

A Preliminary Analysis of Old Mongolian Manuscript Maps: Towards an Understanding of the Mongols' Perception of the Landscape

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This article presents a preliminary analysis of sixteen old manuscript maps collected as part of the 21st Century COE Programme “Centre for Documentation and Area-Transcultural Studies.” This analysis constitutes a new approach to old Mongolian manuscript maps, which will deepen our understanding of the Mongols’ perception of the landscape.

Although a fair amount of work has been done to collect and study old Mongolian manuscript maps, most of this research has been conducted from an orientalist or philological perspective, or has involved the study of place names drawn from maps. A notable example is the collection of 182 Mongolian manuscript maps at the Berlin State Library in Germany. The catalogue of this collection was published with detailed comments by K. Sagaster (in Heissig 1961: 335-494; See also *Ibid.*, XVI), followed by three volumes of “Mongolische Ortsnamen” as Supplements of “Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland”. The first volume contains 13,644 place names drawn from the maps and arranged in alphabetical order by M. Haltod (1966), with 26 images of maps in facsimile; the second volume contains 118 maps in facsimile (Heissig 1978); the third contains an index of locations on the maps (Heissig 1981). The Tenri Central Library in Japan has a collection of 44 maps of banners in Mongolia. Within Mongolia itself there are also several collections of manuscript maps of Northern (Outer) Mongolia: 335 maps at the State Central Library of Mongolia (Heissig 1961: VII), 115 entries in Unit M-167-1 at the National Central Archives of Mongolia and 260 items at the Center for Onomastics of the National University of Mongolia. On the basis of the items at the Center, six volumes of the “Thematic Dictionary of Mongolian Geographical Names” (Ravdan ed. 2004) and the monograph “Forms and Semantics of Mongolian Geographical Names” (Ravdan 2004) have been published. Most of the above mentioned maps represent a single banner (an administrative unit under the Manchu and Bogd Haan regimes), while others show a group of banners, the territory of a relay station or watch-post, or an ecclesiastical territory. A few of these maps date back to earlier than the 19th century. The approaches of Шагдарсүрэн 2003 and Гончигдорж 1970 are neither philological nor onomastic, addressing the cartography of Mongol manuscript maps with particular focus on their 24 or 48 cardinal points. In addition to these more comprehensive works, Kler 1956 offered a detailed

study of a map of Ordos produced in 1739, while Onuma 2005 presented a map of Hovd, the date of which he presumed to be 1777-1778 (乾隆 42-43).

I shall apply new technologies that were unavailable to the authors of the above studies, such as GIS (Geographic Information System) and remote sensing, as well as map digitization, to the study of old Mongolian manuscript maps.

Description of the Maps

At the time of writing, our collection contains 16 maps (see map on p. 24): 11 maps of a single banner (M001, M002, M004, M005, M006, M007, M008, M009, M010, M012, M013),¹ one of a group of banners (M016), one of a sum (district) (M011), one of a watch-post (M003), one covering Mongolia in its entirety (M015) and one representing an unknown area (M014). The dates on these maps range from 1864 to 1936.² All of the maps were reproduced on color microfilm, from which the images were digitized using a film scanner. Following the digitization of the maps, a database was built consisting of 1,712 descriptions – including place names – drawn from the thirteen maps (M001, M003, M004, M005, M006, M007, M008, M009, M010, M011, M012, M013, and M016). The database entries include the following information: Title, Date, Comment, Direction, General Geographical Description, Administrative Office, Temple, Road, Relay Station, Watch-post, *Oboo* (a boundary mark), Pass, Mountain, Tree or Forest, Desert, River, Lake, Well, Spring and ‘Other’, in addition to the respective positions of these features on the maps. Driven by PHP and MySQL, the database can be searched by place name or other description using word(s) and/or contents of description, with results shown on the map on the webpage.

M001) Title: Qalq-a-yin sečen qan ayimay-un beyise-yin jerge jasay Mingjüurdorji-yin qosiyun-u nutuy-un jiruy

“Map of the territory of the ruling prince Minjuurdorj with the rank of Beis, (1806-1866) banner of Setsen Han Aimag (province) of Halha”

Date: Bürintü jasayči-yin yurbaduyar on namurun dumdadu sarayin sineyin doloγan

“Seventh day of the middle month of autumn in the third year of Tongzhi (同治) (1864)”

Seal: Qalq-a-yin [doron-a jam-un] dumdaduki emünetü qosiyu-yi jakiruyči tamay-a

¹ Four of the maps represent the same two banners (M001 and M005, M002 and M007).

² M012 is the oldest map in the collection. The date is presumed to be between 1803 and 1805 (see the note of the map below).

“Seal of the ruler of the Middle Southern banner in the Eastern road of Halha”

Size: 65 x 80 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. M005, 773 Hs.or.85.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 402-403), 774 Hs.or.139.(1910) (Heissig 1961: 403; Heissig 1978: 78)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 149-153; МУШ 1997 I: 78-80.

Note: This map is the oldest of those with a recorded date, and is oriented with south at the top. Although the mountains, rivers and lakes are drawn and colored like a landscape picture, the map has no place names and the border of the banner is drawn in red ink on only three sides, omitting the eastern border – suggesting that the map might have been abandoned before it could be completed.

M002) Title: ǰasaγ terigün ǰerge tayiji ǰamiyangkorlo–a aγsan–u qosiyun–u nutuy–un ǰiruy

“Map of the territory of the banner of the former ruling prince Jamiyanhorloo, Prince of the first rank (1876-1896)”

Date: Badarayultu törö–yin arban naimaduyar on čayan sarayin qorin dörben

“24th day of the White month in the 18th year of Guangxu (光緒) (1892)”

Seal: Qalq–a–yin umar–a ǰam–un ǰegün γar–un aday–un qosiyu–yi ǰakiruyči tamay–a
“Seal of the ruler of the Rear banner of the Left wing in the Northern road of Halha”

Size: 50 x 65 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. M007, 711 Hs.or.69.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 374; Heissig 1978: 37)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 73-74; МУШ 1997 I: 48-49.

Note: (1) The map shows five relay stations to the west of the banner’s territory. The military relay services called “Altai Zam (road)”, leading from Chuulalt Haalga to Uliastai, were first created in the period of the Emperor Kangxi (康熙帝). Twenty of the 40 relay stations were located in Halh, and were manned by conscripts sent with their families, dwellings (*gers*) and property from Harchin, Southern (Inner) Mongolia; thus the relay stations were known as “Harchin *o’rtoo*”. Likely as a result of conflicts between those serving the relay services and herders belonging to the banner, *oboos* were constructed in order to separate these distinctly as shown on the map. (See Нацагдорж 1963: 167-168; МГХ 1975: 121-132, 246; Zhao1989: 172-190.)

(2) According to the title of the map, Jamiyanhorloo no longer held the position of ruler or was deceased at the time of the map’s production. Since his successor Badrah, who assumed control over the jurisdiction in 1896, was a lateral relative (“*salbar to’roliin*

hu'n”, MYIII 1997 I: 49), it seems likely that Jamiyanhorloo had no sons or lineal relatives, and that there could have been an interval of several years prior to the appointment of Badrah as ruling prince of the banner.

