida sitgen önggeregüligsen kereg-iüüd anu*, 105a.

The Emperor approved the proposals submitted to him, the result of which was the following legislative article included in the 4th edition of the “Code of Lifanyuan” (1842): All the taiji who possess noble degrees as well as military and labor-bound commoners are strictly prohibited to be assigned to the Treasury of Khutugtu and to transfer into the class of Shabi people. For all of the Mongolian khans, wangs, beile, beise, gongs and taiji who are in charge of ruling the khoshuns it is forbidden to move subordinated to them taiji who possess noble degrees and military and labor-bound commoners at the disposal of the Treasury of Khutugtu and enroll the above mentioned people in Shabi. Those who will be transferred to Shabi in violation of these rules must be forced to return to their previous state. Khoshun sovereigns, to whom such people are subordinated, must be put on trial under the provisions on infringement of the laws established by All Highest Command. However if some of the taiji who are under the age of majority or of taiji-Lamas being subject to aforementioned khoshun sovereigns, or some of adults who are in service with the nobles, or some of the elderly and out of service military and labor-bound commoners, or some of illegitimate sons, or some of women without means of subsistence and their daughters will by own desire become Shabi assigned to Lamas living in the monasteries, then let all these people proceed according to their wish. Rulers of khoshuns, to whom they are subordinate, should report about their wishes to Lifanyuan. This chamber after verifying the content of these reports, is entitled to take final decisions to satisfy petitions on the transition to Shabi and to prescribe the officials relevant to such cases to supply all the outgoing people with certificates authorizing their exit from khoshuns in accordance with the established legislative statements: *qauli jüyil-ün bičig* 1842, 53, 11a–b.

²⁶ *Toro Gereltu* (Mong. *törö gereltü*) is the Mongolian equivalent of Chinese motto of the Board “Daoguang” (道光) which symbolized the reign of the eighth Qing Emperor Mianning (1820–1850).

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²⁷ See description in: PUCHKOVSKII 1957, 167, 168.

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²⁸ See description in: PUCHKOVSKII 1957, 175, 176.

²⁹ See description in: PUCHKOVSKII 1957, 173, 174.