M003) Title: *Ĵirγuduγar mingĵi qarayul-un oros-luγ-a kijayar neyilegsen nutuγ-un ĵiruy*

“Map of the territory of the 6th Minji watch-post bordering with Russia”

Date: Badarayultu törö-yin qorin naimaduγar on tabun sarayin qorin tabun

“25th day of the 5th month of the 28th year of Guangxu (光緒) (1902)”

Seal: None

Size: 22 x 55 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Note: This map is drawn with south at the top. The Minj watch-post was one of 47 watch-posts established on the border between Mongolia and Russia, the service of which was provided by the four aimags of Halh. These posts were called “*ger haruul*” or “family watch-posts”, as conscripts moved there with their families, dwellings (*gers*) and property, and engaged in herding livestock in the same manner as ordinary Mongolian pastoral families, in addition to carrying out their watch-post duties. (This was also the case in the relay services.) Thus conflicts arose over pasture lands between the families of border guards and herdsmen of the banners (MΓX 1975: 133-145). Fourteen of the 47 watch-posts were under the control of Tu’sheet Han Aimag. The Minj watch-post was the sixth of the 14 watch-posts, the first of which was the Buur watch-post near Khyagt. The watch-posts were numbered from west to east or in a clockwise manner (*nar zo ’v*), like the numbering of *oboos* on a banner boundary – while Chinese writers listed them in the opposite way, from east to west (何秋濤撰『朔方備乘』卷 10: 17). “*Nar zo ’v*” means the direction in which the sun moves, and also implies that the direction is right and correct. The Mongols are so conscious of the direction of rotation that almost all ritual movements follow a clockwise rotation. At present the area of this watch-post is located in the territory of the Russian Federation.

(On watch-posts see Нацагдорж 1963: 169; Гэрэлбадрах 2002: 186-195; MYIII 1997 II: 112-113n.; Zhao1989: 169.)

M004) Title: *Tüsiyetü qan ayimay-un kebei ĵasay törö-yin geyün vang Anangdavačir-yin qosiyun-u nutuγ-un ĵiruy*

“Map of the territory of the banner of Kebei (Adviser to the Aimag General) ruling prince, Ju’n Van of the State, Ananda-Ochir (1982–1912) of Tu’sheet Han Aimag”

Date: Badarayultu törö-yin yučin yurbaduyar on tabun sarayin arban nigen

“11th day of the 5th month in the 33rd year of Guang xu (光緒) (1907)”

Seal: qalq-a-yin umar-a jam-un jegün yar-un dumdadu qosiyu-yi jakiruyçi tamay-a

“Seal of the ruler of the Middle banner of the Left wing in the Northern road of Halha”

Size: 100 x 115 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. 709 Hs.or.81.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 373; Heissig 1978: 35)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 31-35; МУШ 1997 I: 24-26.

Note: (1) This banner was bordered on the southeast by the banner that appears in M002. Nine relay stations were established within this territory. Along either side of the post road on the map there are 30 annotations indicating the existence of conflicts between relay stations and the banner over the use of pasture lands. Some of these notes indicate that an area as wide as 30 or 70 *gazar*³ on either side of a relay station was to be reserved for the station, but that the actual boundaries were still under dispute at the time the map was prepared (188, 195, 207, 210-212, 246, 251-257, 277, 281, 283, 285-288, 290-291, 293-294, 329-333 in “INDEX BY LOCATION”). In this banner no such boundaries were ever defined and thus no *oboos* between the station and the banner were built – unlike the case of the banner of M002. (See Нацагдорж 1978: 178.) (2) The Govi Mergen Van Ananda-Ochir, the ruling prince of this banner, was notorious as a “wastrel” (Lattimore & Isono 1982: 77).

M005) Title: Sečen qan ayimay-un beyise Sangsarayidorji-yin qosiyun-u nutuy-un jiruy

“Map of the territory of the banner of Beis Sangsarayidorji (1898–1918) of Setsen Han Aimag”

Date: Badarayultu törö-yin yučin yurbaduyar on jun-u dumdadu sar-a-yin qorin tabun

“25th day of the middle summer month in the 33rd year of Guang xu (光緒) (1907)”

Seal: Qalq-a-yin doron-a jam-un dumdaduki emünetü qosiyu-yi jakiruyçi tamay-a

“Seal of the ruler of the Middle Southern banner in the Eastern road of Halha”

Size: 100 x 60 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. M001, 773 Hs.or.85.(1907) (Heissig 1961:402-403), 774 Hs.or.139.(1910) (Heissig 1961:403; Heissig 1978:78)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 149-153; МУШ 1997 I: 78-80.

³ One *gazar* (li 「里」 in Chinese) equals 576 meters (Шагдарсүрэн 2003: 18).

Note: This map represents the same banner that appears in M001, but has north at the top. The Yalguulsan Hutagt's dwelling *ger* is indicated in the middle of the map, on the northern bank of the Herlen River (G13). It was not until 1913 that the territory of the Yalguulsan Hutagt's *shavis* was defined in this banner (Сономдагва 1998: 161-163; MYIII 1997 I: 32-33). The contemporary town of Choibalsan is located near the former site of the Shashin Uhaantai Su'm (F13).

M006) Title: None [Sili-yin γool-un čiyulyan-u qaγučid-un jегün qosiyun-u nutuy-un jiruy]

"Map of the territory of the Left banner of Huuchid of the Shiliin Gol League"

Date: Olan-a ergügdegsen-ü qoyaduγar on qabur-un dumdadu sar-a-yin sine-yin jiruyγan

"6th day of the middle spring month in the second year of Olnoo O'rgogdson (1912)"

Seal: Qaγučid-un jегün qosiyu-yi jakiruyči jasay-un tamay-a

"Seal of the ruler of the Left banner of Huuchid"

Size: 125 x 55 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. 812 Hs.or.129 (1901) (Heissig 1961: 426; Heissig 1978: 106), 813 Hs.or.254. (Heissig 1961: 426-427)

References: MYIII 1997 I: 96-98.

Note: This map shows the Left Huuchid Banner of the Shiliin Gol League in Southern (Inner) Mongolia, bordered on the north by Tu'den's banner of Setsen Han Aimag (M010). The ruling prince, Selnentožil, was one of the strongest activists in Southern Mongolia for joining the Bogd Haan's Mongolian state, and wrote a letter pledging allegiance to Bogd Haan in early 1912 (Tachibana 2005: 92, note 43). It is probable that this map was made and sent to Ih Hu'ree at that time. Selnentožil remained in the Mongol state at least until 1918-1919, when "*Zarligaar togtooson Mongol ulsyn shastir (Tables and Biographies of the Nobility of the Mongol state)*" was compiled.

M007) Title: Tüsiyetü qan ayimay-un Ačitu güng Badaraq-u-yin qosiyu nutuy-un jiruy

"Map of the territory of the banner of 'Aчит' Prince Badrah (1896-1921) of Tu'sheet Han Aimag"

Date: Olan-a ergügdegsen-ü γurbaduγar on ilegüü arban qoyar sarayin

"[] of the added 12th month in the third year of Olnoo O'rgogdson (1914)"

Seal: None

Size: 70 x 60 cm

Material: Cloth

Cf. M002, 711 Hs.or.69.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 374; Heissig 1978: 37)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 73-74; МУШ 1997 I: 48-49.

Note: This map represents the same banner as M002. However the area between the post road and the *oboos* shown on M002 has been omitted. It seems to have been merged into the “Eyetei” Prince’s banner after the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and the abolishment of “Harchin O’rtoo”.

M008) Title: Kemčiy γool-un uriyangqai-yi ĵakirqu güng-ün ĵerge bügüde-yin daruy-a Buyanbadaraq-yin nutuy-un ĵiruy

“Map of the territory of the Bu’gdiin Darga (General Chief) with the rank of Prince, Buyanbadrah ruling the Urianhais of the Kemchig River”

Date: Olan-a ergügdegsen-ü yurbaduyar on dörben sar-a-yin sine-yin nigen

“First day of the fourth month in the 3rd year of Olnoo O’rgogdson (1913)”

Seal: Nomun qan Ĵalqangĵa qutuγtu-yin šabinar-i ĵakiraqu tamay-a

“Seal governing the Nomun Han Jalhanz Hutagt’s Shabinar”

Size: 70 x 105 cm

Material: Cloth

Cf. 685 Tangnu Uriyangqai Hs.or.117. (Heissig 1961: 353-354; Heissig 1978: 133); ZEYL:193 (1869).

Note: The seal on this map is that of the Jalhanz Hutagt’s Shavis. The Jalhanz Hutagt Damdinbazar (1874-1923) was one of the “Hutagts with Seal” of Zasagt Han Aimag. Since he had worked at the Shar Su’m or the Tu’geemel Amarjuulagch Temple in Hovd for three years beginning in 1902 (Дашбадрах 2004:143), he had great influence as a religious leader over the people of Western Mongolia. When the Bogd Haan sent him to pacify Western Mongolia in 1912, Buyanbadrah came to join the army of Bogd Haan and his subjects and territory were annexed to the Jalhanz Hutagt’s Shavis (Гангааням 1993: 21).

M009) Title: Sečen qan ayimay-un qoyar ĵerge nemegsen γurban ĵerge temdeglegsен beyise-yin ĵerge Yosotu ĵasay terigün ĵerge tayiĵi Dorĵĵab-un qosiyun-u nutuy-un bayidal ĵiruy

“Map of the territory of the banner of Dorĵjav (1909-1922), ‘Yost’ ruling prince with two ranks added and three ranks registered, with the rank of Beis, Prince of the first rank, of Setsen Han Aimag”

Date: Olan-a ergügdegsen-ü arban nigedüger on ĵun-u terigün sar-a-yin qorin yisün

“29th day of the first summer month in the 11th year of Olnoo O’rgogdson (1921)”

Seal: Sečen qan ayimay–un yosotu jasay–un qosiyu jakiruyči tamay–a

“Seal of the ruler of the ‘Yost’ ruling prince’s banner in Setsen Han Aimag”

Size: 75 x 75 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. 767 Hs.or.11.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 400), 768 Hs.or.141.(1910) (Heissig 1961: 400-401; Heissig 1978: 75)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 113-116; МУШ 1997 I: 87-88.

Note: (1) A little to the right of the center of the map, there is a distinctive pumpkin-shaped mountain named “Bayanmo’nh Uul”(H07-I07). This mountain is located at N46°48’00, E113°58’30; on the 1:500,000 scale map published in modern Mongolia, it is identified as “Darhan Haan Uul.” This mountain with an *obo* on the top appears to have been an important landmark in this banner, and the banner was renamed “Bayanmo’nh uulyn hoshuu” after this mountain in 1923 (Сономдагва 1967: 60).

(2) The present-day town of Baruun-Urt, capital of Su’hbaatar Aimag, is located near the site of the former Soyolyg deejulsen Su’m (E07), while the center of Su’hbaatar Sum is located near the site of the former Nüiteer soyogch Su’m (H07). The aimag and the sum were named after Su’hbaatar, the great hero of the revolution in 1921, as his parents were born in the territory of present-day Su’hbaatar Sum.

M010) Title: Sečen qan ayimay–un arban tabun jerge nemegsen arban naiman jerge temdeglesen üy–e uliran čin vang–un jerge Qurča jasay qosiyun–u beyise Tüdden–yin qosiyun–u nutuy–un jiruy

“Map of the territory of the banner of Tu’den (1896-1921), ‘Hurts’ ruling prince with fifteen ranks added and eighteen ranks registered and with the hereditary rank of Chin Van, Beis of the banner, of Setsen Han Aimag”

Date: Olan–a ergügdegsen–ü arban nigedüger on yisün sar–a–yin arban qoyar

“12th day of the ninth month in the 11th year of Olnoo O’rgogdson (1921)”

Seal: Not identified [Sečen qan ayimay–un qurča jasay–un qosiyu–yi jakiruyči tamay–a]

“Seal of the ruler of the ‘Hurts’ ruler’s banner of Setsen Han Aimag”

Size: 55 x 63 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. 769 Hs.or.150.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 401; Heissig 1978: 76), 770 Hs.or.143.(1910) (Heissig 1961: 401)

References: Сономдагва 1998:119-122, 159-161 (the Yeguzer Hutagt’s Shavi); МУШ 1997 I: 73-75; II:30-32 (the Yeguzer Hutagt’s Shavi).

Note: A large temple appears in the center of the map (F05-G05), corresponding to the Yeguzer Hutagt's O'n o'glogt Su'm. The center of Erdenetsagaan Sum of Su'hbaatar Aimag is now located close to where this temple used to be. The Yeguzer Hutagt J. Galsandash (1870-1930) was one of the "Hutagts with Seal" (the great incarnations) of Setsen Han Aimag. His *shavis* belonged to this banner and had possessed their own territory in the eastern part of the banner since 1864. The Yeguzer Hutagt played an important political role in the 1910s and 1920s, particularly in Eastern Mongolia, just as the Jalhanz Hutagt did in Western Mongolia; his influence extended as far as neighboring banners in Inner Mongolia. At the time of his consecration as the seventh reincarnation of the Yeguzer Hutagt in 1874, a great festival was organized involving the participation of the 12 banners and Yalguulsan Hutagt's Shavi of Setsen Han Aimag, Jevtsendamba Hutagt's Shavi, and even the banners of Uzemchin, Huuchid and Barga in Inner Mongolia. In 1913, the Bogd Haan appointed him Minister for the Pacification of the South-Eastern Frontier. One of the tasks assigned to him by the Bogd Haan was to persuade the ruling princes of neighboring banners in Inner Mongolia to join his Mongolian state (Цогт-Очир 1992: 5-8).

M011) Title: Bүgүde nayiramduqu mongyol arad ulus-un qobdo ayimay-un bulγun sumun-u ündüsün-ü nutuγ γaγarun jiruγ en-e bolai.

"This is the land map of the native territory of Bulgan Sum of Hovd Aimag "

Date: Qorin jiryuduγar on qoyar sarayin 1 yisün

"19th day of the second month in the 26th year (1936)"

Seal: Qobdo ayimay-un Bulγan-u sumu-yi jakirqu temdeg

"Seal administering Bulgan sum of Hovd Aimag"

Size: 45 x 40 cm

Material: Russian paper

Cf. 675 Hs.or.124.(1920) (Heissig 1961: 347; Heissig 1978: 4)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 378-384

Note: (1) The annotation at the bottom left of the map was written in pencil but all other descriptions are in ink.

(2) This map represents the same territory of the three former New Torguud banners as the map in Heissig 1978 (no. 675). Both maps present the same arrangement of rivers and mountains, except that map M011 is drawn with south at the top and contains some additional detail – for example, the fields on the southern shore of the Bulgan River. There were no definite borders between these three banners (see C028: 2-r, 2-v).

(3) The territory represented on the map extends beyond the present-day border between

China and Mongolia, as far as the lower reaches of the Chingel River in Xinjiang, China. In 1906 the seven banners of Altai Urianhai, the three banners of New Torguud and the banner of New Hoshuud separated from the Hovd Frontier to establish the 11-banner Altai district. When the provisional boundary was defined along the Altai Mountains, creating a border that remained almost unchanged after the Tripartite Agreement of Khyakhta in 1915,⁴ these New Torguud banners were divided into two parts, one of which fell within China and the other within Mongolia.

(4) These two maps appear to have been copied from the “Map of the Entire Hovd Frontier” produced in 1890 (ОСБ 2001: 147).

M012) Title: None [Sečen qan ayimay-un jasay terigün jerge tayiji Gombojab-un qosiyun-u nutuy-un jiruy]

“Map of the territory of the banner of Gombojav (1801-1811), ruling prince, Prince of the first rank of Setsen Han Aimag”

Date: None [1803 – 1805]

Seal: Qalq-a-yin jegün jam-un dumdadu aday-un barayun eteged-ün qosiyu-yi jakiruyči tamγ-a

“Seal of the ruler of the Middle Rear banner on the Eastern road of Halha”

Size: 45 x 55 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. 759 Hs.or.12.(1907) (Heissig 1961: 397), 760 Hs.or.138.(1910) (Heissig 1961: 397; Heissig 1978: 71)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 122-125; МУШ 1997 I: 95-96.

Note: This map is presumed to have been produced between 1803 and 1805 (嘉慶 8-10), making it the oldest in our collection. This is based on the names of the ruling princes given for neighboring banners on the map. The periods of rule of the different princes were as follows: Gombojav 1801-1811 (for this banner); Gonchigjav 1784-1814; Dorjjav 1782-1818; Tsedenvanbuu 1802-1821; Oidovtseven 1803-1809; and Sonom 1778-1805. The period during which all of these princes simultaneously held office was 1803-1805.

M013) Title: None [Altai-yin uriyangqai-yin Jidgültü güng-ün qosiyun-u nutuy-un jiruy]

“Map of the territory of the Ju'tgelt Lord's banner of Altai Urianhai”

Date: None [1912-1914]

⁴ Technically speaking, this Agreement made the Altai district a part of China.

Seal: None

Size: 36 x 45 cm

Material: Chinese paper

References: Сономдагва 1998: 360-362; МУШ 1997 II: 19.

Note: (1) This map represents the territory of the Ju'tgelt Lord's banner (also called "Meirengiin Hoshuu") of Altai Urianhai, and is estimated to have been made between 1912 and 1914, for two reasons. First, the top left of the map bears the inscription "sarayul güng-ün nutuγ-luγ-a jiq-a neyilümüi" (bordered by the Saruul Gu'n's territory). "Saruul Gu'ng" was a title invested by the Bogd Haan on the ruler of the next banner in 1912 for having joined the Mongol state along with his banner. Tsagaanbilig, the ruler of this banner, also joined the Mongol state and was invested with the title "Ju'tgelt Gu'n." Although these titles were abolished following the Revolution in 1921, they remained as the names of the banners until 1927 (Сономдагва 1967: 69). The second reason is contained in the word "šabi-yin nutuγ" (an ecclesiastical territory), found in three descriptions on the map. The "šabi-yin nutuγ" appears to have been the territory of the notorious Ja lam Dambijantsan, as there was no other ecclesiastical territory in Western Mongolia. According to Burdukov, from 1912 until his arrest by Russian authorities in February 1914, Dambijantsan had been gathering large numbers of laypersons and lamas at a place called "Munjik" or "Shar Tsek", situated 60 versts (about 64 km) north of Hovd, in an effort to found a new state (Бурдуков 1969: 102, 114).

(2) This map is oriented with <hoit>⁵ at the top, however "hoit" actually indicates the west point of the compass. I shall return to the folk orientation in old Mongolian maps later.

M014) Title: Irgen Van hing de, oros Karnikub sei temšehe ba-i nirugan

"Picture of the place over which Wan Xingde of China and Karnikov of Russia disputed"

Date: None

Seal: None

Size: 44 x 44 cm

Material: Chinese paper

⁵ Although *hoit* is translated as north and *o'mno* as south in almost all Mongolian-English dictionaries, these words are not always equivalent to the directions of the compass. Their origin meanings – which still apply – are "back" or "rear" and "in front of" or "before" respectively. I indicate by <hoit> that *hoit* does not denote north of the compass, but *hoit* as a "folk orientation."

Note: The title is written in Manchu while the descriptions indicating the distances between points on the map are written in Chinese. We have no further information on this map.

M015) Title: Mongγol arad ulus-un γaǰar-un jiruγ; Sinjilekiii uqayan-u küriyeleng
“Land map of the Mongolian People’s State; Institute of Sciences”

Date: [1931-1932]

Seal: None

Size: 40 x 70 cm

Material: Canvas

Note: This map was created between 1931 and 1932. There are 13 *aimags* indicated on the map: Hovd, Do’rved, Zavhan, Altai, Ho’vsgol, Ar Hangai, O’vor Hangai, Tarialan, To’v, O’mno Govi, Hentii, Dorno Govi and Dornod. In 1931, the old *aimags* and banners were totally abolished and these new 13 *aimags* were established with 311 *sums*. Later, on December 30, 1932, the Council of Ministers decided to change the names of two *aimags* – Tarialan was renamed Selenge, and Do’rvod was renamed Uvs (Сономдагва 1967: 40).

M016) Title: None [Altai-yin uriyangqai-yin doloγan qosiyun-u nutuγ-un jiruγ]
“Map of the seven banners of Altai Urianhai”

Date: Mongγol ulus-un arban naimaduγar on tabun sarayin qoyar

“Second day of the fifth month in the 18th year of Mongolia (1928)”

Seal: Altai uriyangqai-yin Itgemjitü jasag-un qosiyu-yi jakiruγči tamay-a

“Seal of the ruler of the Itgemjit ruling prince’s banner of Altai Urianhai”

Size: 77 x 95 cm

Material: Chinese paper

Cf. 676 Hs.or.123.(1920) (Heissig 1961: 347-348; Heissig 1978: 5)

References: Сономдагва 1998: 122-125; МУШ 1997 I: 95-96.

Note: (1) The Itgemjit jasag’s banner identified in the text of the seal was also called “Zu’un Ambany Hoshuu” (左翼大臣旗). The seven Altai Urianhai banners consisted of two wings, each of which had a Sul Amban (literally “a minister without an official post”) and ruled over his own banner. “Zu’un Ambany Hoshuu” thus identifies the banner of the Sul Amban of the Left Wing. The administrative center of this banner was located at the site where Tsagaan Lam Gungajaltsan constructed the “Soyolyg erhelesen Sum” temple in 1871 (同治 10), depicted in the exact center of this map.

(2) The map represents a vast territory that corresponds to the seven banners of Altai

Urianhai and even includes Lake Zaisan. However, the annotations on the map (1621 and 1636 in the INDEX BY LOCATION) indicate that the size of this territory was reduced by two border agreements reached between Qing Dynasty China and Russia in 1869 (同治 8) and 1883 (光緒 9). Moreover, as mentioned with regard to the map of Bulgan Sum of Hovd Aimag (M011), the provisional border between Mongolia and China defined along the Altai Mountains in 1915 divided most banners in Altai Urianhai into two parts, one belonging to China, the other to Mongolia.

(3) This is one of three maps of Altai Urianhai that we are aware of. These three maps present an almost identical arrangement of mountains and rivers. The first map, dated 1913 (MYA 1986: 24), was produced upon Altai Urianhai's joining the Bogd Haan's Mongol State. The second, dated 1920 (Heissig 1978: 5), was produced and sent to Beijing after the Chinese government annexed the Altai district to Xinjiang province in June 1919 (民国 8) and abolished the Bogd Haan's regime in November 1919. The third or this map was produced following the establishment of the new banner system in 1927, in which the seven banners of Altai Urianhai were reorganized into two banners.

Maps as a Process of Negotiation

Power and Maps

Land is one of the essential sustainers of human life. Most human activities are conducted on a definite part of land, not only being conditioned by the features of the landscape but also utilizing some of these features. Those activities, in turn, are inscribing themselves on the land and are changing the landscape. Thus the landscape can be considered to be a process of negotiation between human beings and the land, not merely a set of visual features. The relationship between human activities and the landscape should be reflected on the map. Producing a map is, however, also a process of negotiation between different social agencies, who may have differing positions and perspectives.

It is obvious that the maps in our collection were produced and preserved by the involvement of state power. There were three kinds of main negotiators involved in producing maps representing a banner or a group of banners in the power system: the Emperor of the Qing Dynasty or the Bogd Haan of Mongolia, the local ruling prince, and herdsmen. Some Mongolian scholars explain the land tenure system in Mongolia during the Qing Dynasty and Bogd Haan regime thus: the Emperor had the right of ownership, the ruling prince had the right of possession, and herdsmen had the right of use (Ex. Нацагдорж 1963; Гонгор 1978). It should be noted that the land they were

concerned with was not “abstract” land, but pasture. On some maps in Heissig 1978, “nutuy-un jiruy” written in the title was translated as “游牧圖” in Chinese (a figure of nomadic pastoralism).

After Halha-Mongol nobles submitted to the Qing Emperor Kangxi (康熙) in 1691, the Qing Emperors established the system of leagues and banners in Northern Mongolia. They organized the nobles’ subjects into a banner and *sums* and appointed them *zasag* (ruling princes) of the banner as well as allocating pastures to the banner as owner of the land. In this process, the ruling prince was given a seal of the banner, and submitted a map and *tses* (a boundary record) of his banner to the Qing Government. However the establishment of the system was not completed in a short space of time – it took about one hundred years. It was not until 1781 (乾隆 45) that the borders between *aimags* in Northern Mongolia were defined by the Qing Government. As far as Tu’sheet Han Aimag was concerned, the submission of banner maps to Lifanyuan (理藩院) cannot be dated earlier than 1805 (嘉慶 10)⁶ (Oka 1988: 24).

For herdsmen, the establishment of the system of banners and the definition of banner boundaries seem to have been of no use, or, perhaps, another cause of land disputes. This is because actual pasture use needed to be so flexible that as often as not herdsmen moved beyond the confines of the banner (see MFX 1975).

Researchers have different opinions on the occasions when maps representing a banner were produced: Sagaster (1961: 338) and Heissig (1989: 271) considered that these maps were produced and sent to Beijing every 10 years; according to Ravdan, “the changing banners’ maps is caused by the heredity of banner-princes” (Равдан 2004: vii). However, these three researchers do not provide sufficient justification of their views.

As far as the maps that have been passed down to the present are concerned, most were produced by the orders the state promulgated at several times. Graph 1 on the next page shows the numbers by year of the dates on 340 maps that are dated and represent banners in the four Halha Aimag, which are preserved at the Berlin State Library in Germany, the National Central Archives of Mongolia and the National University of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar. There are two highest points in 1890 (光緒 16) and 1907 (光緒 33), and two lower peaks in 1910 and 1913.

In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Qing Dynasty faced the menace of Russia’s Southing Strategy⁷ and saw the necessity to abolish the traditional policy of protecting Mongolia from settlement by Chinese

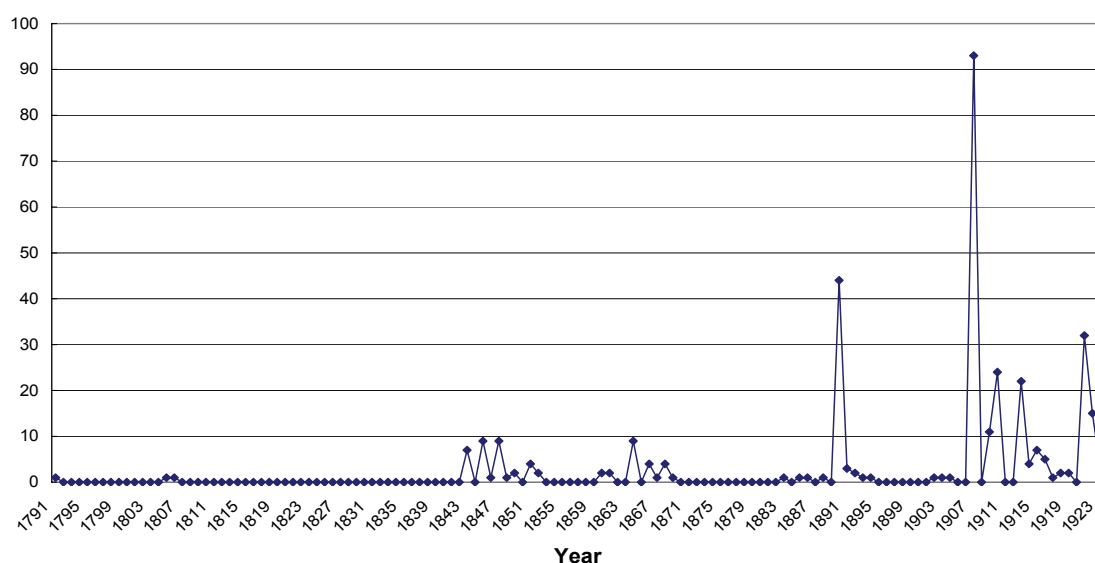
⁶ Map M012 may have been created at that time.

⁷ This encouraged the Qing Government to produce accurate maps of the frontier areas bordering Russia, in particular those of Urianhais’ banners.

peasants and to develop the natural resources in Northern Mongolia. In 1890, the authorized regulations for the production of maps were promulgated by the Emperor's decree, according to which the aimags and banners were ordered to make their territories' new maps (МУУТА (Монгол улсын үндэсний төв архив) М1-1-6494-7; ОСБ 2001: 147). Following the reform of the administrative system in 1906, the so-called "New Policy"(新政) was started in Mongolia. In 1907, the Qing Dynasty authorities undertook research activities on Mongolia, in particular in the following 14 areas: agriculture, forestry, pastures, wild animals, leather and wool, railways, minerals, fisheries, salt, the military, schools, watch-posts, relay stations and trade, as well as ordering the aimags and banners to redraw their territories' maps. In 1910 (宣統 2), it was put on the agenda to abolish laws prohibiting the settlement of Chinese peasants in Mongolia (Yano 1916: 308-309). The Bogd Haan Government inherited the map-making standards and ordered the banners to produce a map in 1913 in the same way as the former Qing Government did.

Graph 1

Number of maps by year



It is clear that since the last decade of the 19th century, as the New Policy was introduced, the Qing Dynasty had changed her view towards the land of Mongolia, seeing it not as pasture but as an object of development, in other words an abstract space within which natural resources are contained. On the maps dated 1910 that are preserved at the Berlin State Library in Germany, all of which represent the banner of

Setsen Han Aimag, we find specific descriptions of natural resources in the banner, such as are hardly found on earlier maps. Many of the ruling princes in Mongolia, who had controlled the use of pastures within his banner, were afraid that the New Policy would encroach on their rights. This forms the main background to Mongolia's proclamation of independence from China at the end of 1911.

Map-making Standards

The regulations for the production of maps and *tses* (boundary reports) were prepared and distributed to the local governments by Huidian Guan (會典館) in 1890 with the title “*Qinding Huatu-geshi Fu Tushuo-shi*” (欽定畫圖格式坵圖說式), so as to enable the production of standardized maps of every local area in the territory of the Qing Dynasty after the model of “*Daqing Yitong Yutu*” (大清一統輿圖) published in 1863 (同治 2) (MYYTA M1-1-6494-7; see Figure 1). At the time of the reign of the Emperor Kangxi (康熙), the first map of China using longitude and latitude was created by Jesuits using scientific land surveying techniques, the title of which is “*Huangyu Quanlantu*” (皇輿全覽圖). Another map that features longitude and latitude is “*Huangchao Yitong Yudiquantu*” (皇朝一統輿地全圖), produced by Li Zhaoluo (李兆洛) and published in 1832 (道光 12). The drawing methods (‘*huafa*’ 畫法) were inherited by “*Daqing Yitong Yutu*”. The map of “*Huangchao Yitong Yudiquantu*” contains a grid of squares of side length 100 li (里), which was supposed to be equivalent to 0.5 degrees of latitude (see 中國大百科智慧藏 <http://wordpedia.pidc.org.tw>).

According to the above mentioned regulations, a map of a banner should be drawn so that an area 100 *gazar* (里) square will be represented in a grid 1 *yamh* (cun「寸」= 3.2 cm) square on the map, since a banner in Mongolia was defined as a sheng (省) in China proper. However the grid was too small to write the necessary descriptions such as the names of *oboo*, mountains and rivers. Thus one topic of discussion at the meeting of the four Halha Aimags was how to create a map and there was also a proposal to produce maps in two versions for every banner on different scales: 100 *gazar* to 1 *yamh* and 100 *gazar* to 2 *yamh*, which were approved by Lifanyuan (MYYTA M1-1-6494-18, MYYTA M31-2-3864-1). Yet according to Boundary Report C001, written in 1890, the map corresponding to it was made using a scale different again from the above two scales: 50 *gazar* to 2 *yamh*. The standards cited in the letter dated 1907 from the office of the league of Setsen Han Aimag to the Hu'reenii Said (the Governor at Urga) (MYYTA M31-2-5233-19) are the same as those cited in C001. It is probable that this scale and other standards had been established in Halh Mongolia since 1890.⁸

⁸ According to the document Futaki cited on p.28 in this volume, they had been established in

The Bogd Haan Government authorized these standards, which had been agreed upon by the four Halh Aimags and approved by Lifanyuan in the Qing era⁹ as state regulations in 1913, and they compiled them into the Legal Code of the Mongol State (*Zarlighaar togtooson Mongol ulsyn huul' zu'iliin bichig*). The regulations set out the following requirements: (a) use of the 24 cardinal points, which combine the 12 signs of the Oriental zodiac (*shi'erzhi* 十二支), the 10 elements of the universe (*shigan* 十干) and the 8 signs of the divination (*bagua* 八卦), as well as the orientation of a map designated by the *morin zu'g* (horse direction) (one of the 24 cardinal points indicating “south”) located at the bottom of the map; (b) use of units of length such as *gazar* (li 「里」= 360 *ald*), *huv'* (= 0.1 *gazar*) and *ald* (bu(gong)「步(弓)」= 160 cm); (c) applying a scale in which an area of 25 *gazar* square will be represented by a grid 1 *yamh* square on a map. The 24 cardinal points and units of length were adopted so as to measure the exact positions of boundary markers (see Гончигдорж 1970: 56-61), which had not been written into the regulations promulgated by the Qing Government (MYITA M32-2-3864-22). However longitude and latitude were not introduced.

Evolution of Cartography

It is probable that the above mentioned standards have influenced methods used in Mongolia to make manuscript maps. Our collection also holds “non-standard” maps that seem to be drawn without reference to those standards. We can see the evolution of old Mongolian cartography by comparing non-standard maps with standard ones.

i) Orientation of Maps

M001, M003 and M011 were drawn with south at the top. This was because the Mongols build their *ger* with the door facing south or southeast. In his book on the history of geography in the East, the Japanese scholar Umino mentioned a Kalmyk map obtained by J. G. Renat in 1734 that has south at the top, and pointed out that it was normal for maps to be drawn with south at the top in Central Asia while maps were drawn with north at the top in traditional Chinese cartography (2004: 134).

We find that even in maps drawn with north at the top, the north-south line was not exactly vertical. The orientation of M002 is rotated by about 40 degrees in the counter-clockwise direction from that of the newer “corrected” map M007. The *morin zu'g* (horse direction) on M002 was supposed to point south (or *o'mno*), however it points south-east of the compass.

Tu'sheet Han Aimag since 1868.

⁹ This may be why maps created in Halh were drawn differently from those of other areas of Mongolia. However there is still much difference among the four aimags of Halh.

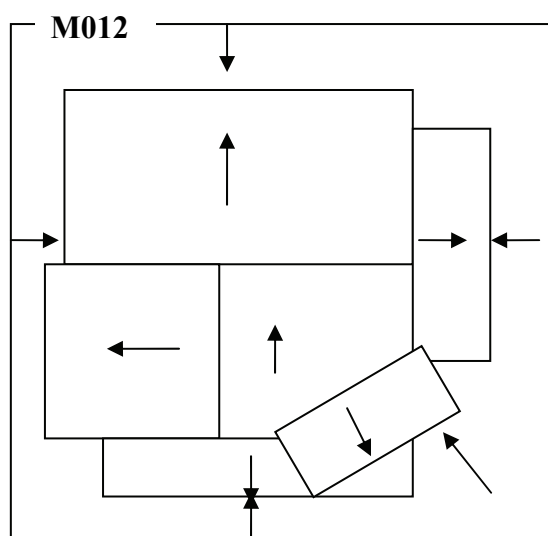
It is more confusing that “o’*mno*”, translated as “south” in Mongolian-English dictionaries, points east in western Mongolia, as M013 shows.¹⁰ This may be the same reason why the date and seal on M016 were written from left to right. For people in western Mongolia, the left side on the map is <*hoit*> (“north” in dictionaries), which the map-making standard directs to be at the top of a map. Yet it points west of the compass.

The concept of directions is not absolute but relative in Mongolia even at present. Those living in western Mongolia usually build their *ger* with the door facing east on the east side slopes of the Altai Mountains running from north-west to south-east, while people in central and eastern Mongolia build their *ger* with the door facing south-east of the compass so as to prevent the north-west wind coming into a *ger*. *O’*mno** is the orientation in which the *ger* is built and the head of the family sits facing *o’*mno** in his *ger*. Thus *o’*mno** is a cardinal point in the Mongols’ body technique as well as the starting point of ritual rotation. For the human body, *o’*mno** is front, *hoit* back, *baruun* right and *zu’un* left. Although these four words are translated as south, north, west and east respectively in dictionaries, which direction of the compass these words are actually pointing to depends on the landscape. In western Mongolia, they also use the course of a river as the basic directions: *deeshee* (upper) versus *dooshoo* (lower), since their pastoral movements often follow the course of a river.

The concept of directions in Mongolia does not refer directly to the compass, but to actual human activities. This is reflected in non-standard maps well.

ii) Viewpoint of Map

M012 consists of six parts, which were drawn from different viewpoints, as shown in



the diagram below. The arrows in the diagram indicate the direction of view, in the opposite direction in which the descriptions were written. (See Гончигдорж 1970: 61; cf. M013.)

It is probable that the map-maker segmented the territory into these six parts and drew each part from different locations, for example from a high mountain pass, which he might consider to be best to express the landscape or local people’s typical image of the land.

¹⁰ Kler confused “geographical orientation” and “folk orientation” (1956: 31).

Although this map-making method is quite different from modern cartography, the map reflects how the locals perceived the landscape of their land.

In the margin outside these six parts, there are descriptions of the boundary, which were written from inside out. This may show that the boundary of territory was conceived with a view from outside facing into the banner.

Figure 2 shows the map created according to the state regulations in 1910, and represents the same banner as M012. The grids and single point of view make the space of this map homogeneous.¹¹ There is no segmentation of the land or different viewpoints, which reflects local people's perception of the landscape.

On all the maps except M014 and M015, mountains were drawn from the side and pointed to the top of the map, while rivers and lakes were drawn in plan view.

iii) Landmarks

Irrespective of whether the map conforms to state regulations, significant items, such as temples and administrative offices, were drawn much larger than actual size.¹² It should be noted that a temple was shown in the center of the map on M003, M013 and M016. This shows the importance of religion in Mongolia at that time.

Although the regulations provide that all mountains should be drawn from the south, some mountains were drawn from another side so that the characteristics would be emphasized. For example, Mt Zotol on D05 of M011 has been an important landmark in the banner (see Figure 3). The mountain looks like a steep cone only when one sees it from the east side (or probably from the temple located in the center of the banner where the Yegu'zer Hutagt lived), as Figure 4 shows.¹³ The mountain was an object of offering by the Yegu'zer Hutagt, and the banner was renamed "Zotol han uulyн hoshuu" after the mountain in 1923 (Содномдагва 1967: 60). This is the same case as Mt Bayanmo'nh Uul on M009 (see the note of the map).

Conclusion

In this article I have discussed the historical context of producing maps and the evolution of cartography in northern Mongolia. In summary, the map-making practices of the Mongols there has significantly changed during the twenty years from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century.

Since the last decade of the 19th century, the Qing Dynasty has altered her view

¹¹ The adoption of the grid made it easier to replicate a map (Гончигдорж 1970: 62).

¹² In general, items supposed to be important in the society concerned are drawn on a map.

¹³ See also the photo in Г.Аким, *Егүүтгэгдсэн заяа*, УБ, 2002: 30.

towards the land of Mongolia, seeing it not as pasture but as an object of development, in other words an abstract space within which natural resources are contained. During the period, a considerable number of maps of Mongolia were produced under state orders. The regulations for producing maps and boundary records, which were distributed together with the state orders, and map-making standards have so influenced the map-making practice in Northern Mongolia that a map would represent a homogenous space seen from a single point of view. However even those maps retain some “old” features, such as using folk orientation and expressions that emphasize landscape features.

Compared with state standardized maps, “non-standard” maps more often reflect a local concept of segmentation of the land (see, for example, M012 and M013), as well as folk orientation and a preoccupation with landscape features. These features of non-standard maps are always closely linked to and are formed by actual human activities, as discussed above. And it is such features that constitute the landscape and form local people’s “habitus.” For example, even at present in *ger* districts in Hovd city, western Mongolia, which is not a pastoral but an urban area, people always build their *ger* with the door facing $o'mno$ or east of the compass while the fortress of Hovd was built with the main gate facing south of the compass by the Qing Government in the second half of the 18th century. Also they use the course of the Buyant River for the basic directions: *deeshee* (upper) versus *dooshoo* (lower). Old Mongolian manuscript maps reflect local people’s practices and habitus as well as representing the landscape perceived by them.

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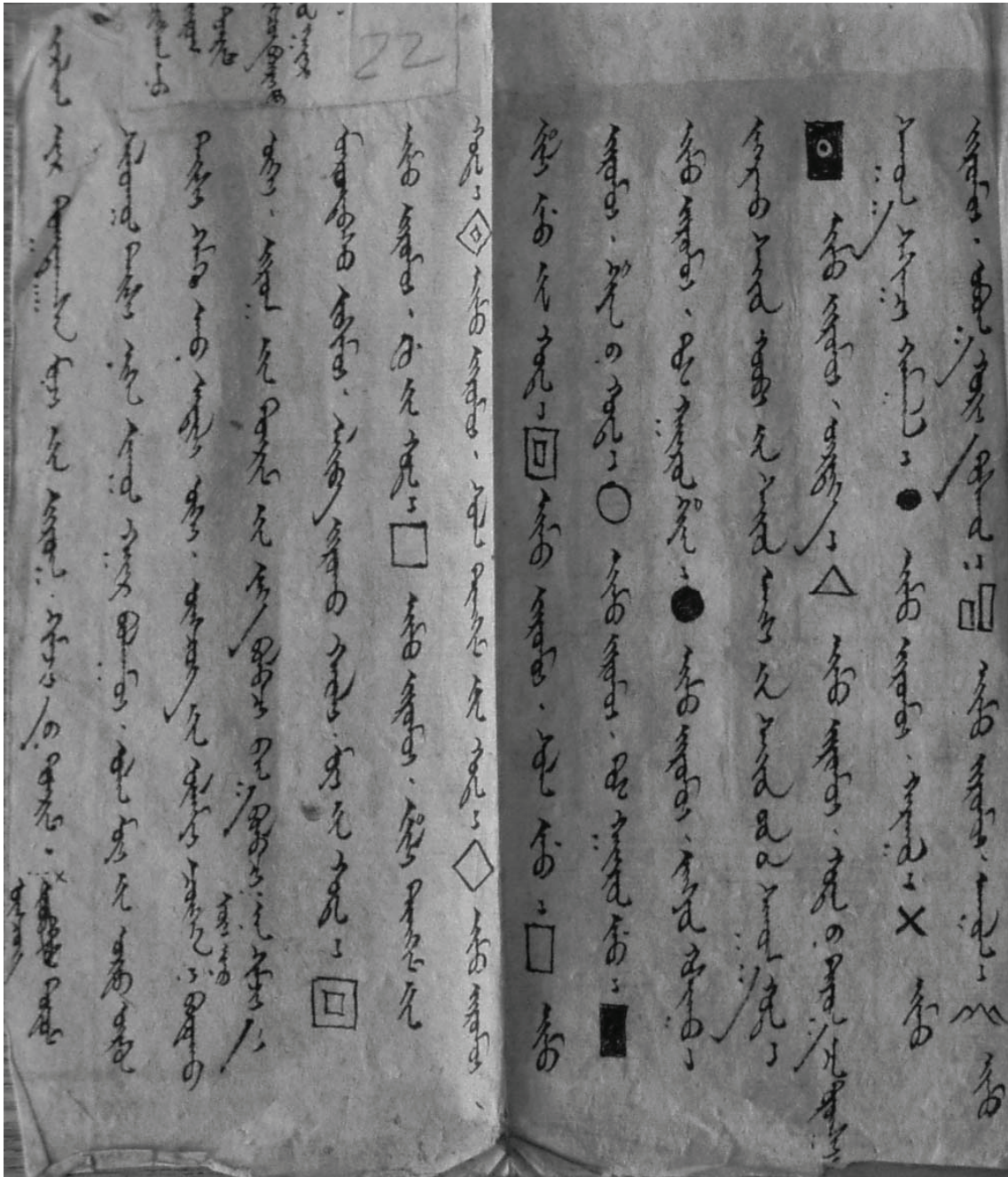


Figure 1. “*Jarliy-iyar toytayaysan muji-yin jiruγ, kemjiiy-e-nü dürim*” (Authorized regulations for producing a map of *sheng* (省) and its scale) (part of a document which was preserved in the office of *chuulgan* of Setsen Han Aimag: MYYTA M31-2-3864-22). This seems to be a Mongolian version of a part of the Chinese original “*Qinding Huatu-geshi*” (欽定畫圖格式).

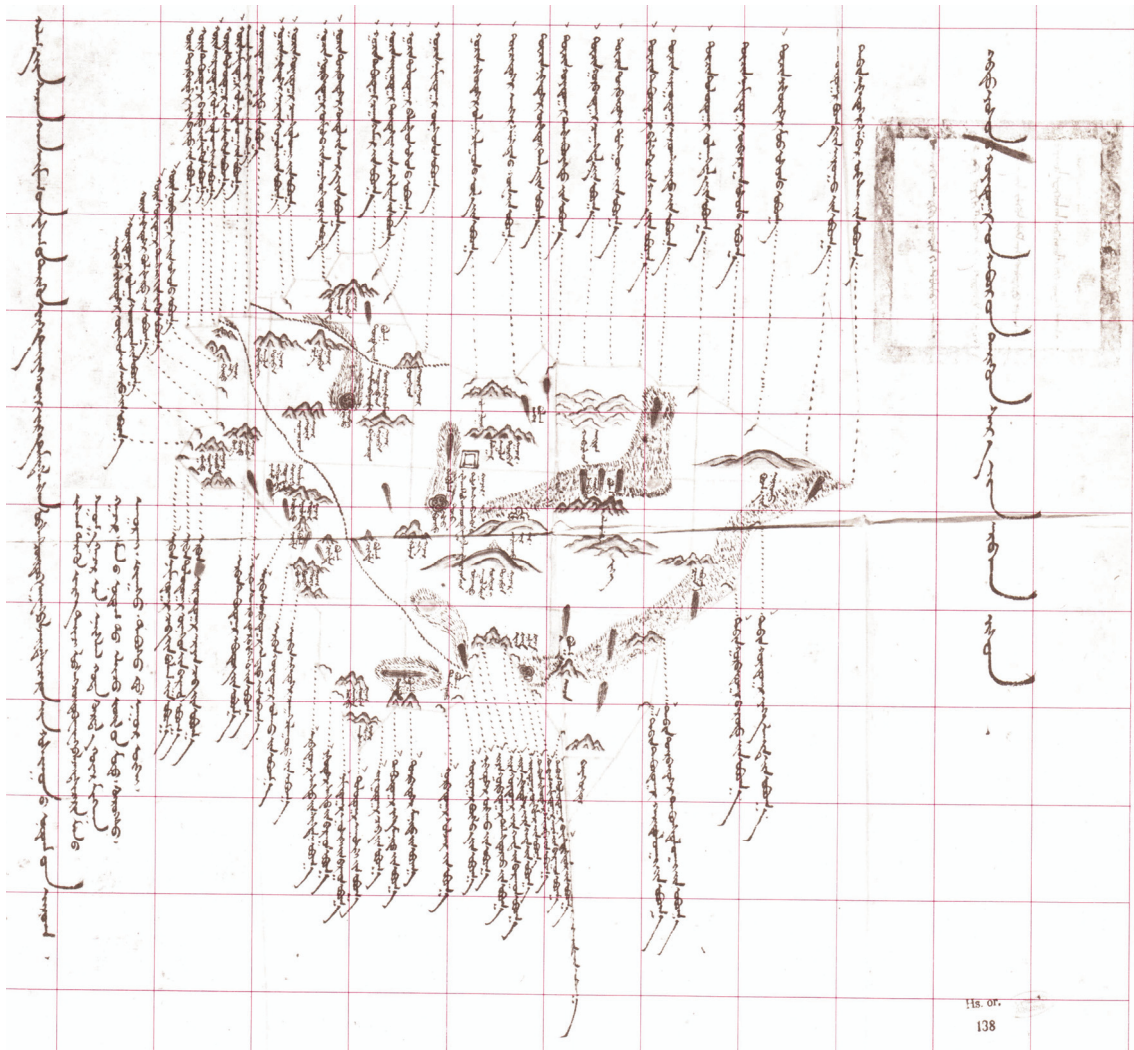


Figure 2. The map produced in 1910, of the same banner represented in M012. There are numbered *oboo* names, grids in red ink and a description concerning natural resources within the banner, which are considered to be later features. (Heissig 1978: 71, no.760)



Figure 3. Mt Zotol on M011.

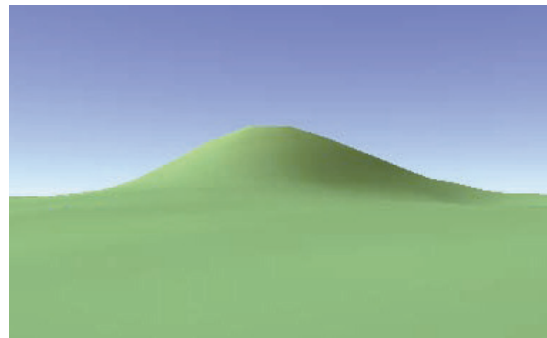


Figure 4. Image of Mt Zotol from the east. This image was produced using Kashmir 3D (by Mr Dan Sugimoto), based on data from the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) by NGA and NASA.